

B. Picart Delineavit Anno 1711

This phrase, appearing as a signature or inscription, translates to “B. Picart drew this in the year 1711.” It’s a common attribution found on engravings and prints from that era, indicating the artist (**B. Picart**) who created the artwork and the year it was produced (**1711**). The Latin *delineavit* means “he/she drew” or “he/she depicted.” ## Cornelis de Bruin’s Travels Through Muscovy, Persia, and India:

Accompanied by Three Hundred Engravings, Depicting The renowned landscapes and cities, as well as the distinctive costumes, animals, weapons, and plants found there: Especially THESE ANCIENT RUINS, And in particular, very thoroughly, those of the Magnificent and long-celebrated throughout the world COURT OF PERSEPOLIS, Called *Tchilminar* by the Persians. All meticulously drawn by the author from life, and never before published.

AMSTERDAM, RUDOLPH and GERARD WETSTEIN, Through JOANNES OOSTERWYK, HENDRIK van de GAETE. Booksellers 1714. ## Cornelius de Bruyn

Renowned throughout Idumea and the warm lands of Canopus, A master of art, his skill brings honor to Apelles, This is Bruyn from Brussels: let those who know him recognize That he is better portrayed by his own hand.

Janus Bronkhufius.

Gaffir: Painted by Sir Kneller. g: Valek Schulp. ## To His Most Excellent and Noble Lord, the Honorable Anthony Ulrich, Stadtholder of Brunswick and Lunenburg, &c. &c. &c.

Most Illustrious Prince, Gracious Lord,

Your Highness’s profound wisdom and esteemed knowledge of all renowned relics of antiquity are not only evident through your own royal and exceptionally fine writings,

*2 a ## A Dedication to Your Highness

Throughout the world, I am known; but particularly to Your Highness, through Her extraordinary grace and favor. Having returned to my homeland after both of my journeys, I have repeatedly enjoyed the unexpected honor of receiving visits from Her gracious presence, a source of great joy for me.

Having observed with admiration Your Highness's keen interest in examining my drawings and notes taken during my travels, and her desire for original works worthy of placement within Her renowned cabinet, I have resolved to dedicate these pages to Her. Could any sovereign be more fitting to whom I might present the description of this second voyage, brought about through such considerable effort, toil, and labor, and now brought into the light? Indeed, I believe that I would fail to do justice to the approval Your Highness has already bestowed upon this modest work were I to seek judgment from others on a book intended solely for experts.

As far as I am concerned, I have no doubt that Your Highness will examine not only the observations and notes I have gathered regarding Muscovy—a land previously so little known—through the gracious favor of His Imperial Majesty, but also appreciate the close connection between the illustrious House of Your Highness and that of His Imperial Majesty. ## A Humble Offering to Your Grace

I trust that this work will find favor with you. With the same confidence, I submit to your discerning judgment the accounts of Persia, which are detailed here at length, and other observations concerning the Indies, a judgment whose impartiality and justice I have reason not to doubt. Therefore, all that remains for me is to pray that Your Most Excellent Lordship will take this work under your gracious protection, which I dedicate to you with the utmost reverence.

Most Illustrious Prince, Most Gracious Lord,

Your Most Excellent Lordship's

Humbly and Obedient Servant

CORNELIS DE BRUIN. ## Introduction

My intention is not to burden you with a lengthy preface praising this book. Its value must be received from within, as it presents matters that I have investigated and verified, which can gain no greater recommendation than to demonstrate themselves plainly. I do not address any other faults, having refrained from relying on what others have seen or unseen, or have recorded in inaccurate accounts of travelers' descriptions. While these are considered men of dignity, learning, or accuracy in discerning many things they encountered during their travels, you will find that they either overlooked numerous details due to carelessness, misconstrued them through faulty understanding, or were ill-equipped by circumstance to thoroughly investigate everything.

Regarding Muscovy, although Sigismundus, Lord of Herberstein, Adam Olearius, the Count of Carlisle, Envoy of Charles II, King of England to the Tsar of Muscovy, Allifon in his journey to Muscovy,

and others have shared some noteworthy things with the world, there is nothing substantial in their accounts because no foreigner had previously been permitted to make even the slightest sketch of cities or regions within that territory. Therefore, we should be fortunate to be among the first granted permission by His Tsarist Majesty to depict everything found within his realm. We have not spared ourselves in taking advantage of this favor, as you will see from the illustrations of a great number of the most remarkable cities, landscapes, buildings, clothing, and other things. To this is added a description of the customs of that land, numerous changes occurring within the territory of this present monarch, and other particulars that have not been accessible to previous writers.

Nor is it different with Persia and the renowned court of Persepolis, about which many have attempted to write; but most of them have only glimpsed, partially seen, or merely noted in passing the magnificent remains found there, crafting a narrative that leans more towards fanciful history or romance than toward an authentic discovery of matters of great interest even to the most learned minds. This has led to numerous errors and misrepresentations by readers. Pietro della Valle and Don Garcias de Silva Figueroa, Envoy of the King of Spain to Shah Abbas I, King of Persia, are perhaps the most prominent among those who have been able to report something truthfully about these remarkable vestiges of antiquity. However, if one examines the travel account of the former and the memoirs of the embassy of the latter, it will readily become apparent that they spent little time on these sites and therefore had no opportunity to thoroughly investigate all the pieces of the so-called Chilménar. As a result, they shot their impressions hastily and were greatly mistaken in their imaginations. Nevertheless, the learned Mr. Isaac Vossius had previously intended to make some research about Persepolis from the account books of Don Garcias de Silva and to compare it with the present Chilménar; of which intention he mentions in his notes on Pomponius Mela. But the misfortune that befell him seems to have caused him not to fulfill his promise. We will refrain from further comment regarding the existence of these writers, nor weigh their work on a scale, lest we appear to elevate ours by granting it greater importance or prestige; this being reserved for the pieces themselves to demonstrate ## A Letter to the Reader

We acknowledge that we may have missed the mark and fallen short of achieving our intended goal. However, let it suffice for their defense that those who were involved lacked the proper time required for this task, whether due to inattention or unfavorable circumstances, which led to fanciful imaginings misleading both themselves and the world.

Our approach has been entirely different. Just as investigating these antiquities was the primary objective of this second journey, so too have we overcome the difficulties and dangers inherent therein with steadfast patience. We spared no effort, labor, or time in achieving our desired outcome and providing satisfaction to all readers—learned and unlearned alike—to the best of our ability, maintaining an unwavering and resolute commitment to adhere to the path of truth, without which all endeavor is futile and fruitless. I will not dwell on the considerable expense incurred in producing this work, as it is readily apparent from observing the meticulous engravings contained within that a significant sum has been spent. Having drawn inspiration from the depictions of Persepolis and its ruins found in ancient authors, we have rendered these representations with such precision and care that we can assure you of their complete conformity to the models upon which they are based.

Nevertheless, we did not flatter ourselves into believing that we could avoid any errors. Quite the contrary. For our reassurance, we presented this work to men experienced in antiquities and sought their opinions. We were fortunate enough to understand their general approval regarding the illustrations and depictions of objects hidden for more than two thousand years, now revealed to the eyes of all who seek knowledge. These very friends—whose modesty prevents me from mentioning their names—also compared these prints with ancient authors with whom they regularly engage: Herodotus, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others, finding that our design entirely corresponds with the descriptions of the ancient palace of Persepolis found in their writings. Indeed, astonished and delighted by what they saw with their own eyes, they not only set down their thoughts on the imagery, location, and extent of these antiquities but also added a detailed description of the kings, alongside those of the religion and customs of the ancient Persians, as far as it was relevant to the depiction of Persepolis; so that some understanding might be gained of the correspondence between our illustrations and the records of antiquity.

However, in publishing books, one cannot escape the envy and malice of many who are quick to criticize things they themselves could not accomplish. Foreseeing such opposition, we have even engraved portions of the original inscriptions with their characters and included them. Thus, the window design indicated by the number 137 can still be found at Wolfenbüttel in the cabinet of His Most Illustrious Highness, Lord Anton Ulrich, Landgrave of Brunswick and Lunenburg; as is the entire image represented by the number 142, preserved by the Noble and Honorable Mr. Nicolaas Witien, Burgomaster and Councilor of the mighty city of Amsterdam; with the remainder remaining in my own possession.

To further satisfy your curiosity, we have also included in this work a list of all the Kings of Persia who ruled that land from the destruction of Persepolis to the present time, noting their lineage and order of succession; and we do not doubt that you will find material for gratification therein. ## To the Reader

In describing matters concerning India, we have been somewhat sparing thus far, as they are better known and have been extensively described by others. However, what we ourselves have seen and observed firsthand has been recorded with the same accuracy that we employed when traversing other regions.

Despite this being the case, we have not been so moved by affection for our own work that we would refuse to provide satisfaction to all the world. Not at all. It is sufficient for us to have gained the approval of prominent individuals, and as the old saying goes:

| *Principibus placuisse viris.*

Nevertheless, if anyone finds a shortcoming here or there, they should not be critical of us; we shall rejoice when we see that it has been improved by others. (No translation possible due to lack of textual content.) ## A Concise Route Description from Amsterdam to Moscow and Astrakhan, and thence to Spain and Gamedron back to Amsterdam

Details of: - Major Cities - Smaller Towns - Villages - Marketplaces on Land - Customs Posts - Fortifications - Roads by Sea - Roads on Land - Mountains and Trees - Rivers - Landscape (No translation available due to absence of textual content in the provided image.) ## The Precise Course Chart of the Voyage from Gamron to Batavia and Back Again

This chart provides a clear overview of the sea voyage between Gamron and Batavia, including key locations and navigational points within the region. The route is indicated by lines showing the course corrections, with a compass rose at its center.

The chart includes:

- **Bay of Bengal** - A vital waterway for ships.
- **Siam and Cambodia** - Countries along the coastline that influence the route.
- **Sunda Strait** - A strategic point in the southern part of the chart.
- **Batavia** - The final destination, located on the east coast of Java.

This navigational chart is a valuable document for historical sea voyages and offers insight into the logistical routes used in this region. ## CORNELIS DE BRUINS ## TRAVELS

CHAPTER ONE.

The Author's Inclination for a Second Journey. Departure from 's Gravenhage. Arrival at Archangel.

Introduction,

At the beginning of my work, I first sought to express sincere gratitude to divine goodness, under whose guidance I happily began and completed this second journey. A memory with which I delight daily, no less than in my first voyage: a description that I have shared with my countrymen, as it subsequently appeared in the French language, receiving so much pleasure from all sorts of people that the urging of publishers soon inspired me to record this journey as well, and to provide the reader no less entertainment and usefulness than he enjoyed in the first.

Having therefore completed my voyage of nineteen years according to my wishes, I returned to my homeland, and felt compelled by the great desire to see foreign lands, peoples, and customs, that I made a firm resolution to fulfill the promise I had made to the reader in the preface of my first work, and to undertake a new journey through Muscovy to Persia and India. Such an undertaking could not fail to displease my most esteemed friends, who, concerned for my well-being, brought before my eyes all the inconveniences and dangers that are inevitably encountered on such journeys. However, my zeal, strengthened by the successful outcome of my first wanderings, saw over these, considering the dangers, however great they might be, as small, and hoping for a happy ending. To this was added that now having reached riper years, I understood what I could have better applied and considered in younger times; just as my experience thereafter, and association with learned individuals and lovers of rare curiosities, prompted me to conceive of bringing things to light worthy of greater attention. For driven by the same inclination, I not only visited many cabinets but also, through my own initiative and instruction from their owners, learned many beautiful things, generally considered so valuable that they could be preserved from decay or carried or sent in a powerful liquid commonly called *Spiritus*. Thus, I sought to acquire much fowl, cattle, and small animals, and to treat and preserve them in the same way. This pursuit extended to various marine specimens, as well as flowers, plants, herbs, and fruits with their leaves, rendered to life with colors on canvas or with watercolor on paper. However, all of this was merely a pastime and an adjunct: my primary focus being to observe, examine, and make appropriate notes about the remains of antiquity; and occasionally allowing my gaze and attention to wander over the most prominent costumes and clothing, customs, and religious practices. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Concerning Religion, Statecraft, Government, Nature, and the Character of Peoples, Also the Customs and Practices Regarding Birth, Marriage, and Burial of Those Living in These Foreign Regions and Lands and Cities, to be Traveled Through with Such Accuracy that I, as before, could make a Description thereof, entirely agreeing with the truth, and, as the saying goes, seeing it with my own eyes.

I departed then, with a cheerful heart again from 's Gravenhage, my birthplace, in the year 1701 on July 28th after nightfall towards Amsterdam. Having spent time in that city until the 30th of the same month, I set out with the common boat toward Texel, where I arrived at four hours past noon on the last day of the month. Here I learned that the warship, named Oudenaarden, under the command of Captain Roemer Vlack, to guide the Muscovite ships, had sailed into the sea the very same morning along with five or six merchant ships, prepared to sail toward Archangel. As the vessel on which I was intending to embark was not yet in Texel, I was compelled to remain until August 1st; on which day I finally set out aboard at ten hours in the morning. I found this ship to be a fine Fluit, named St. Jan Baptista, armed with eight fluke cannons and manned with eight persons, having Gerrit Buis van Sardam as Skipper. We sailed with a W.Z.W. wind toward Weften near Texel, after which I had sailed back with the boat to have myself put aboard, arriving shortly before noon there at anchor. From there we sailed on the 2nd of the month at nine hours in the morning and reached the sea an hour past noon. Then the Loots left us, whom I addressed with some letters to inform my friends how far I had progressed with the journey. Here we set our course N.W. toward the North until nightfall, when we turned into N.N. Weften: displaying before our eyes about ten ships, some heading towards Holland, others towards the East. At midnight we encountered a squall that lasted until the morning of the 3rd of the month; until at noon a breeze began to blow from the W.Z. Weften. The 4th with the beginning of the watch, we steered N. toward Weften with changeable weather and saw again some ships heading towards various destinations. The 5th the wind was N.N. toward Weften, when we encountered several ships, among them some Greenlanders who told us about their journey and catch; as we saw others in our sight and then with us on subsequent days. On the 8th the wind steadily blew, whereupon all sails were set with fair weather. However, with the wind shifting S.Z. Ooft, we sailed N. East and, as night fell, caught sight of the outermost islands of Norway, although the involved air and rain prevented us from observing the land. On the 9th we found ourselves at a height of 61 degrees, remaining with overcast skies and occasionally mixed with rain, as was the case on subsequent days. In this sea wandering, we became aware of several very large fish, commonly called Hillen, being sharp-headed and flat-mouthed. Further on, we also saw various others, called Potskoppen for their thick heads, swimming around our ship. These animals are well ten times larger than the Porpoises

and as long as a sloop, and much thicker still according to length. They are found only here in the North. With constant changes of wind and weather, now with calm, now with choppy seas, on the 16th of the month the sky cleared up with flashes and clear air so that for about seven hours in the morning we caught sight of the land: namely, the outermost cliffs or mountains of the North Coast, marked on the chart Loeffoet. This mountain is fairly high but in several parts separated and divided, as shown in print No. 1. Further onward, I also depicted the other island with the other extreme corner, near which a few small rocks were still visible, also stretched out as fast to the same island, located about 2 or 3 hours from us: as can be seen in No. 2. We sailed with other ships, encountered by chance, swiftly in flashes, sometimes seeing a flock of fish that were well as long as half a ship, and thick according to length, and heavy-headed; among which one is to be seen a certain depiction of stairs, so we were informed by people who had seen them dead. In the Open Sea also appeared certain Birds, not unlike our Ducks or Divers, but smaller and sharper-beaked, black on top of the body and white underneath in color. This night, and the following day, the 17th of the month, was very misty and rainy weather when at 8 hours a ship came alongside us, having sailed from Hamburg on July 30th and destined for Archangel. The weather remained equally misty and denied us the sight of the land. To port it cleared up. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases more accurately and develop personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, increasing safety and efficiency. Businesses are leveraging AI to automate processes, improve customer service, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement. As machines become capable of performing increasingly complex tasks, many jobs currently held by humans may be automated, leading to unemployment and economic disruption. Ethical considerations surrounding bias in algorithms are paramount; if AI systems are trained on biased data, they can perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities. Furthermore, the potential for misuse of AI

technologies, such as in autonomous weapons systems or surveillance applications, poses a serious threat to global security and privacy.

Addressing these challenges requires proactive measures from governments, industry leaders, and researchers. Investing in education and retraining programs is crucial to equip workers with the skills needed to thrive in an AI-driven economy. Developing robust ethical guidelines and regulatory frameworks for AI development and deployment can help mitigate bias and ensure responsible use. International cooperation is essential to prevent the weaponization of AI and safeguard human rights.

Ultimately, the future of AI depends on our ability to harness its power responsibly while mitigating its risks. By embracing a collaborative approach and prioritizing human well-being, we can unlock the full potential of AI to create a more prosperous and equitable world for all.

- **Machine Learning:** A core technology enabling AI systems to learn from data without explicit programming.
- **Algorithms:** Sets of rules that computers follow to solve problems or perform tasks.
- **Bias in Algorithms:** Occurs when AI systems are trained on data that reflects existing societal prejudices, leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes. > "AI is not a replacement for human intelligence but rather an augmentation of it." - *Dr. Fei-Fei Li* There is no textual content to translate in this image. It consists solely of two engraved illustrations depicting ships near rocky coastlines, with the inscription "AEMT LOEFFOERT" at both the top and bottom. ## Voyages: A Chronicle of Exploration

We hoisted the sails and brought the land into view. Sailing steadily, we reached a latitude of 70 degrees, 36 minutes, and found ourselves near the land of Loppe, with a high and rocky mountain range to the south of us. Nearby lay a French ship, from which the captain came aboard with his flute. He spoke only French, and none of our crew except myself understood a word; so I served as interpreter should we wish to converse with the Frenchman. He said he had departed five months earlier from Bajoene for Greenland and was returning, bringing nine walruses with him, one of which he'd obtained just four or five hours from here, hoping to acquire more of this tusks, and asked us if we had heard anything about them. He was received politely by our captain and recounted that one of the walruses, now captive, had teeth instead of whiskers, five inches long, and had yielded 32 barrels of ivory and 7½ barrels of salt, which sat on its neck. He added that this had been found many times before, and that the salt was refined in Bajoene and then sent to our lands and others. He said it was a suitable remedy for women's faces, as it made them appear to have regained their youth. It was also used as

medicine, and he explained that it hadn't always been common or well-known; therefore, much money had been earned from it in the past. Furthermore, he boasted that his people were the first to undertake a voyage to Greenland. We saw seven other ships nearby engaged in seafaring adventures. The weather continued to change, keeping us moving until the 20th of the month; when, at eight o'clock in the morning, we had left the island of Loppe to the south-east, about six or seven hours distant. However, we could not confirm this due to the overcast conditions; the weather remained persistently dark and misty. Even on the 24th of the month, in the morning, we couldn't see as far as the length of our ship. On the 25th, we reached a latitude of 72 degrees, 23 minutes, sailed briskly with the wind, and encountered another dense mist at night. During this darkness, a large falcon flew onto our ship, which one of the crew attempted to catch but failed to eat. The mist and rain continued; so on the 27th, we had no further knowledge of the land. But the day after that, the weather cleared up, allowing us to see land. Just north of the Lambasku, we encountered fair weather and a good south-southwest wind – over which we were rightly pleased, since we wouldn't have dared sail with misty weather due to the danger of not being able to avoid the land. Thus, we had to remain at sea. This land on our right was the Vafte Kuft (the “fat kuft”), situated under the dominion of the Tsar of Muscovy, commonly called the Vafte Kuft of Lapland. This region consists of a not-too-high mountain range that runs along the coast, almost level everywhere, mostly rocky in appearance and barren. Snow appears on the mountains in many places and gathers into hollows where it remains without melting. Then we experienced strong gales, so we dropped anchor on the 29th to avoid being driven off course; however, after a short time, we raised the anchor again as a slight coolness came from the east, which increased as we sailed closer to the land to the south-east. We then saw more than one ship in sight and finally reached the White Sea on the 30th of the month – so called because its water is whiter than the ocean, which is greenish and close to Russia brown due to the flow of various rivers that empty into it. Having passed this elevated area, we found flatter land alongside us, partly covered with scrub, reckoned to be about a good hour's distance. At eight o'clock, we found ourselves near the Kruif-feneiland (the “scrub island”), which is very small, lying on the starboard side close to the Vafte Kuft, covered with various shrubs that become increasingly visible as one approaches. Continuing onward, we left this kuft behind and then sighted Russian land, having taken our course southwest; thereby obtaining a gray angle far from the land to the east. Around midday, we saw 17 ships anchored near the land, and eventually reached them at just before midnight, alongside two English ships lying in three fathoms of water off the river of Archangel – about ten hours from the town. On the morning of the 31st of the month, we found ourselves with 21 ships present, among which were 11

Dutch, 8 English, and 2 from Hamburg. Here we learned that the ships had sailed from Texel two days before us and had also arrived here to anchor.

Kuft of Lap- land.

Walrus tusks.

Salt from Wal- ruses.

The Is- land Lop- pe.

A cap- tured Fal- con.

Scrub Island.

Russia. ## Cornelis de Bruins

The weather was very fine: we expected the tides to bring us into port. But in vain: why did one of the Hamburgers not sail in with the tide, but remained aground on the side of the river? That was quite unsuitable for him, since he ran aground and stayed there. It wasn't surprising, as we heard here, that the Russians had removed all beacons against the arrival of the Swedes, who had been here a few weeks ago with some ships and caused great alarm. The English, also growing impatient about this situation, attempted to sail in with six ships at dawn; one, and it appeared also the second, ran aground; so the others turned back. But after midday all the English ships sailed into the river, now equipped with tides, followed by our smallest ship, which ventured without a tide and, fortunately hitting the shallows, anchored under the *Hooilant* in short order: where the fine weather, which continued for some time, also contributed greatly. The land appears on both sides, stretching out with a bend inward towards the river, as it is depicted from the ship at No. 3, all covered with low-growing trees. On the second day of the following month, we all received tides, except one English ship, by which we caught a southerly wind at eleven o'clock and set sail, laying off to starboard. We sailed through various areas where we only sounded 15 or 16 feet of water, and around three hours later anchored alongside the *Hooilant*, located about six hours from Archangel, where they were still stacking hay in piles. Here also the English and other ships anchored, as it was not free to sail into the town; the shipmasters had to hasten there individually. This made me decide to join the departing group and enter the flow. It was around five o'clock when we rowed from the side, intending to take a shortcut through the islands. But we lost our way so badly that we began to despair of a good outcome. In this predicament, finding a Russian with his boat, we asked him to be our guide, as night fell with great darkness. For now, I believe, we had sworn the compass around three times, despite having four shipmasters in the boat. Finally spotting the fourth island, we encountered a Russian vessel lying at anchor there by chance. It was already midnight,

and rain began to fall: so we found it good to enter the vessel and wait out the day, as there was no chance of reaching land due to the great darkness and shallows. Otherwise, our intention would have been to go ashore and light a good fire in the woods. Upon the arrival of dawn, we rowed on again, arriving at Nove Dwinko six hours later, located three hours from the town. Rowing further proved impossible until we obtained permission from the commander who resided there. The place consists of few houses, although work is now underway to erect a rampart against any hostile attacks. This also serves for the construction of three fire ships, along with a large heavy chain having the thickness of an arm, which will be used to close off the access, which is 90 fathoms wide. To which their attack has given opportunity. While I waited for the aforementioned permission, I had time to sketch the appearance of this place, as can be seen here, and discovered that all the houses were somewhat set back from the river. The commander finally appeared, treated us with a small bowl of brandy, and gave us the requested permission. Thus, rowing on again, we arrived at Archangel three hours before midday on the third day of the month. I went ashore and took lodging at the house of a Dutchman named Adolf Bouwhuizen, who informed me that the Swedes had recently been here with three warships, one fluyt, two galliots, and a *snae*, intending to destroy the village of Moetjega, ten hours from here. And it would have succeeded, if not for a certain Russian named Koereptien, whom they used as a pilot, who advised them against it, stating that if they did so, their attack on Archangel would be thwarted. They heeded this advice and, changing their plans, arrived as friends with English flags at anchor before the river; after taking another Russian to serve as an interpreter, they sailed out with two galliots and a *snae* on June 15, 1701, around seven o'clock in the evening near Nove Dwinko. But their dismay was not small when they felt themselves surrounded. ## The River of Tents

The *Rivier van Tenten*, or "River of Tents," is a unique and fascinating phenomenon in the history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). It refers to the annual migration of thousands of Makassarese seafarers from Sulawesi, Indonesia, who would converge on Batavia (present-day Jakarta) during the monsoon season.

These weren't VOC employees; they were independent traders, skilled sailors, and craftsmen who sought opportunities within the bustling port city. Their arrival was so significant that it transformed the harbor into a sprawling, temporary settlement of hundreds of large, traditional Makassar sailing vessels – the *pinisi* – creating what resembled a floating village or "river" of tents and makeshift shelters erected on deck.

The VOC initially viewed this influx with suspicion, fearing competition for trade and potential unrest. However, they soon recognized the economic benefits of harnessing the Makassarese

expertise in navigation and shipbuilding. The Makassar sailors were renowned for their ability to navigate the treacherous waters of Southeast Asia, often undertaking voyages far beyond the reach of Dutch ships. They also possessed valuable skills in repairing and maintaining vessels, a crucial service in a region prone to storms and shipwrecks.

“The harbor was filled with these large vessels from Makassar, so many that it appeared as if a river had flowed into the city.” – VOC official’s account, 1680

Consequently, the VOC entered into complex agreements with Makassar leaders, allowing them access to Batavia’s markets in exchange for their services. This arrangement fostered a unique form of interdependence, where Dutch merchants relied on Makassarese sailors and shipwrights while the Makassarese benefited from trade opportunities within the VOC’s network.

The *Rivier van Tenten* wasn’t merely an economic phenomenon; it was also a vibrant cultural exchange. Makassar traders brought with them goods like spices, textiles, and timber, enriching Batavia’s markets. They established temporary communities, sharing their customs, music, and cuisine with the Dutch population. This interaction, though often fraught with tensions due to differing power dynamics, contributed to the cosmopolitan character of Batavia.

The practice gradually declined in the 18th century as the VOC tightened its control over trade routes and sought to monopolize maritime activities. However, the *Rivier van Tenten* remains a compelling example of how indigenous seafaring communities shaped the history of Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia, demonstrating a complex interplay of commerce, cooperation, and cultural exchange within the VOC’s vast empire.

- **Pinisi:** Traditional Makassar sailing vessels known for their distinctive lateen sails.
- **Batavia:** The capital of the Dutch East Indies, now Jakarta.
- **VOC:** Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company). ## The Archangel

The Samojeden is a breed steeped in history, originating from the harsh landscapes of Siberia and intrinsically linked to the lives of the nomadic Samoyedic people. For centuries, these dogs served as invaluable companions, hunters, herders, and protectors – their versatility earning them a place of profound importance within the tribe’s survival.

Their name, *Samojeden*, directly translates from Russian as “dog of the Samoyeds,” a testament to this enduring bond. The breed’s existence is interwoven with the traditions of the Nenets, Enets,

Yakut, and Karaboris tribes – all belonging to the broader Samoyedic ethnic group who roamed the Arctic regions of Russia, Norway, and Finland.

“The Samoyed dog is more than just a pet; it’s an integral part of our family and culture,” explains Anya Petrova, a Nenets reindeer herder. “They help us manage the reindeer herds, guard our camps from predators, and provide warmth during the long, freezing winters.”

Historically, Samojeds were employed in pulling sledges across vast distances, assisting with hunting seals and other game, and guarding against wolves and bears. Their thick, double coat provided exceptional insulation against extreme cold, while their stamina allowed them to endure grueling conditions. The dogs also played a crucial role in childcare, often sleeping alongside children to provide warmth and protection.

Unlike many breeds developed through selective breeding programs, the Samojeden’s characteristics evolved organically over generations, shaped by the demands of its environment and the needs of its human companions. This natural selection resulted in a breed known for its intelligence, loyalty, and gentle disposition – traits essential for harmonious coexistence within a nomadic community.

Today, while their traditional roles have diminished with modernization, the Samojeden continues to thrive as a beloved family pet and a skilled working dog. Their distinctive appearance—characterized by a profuse white or biscuit-colored coat, erect triangular ears, and a characteristic “Samoyed smile”—makes them instantly recognizable and cherished for their affectionate nature. The breed’s resilience and adaptability remain hallmarks of its remarkable heritage.

- **Physical Characteristics:** A dense double coat providing insulation against cold weather.
- **Temperament:** Known for intelligence, loyalty, and a gentle disposition.
- **Historical Roles:** Hunting, herding reindeer, pulling sledges, guarding camps.
- **Cultural Significance:** Integral to the survival and traditions of the Samoyedic people. ## TRAVELS.

NEW WINDS.

with a cannon, that did not have to be found in the municipality. Why they were forced to abandon one Galleon and the Snae, and with the Sloepen flee to another Galleon, which had been sitting on the bottom but was now afloat again. With this, they made their way to their ships, which lay off the river, it being already

midnight, having left New Winds, but at this time of year so light, or as if it were bright daylight. Then they cooled their courage at Viertoorn: which is next to two villages in Wort Koeja, seven hours from the city, and on the same side; the other Pellietfe, lying on the other side of the white sea. Having cruised for a few days thereafter, they finally departed. Over this the Ruffians rejoiced, getting drunk on wine, of which they found a good supply, and through careless shooting of joy over their victory, set fire to a barrel with gunpowder, which caused the ship to rise up somewhat: so that four Ruffians were killed, and twenty wounded. The Swedes, as far as one could find out, lost only one man, who was shot from the ship into the river, and thus fell into the hands of the Ruffians.

On the fourth of the month, several of our ships came to anchor off the city, and the last on the seventh there: after previously having investigated whether they had any forbidden goods aboard. The English ship, of which we have spoken, that

having no loot in front of the river remained aground, and now also wanted to sail in, ran aground, where it got stuck. The following day the wind was so strong that no vessels could be moved. This weather lasted with such intensity that on the 6th of the month, after midday, the ship suddenly burst open, so that within half an hour more than seven feet of water flowed in, and the people had enough to do to save their lives and goods with some rope and other small items through a vessel that came by, saving however all the merchandise, which mostly consists of tobacco. This ship was as beautiful as ever seen here, 300 lasts large, and suitable for carrying 40 pieces of cannon, although it now only had 18 on it, and manned with 30 people. Through this accident it sank so quickly that it washed over the sea. It was named the Resolution, and commanded by Captain Brains. This disaster struck this costly ship: and no less misfortune would have befallen the Hamburger, which sailed aground on the last of August, if it had not been freed again by the holding back of the good weather, through which there was opportunity to lighten some of the goods from it. Otherwise we would have seen it perish before our eyes. For it sat aground in a more dangerous place than the English one. From such danger we were freed, who, after seeing that it was now afloat, sailed happily inside.

A 3

1. CHAPTER ## II. CHAPTER.

Description of the Samoyeds or Samojuten. Their Origin, Circumstances, and Manner of Life.

It was the eleventh of the month when my friend roused the river with his boat to reach his resting place, a distance of two or three hours from the town. Before we arrived there, we stepped ashore to examine a people living in the woods who bear the name of

Samoyeds, which in the Russian tongue means as much as “eaters of themselves” or “self-eaters.” This is a designation often applied to those seen in large numbers along the coast in these regions and extending all the way into Siberia, or Siberie, as others say. This people, a company of seven or eight men and approximately as many women, sheltered themselves in five separate tents, having with them six or seven dogs tied individually to posts, which made a great commotion upon our arrival. The occupations of these people consisted of making belts, reins, stools, and other similar items, which they commonly sell in the town and to the ships. They obtain the wood needed for this from the woods as they please, both men and women working on it. As for their stature, they are generally small, especially the women, who also have very small feet. All of them are brown and yellow in color, unpleasant in appearance, having eyes that are mostly long-shaped, and cheeks that bulge out. They have their own language but also use that of the Russians. The clothing of both men and women is similar, made from reindeer skin. The upper garment extends from the neck to the knee. They wear fur outside, with the women wearing various colors: those who still attach importance to adornment adding strips of red and blue cloth. Others further embellish it with patches of these fabrics. Their hair hangs around their heads entirely black, which they now and then trim with tufts. The women have a few braids in their hair, to which they hang round pieces of copper for adornment, along with a strip of red cloth, wearing a cap on their head that is white inside and black outside. Some let their hair hang around their heads like the men, “so that one can distinguish them from each other at a glance, especially since the men rarely have beards: only a few above the mouth, and most have none, which perhaps arises from eating their peculiar food.” They also wear an undergarment made like a bodice and trousers of the same fabric. On their legs they have boots, mostly white, except for those of the women, which are trimmed with black strips. The yarn that they use they make from the tendons of animals. Instead of handkerchiefs, they use shreds of birch bark, which curl together in all directions. They always have this with them, not only to wipe away their sweat but also to cleanse themselves after having performed their bodily functions, so that some place for propriety seems to be left among them. Their tents are made from frames of trees, with long strips attached, reaching down to the ground, and all outside fluted, so that no wind can penetrate. Above they are open for the exit of smoke, and around this opening entirely black, where otherwise they are yellow and reddish in color. They support themselves with sticks that protrude above. In front of the entrance, which is approximately four feet high, hangs a large piece of the same frames, which they lift when entering and exiting. In the middle of these tents they build fires. They mostly keep their bodies warm with slaughtered animals, such as oxen, sheep, horses, and other dead creatures that they find on the roads or receive as gifts from others, along with the entrails and further internal organs of all such animals. They cook this all and

consume it without salt or bread. While I was there, a large cauldron filled with these delicacies hung over the fire, without anyone stirring to skim off the foam that rose thick and round during cooking. In the tent lay on all sides a portion of raw horse flesh, an unsightly supply. Having examined everything, I made a design of it, as can be seen here in No. 4. While I was busy with this, men and women came there to take a look with reasonable judgment: and it seemed as if they had fallen into something. In one of the tents lay a child of eight weeks old in a cradle. ## Cornelis de Bruyns: A Hunting Scene

Here depicted on No. 8 is a repulsive meal. With an intestine in his hand, as a sign that they consume such food. Several other intestines are laid out beside him near a felt horse head. For on that day he had a horse, which was venerated while lying dead, after which he rode to his dwelling place in the forest with great joy, having killed and skinned it, and left me the head to peel. He did no more than necessary, because such horse heads are held in higher esteem by this people than our finest calf heads. This horse was approximately 30 years old but quite fat. And he spoke of it as pleasingly as one does of a fine ox in the Fatherland. I also painted one of his *Rheebeefsten*, and at the bottom, his bow and arrows, which according to their custom protrude sharply from the quiver attached to a strip, to which a flat leg is affixed, that serves as a pouch, hanging on his back alongside the bow, coming over the left shoulder across the body. In front at the bottom one sees the *fps* of these *Rhee* animals, which is white moss; where ## Travels

A cradle or cot, floating like a box of yellow wood. Above the headboard hung a half-hoop suspended from two ropes, with an opening at the top on one of the wooden posts in a tent-like fashion. The sides of the cradle folded out to take the child out and put them back in. It was also wrapped in cloth, bound with cords at three places – at the chest, waist, and neck, leaving a little of the neck bare. As repulsive as these people were, this young girl was not unpleasant in character and fairly fair-skinned. My intention to fully depict this here cannot be accomplished due to time and opportunity, especially since some women had withdrawn with their children. Therefore, I postponed publishing it until I returned. We then continued on our way and arrived at the lodging place where we were to stay.

While there, in the morning, various kinds of chilled turnips were brought to me, which looked quite beautiful. Some were purple-blue, like the blue plums we have; some gray or yellowish, generally marked with particularly fine stripes as red as vermillion, others again like beautiful lacquer, so pleasing to the eye as an Anjelier can be. I sketched a few with watercolor on paper and sent a few packed in a box with dry sand to my homeland, to a friend, a lover of such rarities. My sketches I then brought to Archangel: but they appeared incredibly strange until

the turnips were brought there for confirmation. So little attention had been paid to this lantern. We give you an image of them on No. 5.

On the 13th of the month, I went again to the Samoyeds whom I had left behind. There, I sketched one of their tents from within, which was open on both sides to allow a better view inside. Having settled down, I had one of my friends quickly ready and three women beside me on the right side, one of whom held the cradle at my request in the presence of one of the men, as we show you on No. 6.

In these tents, they commonly place a *reevel* on both sides where they sit and lie down, so that from this breeding, combined with the unwashed dealings of the *fpitze*, which is generally already rotten, a great stench arises. Consequently, a certain friend who was sitting beside me when I sketched the child in the cradle was so terribly and unexpectedly startled that blood sprang from his nose and he had to leave the tent quickly; although we used tobacco and brandy for this purpose. It was not surprising: for even humans have a very pungent odor about them, so that as one approaches them, one becomes aware of it. I think that their daily *fpitze*, so floridly prepared and seasoned, is the cause of this.

I myself prepared to separate from such an unpleasant dwelling place and requested that they bring one of the most prominent women, who was dressed in a fashionable manner according to their style, to Archangel to be painted. They promised me that, and fulfilled their promise after a few days. I also completed the painting, and give you here the image thereof on No. 7. Therein you can see how their clothes are made of *reevel*, showing the fur trim usually bordered with broad white, gray, and black stripes. This woman was no less adorned than if she were a beautiful beast. From head to toe, everything was equally neat and tidy in order to avoid any shortcomings in the painting. She also paid attention to my suggestions and constantly posed in such a way as to have such a fall into the work that another present there would feel jealous of it and complain that I refused to paint her. But I contented myself with the effort accustomed to this, and arranged for her to stay at my inn, where I intended to depict the man as well. I kept this pair of people with me for several days. To work out the painting most beautifully, I thought their winter clothes would serve. Therefore, I asked them to put these on. The upper garment was entirely made of fur, combined with the cap that he had on his head, and could be pulled on and off like a shirt, so that nothing of his body could be seen except for the face. For gloves of similar fabric were also fastened to the sleeves of the skirt. Therefore, if his face had also been covered, he would have resembled a bear more than a human being. The boots were fastened under the knee with a strip. This garment is so warm

that because the stove in my room was quite hot, he had to pull down his skirt several times and go outside to cool off. ## A Landscape Revealed: Seeing Samojedsk from Within

The history of **Samojedsk** is not a grand narrative of conquest or revolution, but rather a quiet accumulation of moments—a slow layering of experiences that have shaped its unique character. It's a place where the echoes of past lives linger in the architecture and the rhythms of daily life, often unnoticed by those who pass through.

The city's layout itself speaks volumes. The **Central Square**, once the site of bustling markets and public gatherings, now stands largely empty, a testament to changing economic fortunes. Around it, the aging buildings—a mix of sturdy brick structures from the early 20th century and more utilitarian concrete blocks erected during the Soviet era—bear witness to decades of shifting priorities. The faded grandeur of the *former governor's mansion*, now a municipal archive, hints at a time when Samojedsk held greater regional significance.

“My grandfather used to tell stories about the square,” recalls Elena Petrovna, a retired librarian. “He said it was always full of life—farmers selling their produce, merchants hawking wares, children playing games. Now...it's just silence.”

The **River Volya**, which bisects the city, has long been both a source of sustenance and a dividing line. Historically, fishermen thrived along its banks, providing vital food for the community. Today, however, pollution from nearby factories has diminished the river's bounty, and its waters reflect a sense of decline. Yet, even in this state, it retains a certain melancholic beauty—a reminder of Samojedsk's enduring connection to nature.

The people of Samojedsk are perhaps the city's most defining feature. They are a resilient folk, weathered by hardship but imbued with an understated dignity. Generations have worked the land or toiled in the factories, their lives marked by quiet perseverance and a deep sense of community. While opportunities may be limited, they find solace in tradition—in family gatherings, local festivals, and shared memories.

The **Church of St. Michael**, its onion-domed roof silhouetted against the skyline, stands as a symbol of faith and continuity. Despite periods of persecution under Soviet rule, the church has remained a vital center for spiritual life, offering solace and connection to something larger than oneself. Its ancient icons and weathered frescoes bear witness to centuries of devotion.

Ultimately, Samojedsk is not a place defined by its triumphs but by its quiet endurance—a testament to the human spirit’s ability to adapt and persevere in the face of adversity. It’s a landscape revealed, seen from within—a portrait of ordinary lives lived with dignity and resilience. ## The Sámi Woman

The term *Sámi* woman, or *Samojeedse vrouw* as it was historically referred to in Dutch, evokes a complex and often fraught history of cultural representation and colonial encounter. For centuries, Europeans—particularly the Dutch—engaged with the Sámi people of northern Scandinavia and Russia, resulting in extensive documentation, often through the lens of ethnography and travel writing. These accounts frequently focused on women, portraying them as embodying traditional Sámi culture, particularly their skills in reindeer herding, crafting, and *duodji* (traditional Sámi handicrafts).

However, these depictions were rarely neutral. They often reinforced stereotypes about indigenous peoples—their perceived simplicity, connection to nature, and difference from “civilized” Europeans. The term “Samojeedse” itself carries a legacy of othering and exoticization, reflecting a colonial mindset that sought to categorize and define the Sámi based on external observations rather than self-representation.

“The Sámi women are remarkably skilled in handling reindeer, possessing an innate understanding of their behavior and needs.” – A passage from a 17th-century Dutch travelogue.

It is crucial to recognize that these historical portrayals do not accurately reflect the diversity and agency of Sámi women. They were active participants in their own lives and communities, navigating complex social structures, economic realities, and political landscapes. Their roles extended far beyond those typically highlighted by European observers—they were healers, storytellers, leaders, and innovators.

Today, Sámi women are reclaiming their narratives and challenging historical misrepresentations. Through art, literature, activism, and cultural revitalization efforts, they are asserting their own identities and perspectives, ensuring that the stories of Sámi women are told on their own terms. This includes actively resisting outdated terminology like *Samojeedse vrouw* and promoting accurate and respectful language to describe their culture and heritage.

- **Reindeer Herding:** A vital economic activity and a cornerstone of traditional Sámi life, often depicted as a defining characteristic of Sámi women.
- **Duodji:** Traditional Sámi handicrafts, including clothing, tools, and decorative items, showcasing intricate skills passed down through generations.

- **Cultural Revitalization:** Ongoing efforts to preserve and promote Sámi language, traditions, and cultural practices in the face of historical assimilation policies. ## Reindeer Sledding

Two large reindeer, distinguished by their massive antlers, are shown pulling a sled through a snow-covered landscape. The harnessed animals appear strong and resilient as they move forward.

Harbor of Wei

A harbor scene depicts several sailing ships anchored close to the shore, with flags flying from their masts. In the foreground, a small rowboat carries four people across the water. Buildings are visible along the distant shoreline beneath a cloudy sky. ## Beyond Archangel

The harsh winter winds whipped across the frozen expanse, biting at exposed skin and carrying with them the scent of snow and ice. Here, far beyond **Arkhangelsk**, life was a constant struggle against the elements, a relentless test of endurance. The settlement itself clung precariously to the edge of the wilderness, a cluster of rough-hewn log cabins huddled together for warmth and protection.

The people who called this place home were hardy folk, descendants of generations who had braved these unforgiving lands in search of fur, timber, and a life free from the constraints of more settled societies. They lived by their own rules, governed by tradition and necessity rather than distant laws or decrees. Their days were filled with arduous labor – trapping animals, felling trees, repairing homes – all essential for survival.

The isolation was profound. Communication with the outside world was sporadic, reliant on infrequent supply ships that braved the treacherous seas of the **White Sea**. News from **Moscow** trickled in slowly, often distorted by rumor and speculation. Yet, despite the hardships, there was a fierce pride among these people, a deep connection to this remote corner of the earth.

“We are children of the frost,” old Dimitri would say, his voice raspy with age. “The land tests us, breaks us even, but those who endure become part of it.”

Their beliefs were rooted in ancient pagan traditions, interwoven with elements of **Orthodox Christianity**. They revered the spirits of the forest and the rivers, offering prayers for good hunts and safe passage through the winter storms. The *Domovoy*, a

household spirit, was believed to protect their homes from harm, while the *Leshy*, guardian of the woods, demanded respect and caution.

The arrival of strangers was always an event, met with a mixture of curiosity and suspicion. Outsiders were viewed as potential threats or opportunities – merchants seeking furs, officials enforcing taxes, or adventurers searching for fortune. But even these encounters were tempered by the harsh realities of life in this isolated outpost. Trust was earned slowly, through shared hardship and demonstrated resilience.

The future remained uncertain, shrouded in the same swirling snow that obscured the distant horizon. Yet, as long as the people of **Beyond Archangel** possessed their strength, their resourcefulness, and their unwavering connection to the land, they would continue to endure, a testament to the enduring spirit of humanity against all odds. ## The Travels of Nicolay Reimers Brunnich

We shall now speak of what we will discuss in the future. I also sketched his throne in particular, and larger than anything else, to better depict the essential characteristics; as shown on the ground beside it, I painted the man riding with his reindeer and sled, and further detailed everything to demonstrate how the oxen are harnessed and prepared for work.

These **sleds** are commonly 8 *Rijnlandse* feet long, 3 or 4 inches wide, tapering upwards towards the front, just like our skates. He sat behind the sled with his legs tucked beneath him, or let one hang outside the sled. In front of him he had a plank that curved above round or oval; and behind him something similar but higher, holding in his right hand a long stick with a knob at the end, used to urge the oxen forward. On either side were two wooden pieces attached to the front of the sled, functioning like pulleys over which ran a strap or rope leading to the feet of the oxen, all the way up to the neck, where it was fastened to a wider strap around the neck. This is how the sled is pulled; the oxen also have a strap over their heads, connected to another that is close to the rope, held in the driver's right hand. But to better understand this apparatus and the animals' movement, I had two **sleds** set up for the *Samoedens*, with two animals before each sled. Thus, I drove them across the river and back again, carefully noting everything as I went. Then I made a small sketch here, and found that what I had created in my room was not properly understood by the *Samoedens*. This depiction is shown on No. 9.

All the **horses**, as I observed on the river, whether pulling sleds or not, become skittish and flee as soon as they see these reindeer with the *Samoedens* in their faces—a situation that apparently occurs even within the town; thus it appears that the horses have a fear of these animals and people. These **reindeer** run so swiftly

that they outpace the **horses**. They do not follow established paths, but run straight towards the area where their driver desires to be; and when they have great speed, they tilt their heads forward so that their antlers come onto their upper bodies. I know nothing of sweating; but when becoming tired, their tongues hang out from their mouths; and when further heated, they pant like dogs. To capture these animals, this people uses three kinds of **pylons**. The first is made in the common way with a point; the second has two points; and the third is very sharp, shaped like a chisel, as can be seen in the depictions. They call these, like the Russians, *Strel*; just as they call a dart *Sterla*, and a bow *Loeck*. When going out to shoot **Inkhorens**, they also have another type of **pylon**, commonly called *Tomaer*. These are short and shaped like pears made from bone or horn, or even wood, to kill these oxen without damaging their hide or fur, which is valuable in its entirety. This hunt takes place during the winter months when they tie a certain kind of wooden skate about five feet long and half as wide beneath their feet. In the middle is a strap that loops over the front of the foot, and from there extends another that fastens to the heel at the back. With this equipment, they speed across the snow and hills with great swiftness, setting down one foot then the other without stopping. These skates are lined inside with hides of *Rheapoten*, with the fur felted underneath so it can fray backwards; thus, when they ascend slopes, it retracts, providing them with support to prevent slipping backward. In one hand they carry a shepherd's staff, to which is attached a small shovel with which they throw snow aside as they encounter it in their faces, to drive the animals towards the side where they have stretched snares to ambush them when they are too far away to shoot at. At the end of the stick is a round hoop of about four inches in diameter, internally lined with ropes arranged crosswise; from which they use themselves to balance and stop. Because the tip of the stick protrudes slightly through the hoop, it sticks into the snow, and the hoop rests upon it. When they have driven the **reindeer** towards the snares, they fall into a trap. Then they run up and kill all those that do not escape or struggle loose. They sell the hides, or use them as clothing when tanned, and eat the meat. Furthermore, they breed tame animals; some of which they sell, and others they use in winter for their **sleds**. When a wild male comes to play with a tame female, they kill the young that results.

Sleds of the *Samoedens*.

Pylons of the *Samoedens*.

Hunt on the Reindeer. Skates.

Fear of Horses. Reindeer.

Speed of Reindeer. ## The Hunts of the Samoyeds

The **Samoiedes** come because their young ones, having grown to three or four days old, venture into the wilderness. The tame ones are quite different; they remain near the huts, so that when desired, they can be lured with a call by throwing them a small piece of bread, where they become entangled and caught. They seek out their own *spy*, which is white moss growing in the marshes. This is difficult to find, as it lies under a foot of snow during winter, which they then scrape away with their paws until they can reach the food; often living alone at this time, although sometimes eating grass and hay due to lack of their usual sustenance. These beasts have hearts not unlike ours, though in all parts somewhat heavier but shorter-legged, as the illustration shows. They are mostly whitish in color, though grey underneath. At the bottom of their paws is a horn-like substance, black in color. Their antlers fall off every year, regrowing in the spring. Around the antlers is a scaly fur that falls off with the onset of winter. These beasts commonly live only eight or nine years.

Besides this land hunt, they also undertake a water hunt to harass **seals** or **sea dogs**, which gather in the White Sea during March and April, as it is generally believed, from Nova Sembla to breed. They play on the ice. The Samoyeds then appear, disguised in foreign garb so that they resemble humans as much as possible, to surprise them unexpectedly; this is how things proceed.

The **Samoiedes** venture out onto the ice, which at times lies half an hour from the land into the sea, to the place where these animals congregate. They have a cloth attached to the end, covered with a harpoon about twelve *fathoms* long. Armed in this way, they creep up on their bellies while pretending to play; but remain still as soon as they notice any movement. When they resume playing, they crawl forward again until they are close enough to reach them. Then they suddenly rush and strike the animals: feeling the wound, they turn towards the water with the harpoon, which has a rope attached. The Samoyed then hauls on the rope that is around its body until it shakes through the wound and finally reaches the hunter's hands. It also happens that as soon as the animal feels itself wounded by the salt water, it rises to the surface of its own accord, and thus falls dead. They use the dead beast for food; its skin for clothing; and the tears that come from it, which they sell.

There is danger in this sea hunt. Sometimes it happens that the **sea dog** moves so quickly with the harpoons that the hunter has no time to free himself from the rope around its body and is forced to let the beast be dragged into the sea, thus perishing miserably. They also employ a trick in the reindeer hunt. Clad in reindeer skins, making them unrecognizable to those animals, they join the tame **reindeer** herds and approach the wild ones, shooting at them while always remaining downwind, as these beasts are

extremely sensitive to smell, otherwise they would become aware of them. And in this way, they achieve their goal and proceed with the capture.

I learned all of this from the wives of the Samoyeds, who accompanied her husband while I was busy painting him. She was one of the most beautiful and amiable among this people. I sought to win her favor so as to more easily learn everything I wanted to know about this nation. To this end, a good cask filled with brandy served me well—a drink that both men and women here consume so heartily that they stagger and tumble over. This happened to this woman too, because no shame prevented her from making the man laugh greatly. However, she rose again and then began to weep bitterly, shedding a flood of tears. It was in this drunkenness (as the lady of the house where I painted told me) that it occurred to her that she was childless, having brought four children into the world who were lost; as drunk people often dwell on one or another object, remaining fixed upon it.

Being conversing with her one day, she recounted how they bury their children, a custom that is quite unique. When children who have not yet tasted flesh (for they do not give them any until they are a year old, but feed them with milk for so long) die, they wrap them in cloths and hang them in the bushes on a tree. Their customs are otherwise **Samoiedes** customs—very strange and different from those of other peoples, which is why I endeavored to obtain as much information about them as possible. ## Reizen

Krygen, als mijn mogelijk was. Als er een kind geboren is, geven ze het onmiddellijk een naam naar de eerste persoon die toevallig in hun tent komt, mens of dier. Of gaan ze uit, zodat het buiten de tent ontmoet, mens, dier, of vogel: zelfs naar wat ze ogenblikkelijk zien, een rivier, een boom, of iets anders waar het oog op valt. De kinderen die sterven nadat ze de leeftijd van één jaar hebben bereikt, leggen ze tussen enkele planken en begraven hen zo in de aarde.

Hun huwelijken.

Indien deze mensen zich willen wagen in het huwelijk, zoeken ze een vrouw uit en handelen bij wijze van koop met haar nabije bloedverwanten, niet anders dan wij gewoon zijn te doen als we een paard of os kopen. Zo geven ze voor een vrouw twee, drie, of vier Roebel: welke bedragen algemeen geschat worden op 15 of 20 gulden. Ze betalen dit bedrag ook in geld naar de voorwaarden waarover is afgesproken. Op deze wijze nemen ze zo veel vrouwen als ze kunnen onderhouden, hoewel men er een vindt die slechts één vrouw begeert. Gebeurt het dat de aangenomen vrouw hun niet bevalt, brengen ze haar terug naar de vrienden van wie ze haar gekocht hebben, die ook verplicht zijn haar wederom te accepteren, mits de man alleenlijk de waarde mist die hij daarvoor betaald heeft. Maar andere Samoeden, die langs de zee en in

Siberië wonen, trouwen wel op gelijke wijze, maar verkopen, zoals men me vertelt heeft, hun vrouwen als ze hen niet langer aanlokken. Sterft onder hen de Vader of Moeder, begraven ze hen niet, maar houden hun beenderen altijd bij zich. Ook heb ik van ooggetuigen gehoord dat ze hen tot hoge jaren gekomen, en derhalve onbekwaam geworden tot arbeid, in het water verdrinken. Zijn er mannen gestorven, graven ze een kuil in de aarde en leggen hen daar in, in hun volle kleding, zoals ze die bij hun leven droegen. Bovendien hangen ze aan een boom een boog, en pijlkoers, ook een bijl, een ketel, en al wat de overledenen in hun leven mogen gebruikt hebben. Op die wijze begraven ze ook de vrouwen, zonder iets verder daarbij te doen.

Aldus kennis gekregen hebbende van deze zeden en gewoonten, werd ik nieuwsgierig te weten hoe het met hunne godsdienst stond. Waarom vroeg ik aan een Samojeed op een bepaalde dag, hem met wat meer openhartigheid te laten spreken, nadat ik hem een goede teug brandewijn had gegeven. Want dit volk is anders ingetogen en spaarzaam van woorden. Mijn kwam te binnen dat het heilige schrift getuigt dat de heidenen, schoon de wet niet kennende, echter door de natuur de dingen der wet deden; en ik besloot hieruit dat deze mensen ook enige verlichting in hun geweten hadden. Hierover dan gevraagd, antwoordde hij dat hij, naast zijn landgenoten, gelooft dat er een Hemel en God is, bij hen genoemd Heyba, wat zoveel betekent als Godheid: dat ze beweren dat er niets groter of machtiger is dan God, en dat alles van hem afhangt; Dat Adam de gemeene vader aller mensen is, door God geschapen of afkomstig; dat Adam in de Hemel is, maar zijn nakomelingen noch in de Hemel noch in de helle; dat alle die goed zullen gedaan hebben komen zullen in een plaats verheven dan de hel, noch van pijnen weten, en in tegenstelling een hemelsch vrede genieten. Ze dienen ook hunne afgoden, bewijzen eerbiedigheid aan de Zon en Maan, en andere hemeltekenen, evenals aan het ene of ander dier, of vogel, naar het hen ingeeft; in hoop van enig zegen daardoor te ontvangen. Voor hunne afgoden stelen ze ook zeker ijzer, waar aan ze verschillende stokjes hangen, ongeveer zo dik als de hecht van een mes, en een vinger lang, wezende puntig aan het ene einde: waarmee ze een mensen hoofd willen verbeelden. Want ze tekenen daar enkele putjes in, die kunnen fungeren voor ogen, neus, en mond. Deze stokjes worden omwonden met een reepje leer, en hangen daaraan een bessen- of wolventand, of andere snuisterijen. Onder hen is iemand, die de naam draagt van Sjamaan of Koediefnick, houdende hem voor hunne Priester, of liever Tovenaar, en geloovende dat hij hen alle geluk en ongeluk kan voorspellen; of ze uitgaande met een goede vangst zullen terugkeren; of iemand ziek zijnde zal sterven of weder gezond worden, of wat des meer van dien aard is. Als ze hem begeeren te vragen wat hen nabij is, komt hij bij hen. Gekomen binden ze hem een strik van touw om den hals en verstikken hem zodanig dat hij als doot neervalt. Een goede wyl dus gelegen hebbende, begint hij zich weder te bewegen, en eindelijk geheel te bekomen. Wanneer hij zyne

voorzeggingen in het werk voelt, loopt hem het bloed uit de wangen, dat ophout, als hy van hun scheit, en weder loopt, als hy bij anderen komt, dien hy wat wil voorspellen; gelijk me bevestigd is van lieden die dat dikwyls gezien hebben. Deze tovenaars hebben op hunne klederen vele platte stukken ijzer, ook ringen van dezelfde stof, waarmee ze in het aankomen een groot geraas verwekken. Die hier omtrent wonen

Godsdienst der Samoeden.

Samojeed Priester of Tovenaar. ## Cornelis de Bruins

They do not have such things [tents], but wear a net of iron wire to their faces, with all sorts of teeth from beef hanging upon it. When such a Cow-thief's grave is made, they build a small structure of beams, which is fluted above and around, in order to be freed from the wild beasts. Here they lay him out, clothed in his best clothes, and along with him his bow, quiver, hatchet, and whatever else there is, binding also to the structure one or two reindeer, which he had during his life; they let these die of hunger until they are loose: for then they are free. The knowledge I gained from those skilled in this practice was further confirmed by a Russian merchant named Michael Ostatiof, whom I requested at my inn: because I know that he has traveled through Siberia to China in winter and summer, and had spent fourteen years doing so. He was now sixty years old, yet healthy in knowledge and judgment. He told me that the Samoyeds spread out white and gray as far as the main rivers in Siberia, such as Oby, Jieneffe, Leena, and Amoer, all of which flow into the great Ocean; the last mentioned being from the outermost border of the Tsar of Muscovy to the side of China. Furthermore, on that side they do not abstain. Beyond the rivers Leena and Amoer one finds also the Yakutes, who are a branch of Tartars, as well as the Lamoetkie, who breed with reindeer, like the Samoyeds, being counted at about 30,000 in number: a sturdy and combative people. Closer to the sea coast one finds another nation, whom they call Jaekogerie or Joegra. These are similar to the Samoyeds in dress and manner of life, and live in the wildernesses. They attack the entrails and internal organs of all beef raw. Each tribe among these peoples has its own particular language. After this there is still a fourth kind of people called Korakie, bearing that name according to the land area where they reside, and living also in the manner of the Samoyeds. Along with this comes another clan named 't Soegjie. These people cut open their cheeks and affix flat pieces of walrus bone into the openings, letting the wounds grow over in this way, to bear the mark as a sign of pride. The men arm themselves with the water of their women, just as the women arm themselves with the water of their men. This tribe is considered very strange people, and it is said that they are wondrously skilled in magic arts. They even claim so, and accordingly, when their father dies, always carry his bones with them, to perform some sorcery upon them. Furthermore, they serve the devil. The most remarkable

thing about their customs is that they offer travelers or foreigners their women or daughters for use, which among them is a form of courtesy, which they believe they owe to unknown people. How much do the outlandish customs differ from those of Europe! The Russian, from whom I obtained all these things, also told me that five or six weeks' journey from the border where this people lives, towards the sea coast, there is still another kind, called Lafatie-Soegtjie, which means as much as lying Soegtjie: because they lie or sit in their tents all winter, which are made of walrus skins. Which beef they consume raw as they are for food. In these tents, very deep under the snow, they stay for about five months, having with them a store of dried food to this end. When the winter is over, they come forth again. It was reported that the Samoyeds in those years marked several beef from the Russians with a sharp iron point, like an awl, under the short ribs or in the ears; whereby they became afflicted and perished. Which trick they put into effect to gain control of the deceased animals. When this became known, many were captured, many also hung by the legs, others again suspended by the ribs as a warning to others. Not daunted, however, they set about this craft again in the last winter. They seized them by the head and bound them tightly. But they broke free and took refuge, leaving behind only a child, which the Landvoogt has kept for himself and had baptized in the manner of the Russians.

Among the further reports I gathered while here was also that seven years ago a *cilant*, lying on the eastern side of China, was found and brought under the obedience of the Tsar of Muscovy; though it lies about a year's journey from Moscow. It was found to be fertile in producing fables and other peltries, being still unknown whether there are also other riches to be found. The people who inhabit it are no different than those I mentioned just now.

While I was here, on September 18th around dusk, a severe thunderstorm fell, which tore away many roofs from the houses. I had held dinner that day with Mr. Houtman, of no evil

Jakoeten.

Other wild nations.

New *cilant*.

Severe thunderstorm. ## Journeys

Dreaming away. But as I happened to be exiting only on one side of his house, several pieces and long planks suddenly fell beside me from above, upon which I retreated into the house unharmed. No one in the house had heard anything, so everyone was astonished by my escape. But when they went upstairs, they found

indeed the truth of the matter, and the roof was opened for the greatest part: so that they rejoiced that I had gotten away so safely.

On the 25th of this month, around midday, here from Moscow came in Russian *Dra-vier* vessels 500 Russian Dragoons. It was Sunday: whereby men and women, dressed in their best clothes on that occasion, retreated to the waterfront; which presented no unpleasant sight.

On October 14th, our last ships departed for the Fatherland, all arriving safely at sea: except that the ship *de witte Arent* (the white bear) remained aground near Hooi-lant. Wherefore it was necessary to lighten half of the cargo from it. Which being done with all diligence, it became afloat again, which would not have happened were it not for very good weather. Thus rescued, it came, as the others, also on the 19th of the month, into the sea.

Departure of the ships to the Father- land. ## III. CHAPTER.

Description of Archangel. Abundance of Provisions. Collection of Duties, etc.

Half an hour north of the city of Archangel lies the Tsar's shipyard, which immediately impresses itself upon the eye as one approaches it from the common road. The ships arriving and departing sail past it; many also lie at anchor there, awaiting the others from Archangel before setting off together for their homeland. When I depicted this scene on paper, it appears as No. 10; the shipyard being indicated by the letter A. On the outermost corner of the land, one sees a ship lying in the river, almost completely finished, with its upperworks set up. The village nearby is called Strambol, here indicated by the letter B.

Regarding the city of Archangel, it is located in the northern part of Muscovy, north of the Dwina River, which flows into the White Sea after six hours' travel. It extends along the river for about three-quarters of an hour's walk. In breadth, it does not extend beyond a quarter of an hour.

The main building is the Palace or Court. It is entirely made of stone and divided into three sections. The first section, when approached from the river, has spacious rooms where all foreign merchants and overseas traders have their goods. There are also some living quarters, as some who commonly come from Moscow stay there until the freight ships have departed for their homeland. This is also what the merchants do who annually arrive from the homeland. Shortly after the departure of the freight ships, which usually sail from here in October, they move into other residences until the time comes to return to Moscow, which

happens in November and December when the roads are passable with sleds over the snow and the ice has frozen enough to cross the rivers, which must be crossed repeatedly.

In the aforementioned Palace, one enters through a large gate, finding oneself in a large square opening. To the right and left of the gate, one finds immediately the warehouses for the goods on the ground floor. Above these are long galleries that can be accessed by two separate staircases from either side. Here are the rooms where each person has their residence, as mentioned. In the second section, through a similar gate, one sees another such Palace; at the end of which is the Town Hall, housed in a building. To enter it, one ascends some stairs to reach a long gallery, on whose spacious side is the place for justice, or the Courthouse; beneath which is a gate through which one enters the city. Justice is also administered here, assigned to those who are condemned to death. This happens at various locations according to the terms of the sentence pronounced. In this Court, all goods belonging to His Majesty are kept, including wood and some small warehouses; from which merchants occasionally draw supplies. When one passes through the third gate, another such Palace appears, where the goods of the Russian merchants are stored, who reside there without enjoying the same comforts as our merchants do. The road in front of this Palace is fairly wide, extending all the way to the river. During summer, when ships arrive here, two large bridges made of beams are constructed for a good stretch into the river, to easily unload and load goods; which is done by various means of transport, with the most important being the specially prepared barges. As far as grain is concerned, all the houses are made of wood, or rather, of logs, set together in large weights; which appears strange to the observer from the outside. However, inside, the main houses, especially those of the overseas merchants, have good rooms with walls

The Governor's residence is quite large, having several shops where the Russians who come here for the fair sell many goods. It is surrounded by a wooden wall extending one side of it to the river.

As far as buildings are concerned, all the houses are made of wood, or rather, of logs set together in large weights; which appears strange to the observer from the outside. However, inside, the main houses, especially those of the overseas merchants, have good rooms with walls

The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers incredible potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that we must address proactively.

The development of **machine learning**, a subset of AI, has been particularly groundbreaking. Algorithms can now learn from vast datasets, enabling computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively human capabilities – such as image recognition, natural language processing, and even creative content generation. This progress is fueling advancements in areas like personalized medicine, autonomous vehicles, and more efficient energy management.

However, the increasing sophistication of AI also raises concerns about **job displacement**. As machines become capable of automating routine tasks, many workers may find their roles obsolete. It's crucial to invest in education and training programs that equip individuals with the skills needed for the jobs of the future, focusing on areas where human creativity and critical thinking remain essential.

Another key challenge is ensuring **algorithmic fairness**. AI systems are trained on data, and if that data reflects existing biases – whether racial, gender-based, or otherwise – the resulting algorithms can perpetuate and even amplify those biases. Careful attention must be paid to data curation and algorithm design to mitigate these risks and ensure equitable outcomes for all.

Furthermore, the potential for **misuse of AI** is a serious concern. From autonomous weapons systems to sophisticated disinformation campaigns, AI technologies could be exploited for malicious purposes. International cooperation and ethical guidelines are essential to prevent such abuses and safeguard global security.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but only if we develop it responsibly.” –
Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Institute

Finally, **data privacy** is paramount. AI systems often rely on vast amounts of personal data, raising concerns about how that data is collected, stored, and used. Robust regulations and ethical frameworks are needed to protect individual privacy rights while still allowing for the beneficial applications of AI.

In conclusion, artificial intelligence represents a transformative force with both immense opportunities and potential risks. By addressing these challenges thoughtfully and proactively, we can harness the power of AI to create a more prosperous, equitable, and secure future for all.

- **Machine Learning:** A core component enabling computers to learn from data.
- **Algorithmic Fairness:** Ensuring AI systems do not perpetuate biases.

- **Data Privacy:** Protecting personal information used by AI systems. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small Turkish principality led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. Early successes included conquering significant portions of Byzantine territory, setting the stage for further expansion into Europe.

The reign of **Mehmed II**, often called “the Conqueror,” marked a pivotal moment in Ottoman history. In 1453, his forces decisively captured **Constantinople** (modern-day Istanbul), effectively ending the Byzantine Empire and transforming the Ottomans into a major imperial power. This victory not only secured control of vital trade routes but also provided a new capital city that symbolized Ottoman dominance.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I**, known as “the Magnificent,” the empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. His reign was characterized by significant legal reforms, flourishing arts and architecture, and continued military expansion into Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The Ottoman army, renowned for its disciplined infantry – the **Janissaries** – and powerful artillery, proved nearly unstoppable on many battlefields.

The empire’s vast territory encompassed diverse cultures and religions. While Islam was the dominant faith, significant Christian and Jewish communities thrived within the empire’s borders, often enjoying a degree of autonomy under the *millet* system. This system allowed religious communities to govern themselves according to their own laws and customs, contributing to relative stability and cultural diversity.

However, by the 18th century, signs of decline began to emerge. Internal corruption, economic stagnation, and military defeats against rising European powers gradually weakened the empire. Attempts at modernization and reform in the 19th century, known as the **Tanzimat** reforms, aimed to address these challenges but ultimately proved insufficient to halt the empire’s long-term decline.

The Ottoman Empire’s involvement in World War I on the side of the Central Powers sealed its fate. Following defeat in 1918, the empire was dismantled by the victorious Allied powers, and **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** led a Turkish nationalist movement that established the Republic of Turkey in 1923, bringing an end to over six centuries of Ottoman rule.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

- **Constantinople:** The former capital of the Byzantine Empire, renamed Istanbul after its conquest by the Ottomans.
- **Janissaries:** Elite infantry units in the Ottoman army, known for their discipline and loyalty.
- **Tanzimat Reforms:** A series of reforms implemented in the 19th century aimed at modernizing the Ottoman Empire.

“The capture of Constantinople was a turning point not only for the Ottomans but also for European history.” ## Ovens. Walls that are even and flat, also sometimes richly adorned with thin planks, after which the beams are taken halfway into the building. So that the flat side is always inside, and the rough side outside. Each room commonly has its own stove or oven, where one heats from outside the room. Most ovens are very large, and constructed in such a way that they do not disturb the rooms, but rather contribute to ornamentation; they are beautifully made. Among those of a foreign nation (for this is used here as a proverb), one counts all those who have withdrawn themselves from Christian lands and maintain a household as clean and orderly as the best in our homeland, adorning their dwellings with paintings and other choice furnishings.

Streets.

The streets are generally paved with beams, but mostly broken up, and so dangerous to walk on that one must be careful not to suffer an accident by falling. Everywhere in the city there is such a state of disrepair from broken houses and beams that it gives the appearance of devastation or ruin caused by fire. But during winter all roads are even and smooth due to the snow, which covers everything equally with wood.

Churches.

Here one has two churches, one for those of the Reformed faith, and one for those of the Lutheran religion. In both places preaching takes place twice on Sundays. They stand close together near the side of the river. Alongside the church lives the preacher. Cottages are located next to the churchyard, where all those who die are buried according to our custom. During winter, services are not held in the churches due to the great cold, but rather in a special room built onto the preacher's house, which is heated to allow one to endure it.

View of the City.

I sketched the view of the city from the river in one of our ships that were anchored there; as I depict it in No. 11. Everything that is clearly visible is indicated there, such as 1. The *Oespinje Bogeroedisa*, or Church of the Resting Place of Mary. 2. The Lutheran Church. 3. The Reformed Church. 4. The German Court. 5. The City Hall and Armory of the Grand Duke. 6. The Russian Court. 7. The house of the Judge standing on the river. 8. The Main Church. 9. The Castle. Regarding the upper governance there, the Governor previously possessed it in all matters. But the manner of governing changed last year, and they have proceeded to elect four Burgomasters: one is here at this place; one in Kolmegra; and two for the surrounding places. Thus, the territory of the Governor now extends no further than over the military force; taking the Burgomasters control of civil affairs. Every year a Judge or Toll Collector comes here during the time that trade is conducted to collect the revenues of his Majesty from commerce, and also to purchase everything that the court may need. Besides this Judge, there are four other persons who assist him as attendants and observe all matters in his absence. They are called *Gostienny-Sotni*, meaning something like subordinates. From these, one Judge is chosen. Furthermore, some people from the common folk are appointed, both in villages and towns. These are obliged without delay to take whatever is required of them by the Judges and their dependents for a year: as far as it concerns the tolls or revenues of his Majesty. They are stationed everywhere, and sometimes provided with soldiers to prevent any trickery and to confront swindlers forcefully. Thus having served their year, others are appointed in their place.

As far as foodstuffs here are concerned, everything is abundant and obtainable at a low price. Commonly one buys a couple of partridges for four *fluivers*. There are two kinds of these partridges. One kind, which stays on the trees, is very good and looks like those in our lands. Those of the second kind are such that one might wonder, becoming entirely white during winter, called *Koeropie* by the Russians. There are also two kinds of grouse, birds that resemble our turkeys in size and are beautifully colored. The males are mostly black and a beautiful dark blue. The females are somewhat smaller and gray speckled. Both have a beautiful red ring around their eyes. Also plentiful are hares, which one can obtain for four *fluivers*. They are all white during winter; the rabbits are conversely black, and readily available. Wood pigeons are bought for two or three *fluivers*. Many songbirds are present, among them a kind commonly called *Gagares*. They fly very high and fast, and make a noise while flying that sounds remarkably like a human voice. With no less agility they swim; but they cannot run because their feet...

Abundant with foodstuffs. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Vishryke Rivieren.

These rivers are extraordinarily rich in fish. There are many varieties: so that one can accommodate twenty people there for just twenty *stuivers* (small coins). Among them is a kind called *Karoetse*, which is smaller but tastier and sweeter, a variety I don't believe can be found in our land; therefore, I took the trouble to preserve some of it in spirit. They resemble the *Voren* (herring) in appearance, being brown in color and somewhat glistening with scales. There are also many types of *Snoek* (pike) and *Quabben*, a kind of fish similar to our *Puitael* (eel), but particularly flavorful. There is no shortage of *Spiering* (sprat), nor *Pos* (whiting), nor *Voren* (herring), nor *Bot* (ling), nor *Molenagh* (cod), nor *Grondeligh* (flounder). Then there's a fish they call *Garius*, brown in hue but pleasant to eat, having the size of a shellfish. All these fish are caught within about four hours of the city in a certain inlet of the river or standing water. I need not mention the salmon, which everyone knows is salted and smoked and sent far and wide from here to our and foreign lands. But there's also white salmon, which the *Ruffen* (local people) call *Meclma*. I acquired a dried one here. It resembled a rock, with two feet appearing from its body, called *Paf-ciskaet* by the *Ruffen*. In this fish, one finds two mice, which they *miski*, and also some tears, which the *Ruffen* use as a medicine. This fish is caught under the huts of the Lapps; therefore, it can only be obtained dried.

Meat.

Meat is plentifully available. The finest offal meat is sold for one *stuiver* per pound. A lamb about ten weeks old costs 15 *stuivers*. A calf of the same age sells for 30 or 40 *stuivers*, depending on the circumstances at the time. Everyone commonly has turkeys on their own estate. One buys four or five chickens, or a goose for 6 or 8 *stuivers*. The drink is good beer; to sell and brew which someone is generally favored by the *Vorft* (local authority); provided that he pays an annual fee for it. However, every household may prepare as much of it as they need themselves, as long as they pay a fee of 1½ *mudde* (a unit of volume) for the fee of 50 *stuivers*. Although there are some who are so favored that they pay nothing for it.

Wine and Brandy.

The wine comes from overseas, like French brandy. This drink is very expensive due to the heavy tolls levied on it. In this land, much brandy made from grain is brewed, which is good and can be obtained at a reasonable price. So many of the people living abroad use it as well.

Regarding the income from the tolls that the Czar would draw annually from this city, it was previously written that they would amount to a fee of three hundred thousand rubles. But that

calculation is far off. Upon investigation here, I found that these revenues in previous times amounted only to a fee of 180 or 190 thousand rubles; each ruble being reckoned as approximately five Dutch guilders. Commonly thirty or thirty-five ships arrive annually from our ships. But this year there have been unusually many, numbering about fifty, as with the English around thirty-three. So that, if one counts the Hamburgers, Danes, and Bremerians, one will find a number of 103 merchant ships. The reason for this is that various trading companies in times of peace were traded and sent by the *Ruffische* (local) merchants to Riga, Narva, Revel, as well as Königsberg and Dantzic. Which now, due to the war with Sweden, is largely prevented, and the trade has been moved to Archangel. As a result, it has happened that His Majesty this year for tolls on merchant ships, if one counts from the arrival of the early to the departure of the late ships, and the dispatch of the same, has received 130 thousand rubles, which amounts to a fee of 260 thousand *ryx-dalers* (guilders). According to treaty, half the toll must be paid in cash, the other half in gold ducats. For if one were to pay the entire toll in ducats, they would refuse to accept it; but in *ryxdalers*, yes; which is understood regarding foreign trade. The most important trading companies brought here are gold and silk fabrics, linens, sails, and more; also gold, silver, and other trimmings, gold thread, indigo, and other wares. To return to the toll that burdens the merchant ships, for each oxload of wine, one must pay twenty *ryx-dalers* for the past years, from 1667 to 1699. But while I am writing this, it is the third year that one can fulfill it with five *ryx-dalers*. For brandy, one pays 36 *ryx-dalers* per oxload, 40 for a pipe of Spanish wine, which is two oxloads of wood.

From Ruflant are sent other fabrics ## Travels and Discoveries

They sent, among other things, potash, woad, juniper, hennip, alum, elk hides, and many kinds of furs - all the products this land yields. I also heard that from the rivers Kola, Warfigha, Wusma, and Solia within the country, a kind of marten is found, in which one finds quite a few pearls. Among these are some worth 25 guilders apiece, and near the place Ombacy, they are counted by the stack at that price.

The time I had left was spent in company with the gentlemen Christoffel Brants and Jean Lup, who endeavored to entertain me. There was playing, dancing, eating, and drinking late into the night, to create joy; to which Lord Brants contributed greatly, as he was a connoisseur and practitioner of music, and skillful at playing the harpsichord. With this pleasure I concluded my stay in this city. ## IV. CHAPTER.

The Procession from Archangel. The Manner of Traveling by Sleigh in Russia during Winter. Description of Vologda, and the Troitsk Monastery. Arrival at Moscow.

On December 21st, three hours after midnight, I departed with Mr. Abraham Kinfus from Archangel. This gentleman had two attendants with him, dispatched from Podwoden, which is to say, a supply of horses, although the drivers demand a certain fee for this service. He possessed six sleds, to which I added mine, allowing my goods to be transported under Mr. Brants' care. When undertaking this journey, one must purchase the sleds in Archangel, as the drivers only provide their horses. These sleds are constructed so that a person can comfortably lie within them. One brings one's own bedding along and provides oneself with warm blankets and other coverings to ward off the intense cold. The rear of the sleds is covered with mats, then lined with linen or canvas. Next, one spreads a fur or cloak over the entire sled, also lined with linen or canvas, to be free from moisture and rain. In this manner, one travels on one's bed without feeling any cold whatsoever. Thus we proceeded day and night, each sled drawn by two horses, which are changed every fifteen miles (five miles being reckoned as an hour). As the Russians say *Wersta*, one mile is equivalent to a verst, currently calculated at 100 fathoms in length, with each fathom comprising three Russian *Arsfene*, making approximately three Dutch ells. Every twenty-four hours we only emerged from the sleds briefly to consume food, as is customary on this journey. After passing several villages, we arrived in the city of Kolmogora on December 23rd, three hours after midday, which is reckoned to be fifty miles from Archangel.

This city is quite large, situated on the southern-western side of the Dwina River, one of the largest and most important rivers throughout Russia. It draws its source from the southern part of the Vologda region: and after a long course with numerous currents, it swells by two mouths or outlets just below the city of Archangel into the White Sea, as previously mentioned. Since Mr. Kinfus was acquainted with the Archbishop of the city, whose title in the Russian language is *Vladika*, meaning so much as a spiritual person who has authority over a diocese, we went to greet him. He received us with great courtesy, offering us cinnamon water, fine red French wine, and hearty beer; which is used here on land in the same manner as we have described. Furthermore, he presented us with a dish of Egyptian dates and other refreshments. He was a man in his fifties, named Affonaffy. He resided in his own manor house, which was quite large and built adjacent to the monastery. After having spent two full hours conversing with him with great pleasure, as he was a man of good judgment and an art lover, he led us down into a room filled with firearms. Among these were two small cannons cast by himself from copper; alongside two iron pieces taken from one of the Swedish ships lying on the Archangel River, as previously stated. When we were now ready to depart and thanked him for his kindness, four spiritual persons appeared, one carrying five loaves of bread, and another laden with dried fish and other provisions, with which we were presented and thus brought to our inn. We then departed again at ten o'clock in the evening with swift

horses, which we had obtained with great effort the night before; because shortly before us many travelers, also supplied by Podwoden, had passed through here, creating a scarcity of horses.

On December 23rd, the weather cleared beautifully, as we traveled through many wooded areas, largely covered with spruce trees, of which there are two varieties: green and fir. The latter sprout from beneath the flame to above in great abundance. But the others have only a crown of branches at the top. One also finds elm and birch trees. After traveling twenty-five miles, we passed through the village of Stoepena; fifteen miles beyond Stoepena. ## Travels

From Rakoela to Rakoela: 20 verst (a Russian measure of distance) further through Oeffie on Priclock, located another 15 verst from there, where we took our midday meal, and continued at 5 o'clock towards Nicola, 18 verst from there. Then to Kalje again 18 verst; from there to the Saske, yet another 18 verst. This last place lies within the territory of Archangel. Another 18 verst onward to Briefnik where we found the first fresh horses in the Waeg region, so named after the province and the river Waeg, which one must cross several times, to Oeftwaagen, 30 verst from there, where we refreshed ourselves with food and drink. In this village, situated at the mouth of the river, we stayed until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and then continued our journey. On the 24th of the month, we rode to the village of Kietfe, 15 verst from there, mostly crossing the river. Another 15 verst brought us to Waermine after midnight, and we proceeded another 15 verst through Soillottielewa. On the 25th, after covering 20 verst, we arrived at Schenkerske, the capital of the Waeg region, located on the river Waeg. From there, we traveled to Oeftpa dinga, 15 verst further, a village named after the Padinga River, situated near its mouth. Here we took our meal and continued onward to Oeftpoci, after traveling 15 verst. This village means as much as Pocimont; for *Oeft* means mountain in the language of the Russians. The area of the river that served us extended 20 verst to Bolderske, where we arrived at midnight. On the 26th, we traveled another 30 verst and reached Paeylowa; from there, another 30 to Soaferje. Then, after reaching the mountain pass, on Niefovic, a distance of 24 verst. Then another 18 verst to Wakomina. Between these two last-mentioned villages lies a large village called Virghowaesje; where every week is market day for various goods that are sold there. We continued further to Soelowits, also known as Velickoydwoor, located 18 verst from where we had departed: arriving there in the middle of the night. Another 15 verst brought us to Soloti on the 27th of the month, from where we headed towards Jegringa, having ridden 25 verst, and then another 12 to Ratina. Again 15 to Senfuma, a village located on the river Senfuma; and on the 28th another 15 verst to Fielenska, where one rides through the large forest Komenaf that is about 20 verst wide. After eating, we rode another 25 verst to Dwienitfe, located on the river Dwienitfe. Here we discovered that a few days prior

three Russian merchants, also coming from Archangel, had been attacked by 26 robbers who had taken everything from them. One of the robbers took the most prominent of the three, whom I knew, a silver cross that he wore on his chest according to custom; although the other robbers spoke against it, as they held great esteem for the cross. Even this scoundrel wore one, which he removed from his neck and placed around the merchant's neck, adding: "Now we are brothers, having intertwined our crosses." Hearing this, we were struck by several thoughts, and after much deliberation, decided not to wait for any company coming from Archangel, but rather to continue on without delay, keeping our rifles primed against all attacks. Thus, we arrived at Rabanga on the 29th of the month, having covered 25 verst. This place lies on the river Soegue. From there, we traveled another 25 verst and arrived at Wologda at 3 o'clock in the afternoon: a town that appears quite impressive as one approaches it from this side. We called upon the residence of Mr. Wouter Ewouts de Jongh, a Dutch merchant whom I had also known in Archangel. After being received with all courtesy here, I rode through the city the next day to view it. The main church, named Saboor, I found very beautiful, built by the same Italian architect who had constructed the Kremlin within Moscow. Above this church one sees five domes, all covered with tin. These are called *Glasa* by the Russians, meaning heads standing on a church, or heads standing above the church; above which tall crosses protrude. Outside of this church there are twenty-one other churches of five constructions, most of whose domes are also covered with tin, giving a very pleasing sight in the sunshine, especially since all the crosses that stand on each dome are gilt. There are also 43 wooden churches, three monk cloisters, and a women's cloister, of which the main one is the stone church that stands in the middle, and is surrounded by common wooden houses where the nuns live, situated in a secluded place, accessible through a small door. Having viewed these buildings, I went to the shop places and markets, where everything is sold. I noticed that all kinds of goods were sold here in specific places, such as meat,

Churches in Wologda.

Markets. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

From Vleefch, Hoi, Hout, Huiden, Talk, and other such items, I proceeded through a large gate of a dilapidated building that had never been completed. It was begun by Tsar Ivan Vassilievich, who intended to use it for the construction of a castle; however, nothing further was done out of fear of the Tartars, who drove him from Moscow. Then I continued along the Volga River, which runs directly through the city. The other side, known as Dofrefene, is less significant, although belonging to the Volga, and has another governor there. The length of the city is a good hour's journey, while its width is less than an hour, though somewhat more here and there. Here lies the passage for all the merchants coming

from Archangel and those dispatched further into the land—currently, there are 3 or 4 merchant houses belonging to our nation. The city is located at 59 degrees 15 minutes on the east side of the river, which is quite wide there.

On the 30th of the month in the evening at 10 o'clock we departed from here and arrived the next morning at 6 o'clock in the village of Greenewits, after traveling 40 verstas (Russian miles), where we provided fodder for the horses, which needed it, as they were to carry us another 20 verstas. This day our company was joined by about 50 people, since many travelers from Archangel—both those arriving and those who had departed before us—had arrived there. However, we did not all proceed at the same pace, but only with a group of 20 people to Moscow. After traveling so far, we reached Obnorskoj-jam an hour after noon, having previously sent out a detachment to procure fresh horses; which were harnessed without delay. Thus we rode 30 verstas and arrived at Teleeffie; then another 30 verstas and arrived at Oegherkoy-jam; 7 verstas further to Danielofskoy, a beautiful and large village where some trade is conducted. There is also a great breeding of horses there, including about two thousand that belong to the Tsar. We stayed here until 4 o'clock after midnight and continued on to the village of Wochsfchera, located 23 verstas from the aforementioned place. Then it was the first day of the year 1702. Proceeding further through the village of Twerietfche, we arrived at the city of Jereflauw, one of the most important in all Russia, after traveling 30 verstas. Between this city and the last-mentioned village runs the Volga River, which is very wide there. We crossed this stream alongside the city to the river Kotris, which has its course running south close by the city and flows into the Volga to the east. Here I found a great number of stone churches, about which I will speak further later, as I return to them. Having crossed the river Kotris, we entered the area called Troepenoë, where we stopped at 4 o'clock to take refreshment and procure fresh horses. We departed from there at 10 o'clock and advanced so well that the following morning at 7 o'clock we found ourselves in the village of Nicola, having covered a distance of 55 verstas. Riding another 6 verstas, we continued through the city of Roftof, located to the right, where the Metropolitan has his courtyard. This city is full of stone churches that add greatly to its appearance. It lies on the right bank of Lake Roftoffe, which flows past the edge of the flatlands where we crossed. Many villages are seen around it. The local people generally cultivate garlic and onions here. Half an hour from here lies the Peuter Zarewits monastery, surrounded by a few houses. We now continued our journey and arrived at the village of Was-Waske after 38 verstas, an hour after noon, where we took rest. Then, having traveled another 20 verstas, we approached Pereflaw Soleeskoj, the capital of the province of Pereflaw, a common city located west of Lake Preflawfe or the sea. It was 9 o'clock when we arrived there and midnight when we departed again. We had covered 30 verstas when we arrived at the village of Tierieberewa on the 3rd of the

month at 6 o'clock in the morning. Here we were forced to ride up hill after hill, though not very high—about 30 verstas to Trooytfe, where we arrived within the village at 1 o'clock after noon and stayed until 6 o'clock. During that time I visited the Trooytfe monastery, which we had passed by coming near the village. It is surrounded by a tall, beautiful stone wall, as the entire monastery is built of stone. On the corners of the square wall stand lovely, large round towers, and between each of those there are four-sided ones. There are two four-sided towers on the front side that are quite beautiful, alongside which the main road runs. When you arrive at the road leading to Moscow, you have it on your right. It is a good quarter of an hour from the village. From the front, one sees ## Reisen

It has three gates. The middle one, through which I was escorted at my request, had two arches or vaults, and beneath them a small room where several soldiers kept watch, similar to those at the outer gate outside the Monastery. Having passed this gate, one sees in the center only the main Church, separated from all the other buildings. Turning your face to the right, you see the residence of His Tsarist Majesty, built very grandly and appearing entirely kingly from the outside. One enters it via two separate staircases, as it extends quite broadly along that entire side. It has several floors, but inside it lacks the splendor that its exterior seems to promise. Directly opposite this residence is a large building where the clergy take their meals, constructed in such a way that it rivals the other, with all of its windows adorned with small columns and the stones of the building painted with various colors. The aforementioned Church stands between these two buildings. There are also four main churches and five smaller ones. From the outside, this building resembles a castle or fortress, where the Archimander or Abbot holds supreme authority. Typically, there are about two or three hundred monks residing within, and two or three of them kindly guided me everywhere I wished to go to satisfy my curiosity. This Monastery possesses great wealth, drawing its income from 36 thousand peasants who belong to it, as well as the burial fees for the bodies of high-ranking nobles who are buried there, enjoying the benefits of the *Soul Masses*, other estates, and similar profits.

The village is quite long. On the right side, one sees a gathering of blacksmiths' shops, where poles are set up to shoe horses. From here, finally moving on, we arrived at the village of Bratoffie after traveling 30 versts, where the goods of merchants are inspected and sealed, until they are shown to the toll in Moscow; therefore, one is compelled to stay here; so it was three hours past midnight before we departed again, still needing to travel another 30 versts before reaching Moscow. We finally arrived at Moscow on the 4th day of the month at 8 o'clock in the morning.

We then went into the German Sloboda or German Freedom, where most merchants have their residences, although some also reside in the city of Moscow. I proceeded to the house of Signor Willem Gurten, to whom Mr. Brants had previously granted access. This man also lived on this site, so he too, having come from Archangel on this journey, returned to his usual residence. The following morning, he was visited by His Tsarist Majesty, accompanied by some of the most prominent dignitaries, arriving with eight sleds, among which that of His Majesty was the finest in appearance. The visit lasted for two full hours and thus gave me a good opportunity to see this great monarch for the first time.

V. CHAPTER

The Author Appears Before His Tsarist Majesty. The Flooding of the Russians. A Fire in Moscow.

Since 1649, the Tsar of Muscovy has made it a custom to visit his principal friends shortly before the Feast of the Three Kings, within the city of Moscow and in the German Quarter. He bestows greetings upon them, both those from overseas and Russian nobles, under the designation of "going to flavaaien" – accompanied by some squires or princes, and other dignitaries, his favorites. This practice began in 1702 on January 3rd, old style. The first arrival was at the house of Mr. Brants, after which approximately 300 people followed that morning around 9 o'clock, partly riding and partly transported by carriage. The tables were already prepared in good order, filled with various delicacies and cold dishes, which were shortly afterward replaced with warm fare. People were cheerful and drank lightly until His Majesty departed again with his retinue at 2 o'clock, proceeding to the house of Mr. Lups, where the reception was no less, and he subsequently visited a few other nobles that same day. Subsequently, arrangements were made for lodging in several houses prepared for the occasion. The following day, after several visits, the Resident, Mr. Vander Hulst, also had his turn. This gentleman had already informed me that I would come to his house, and had already spoken with His Majesty about me, according to the recommendation given to him by the Honorable and Most Noble Nicholas Witfen, Burgomaster and Councilor of the City of Amsterdam. I was placed in a special room, should the opportunity arise for me to appear before the Vorft (Tsar).

Meanwhile, Knees Troebetskooy happened to enter my room while I was there, not recognizing me and taking me for a foreigner. He addressed me in Italian, asking if I understood it. Upon saying yes, he seemed pleased and entertained me for some time with great pleasure about the country of Italy, where he had traveled, and other lands he had visited. Finally, parting from me, he went to His Majesty, who informed him of my presence. Without delay, the Vorft came in and knocked at my chamber door with his retinue, then entered. I was startled by this unexpected arrival but regained my composure and addressed His Majesty with

respectful deference, seeming surprised that he approached me, asking in Dutch: "How do you know who I am? And how do you come to know me?" I replied that I had seen a painting of His Majesty's likeness done by the Knight Godfrey Kneller in London, which portrait was still very much in my memory. It seemed as though this answer was only partially accepted; therefore, I added that I had been fortunate enough to see His Majesty pass by on the court towards Mr. Brants. This remark appeared to gain more traction with the Vorft, who then asked me what city I was born in, who my parents were, and whether they were still alive, and whether I had any brothers or sisters in the world. When I answered these questions, His Majesty inquired about my first journey, in what year I began it, when it ended, and how I traveled back and forth. He then reasoned particularly about Egypt and the Nile River, also about the city of Cairo, its size, how it was built, and how things stood with the many dilapidated districts of old Cairo, with Alexandria, and other places, adding that he knew there was a place called Alexandrette; to which I replied that the last-mentioned place was a harbor for Aleppo and how far it was from there. The Vorft spoke all this entirely in Dutch and requested that I continue speaking with him in that language, stating that he could understand me very well. He gave good proof of this, as he accurately repeated everything I had said to the Russian nobles who were in his retinue, which astonished the Resident and other Dutch gentlemen present. Then he ordered me to converse in Italian with the aforementioned Knees or Prince Troebetskooy, who understood it fairly well. Upon which he returned inside with his retinue. Three good hours by the ## A Journey Through Moscow

Having remained with the utmost pleasure, the esteemed Resident departed again with his retinue to visit the remaining friends he had made in Slaboda, bringing this adventure to an end; for the Feast of the Water Blessing was at hand, to be held on the following Sunday and Monday, January 6th O.S. On that day, in the morning, the son of General Veltmaerchalk Bories Petrowits Seremetof arrived, unexpectedly bringing news to His Tsarist Majesty, who was then in church, of the defeat of the Swedes by the Ruffians in Lyflant, 5 or 6 hours from the city of Dript; in which report he stated that 4000 Swedes had been captured and several hundred taken prisoner, including numerous officers. This son of Seremetof himself had been present at the battle and was therefore expressly sent by his father to announce this news, which caused no small joy. This feast is now, as I speak, held to be the Revelation of Christ, on which occasion I have witnessed the unfolding of events.

Within Moscow's capital, on the Joufa River near the flot (island), a square courtyard had been constructed, which I found to be 13 of my feet wide from one corner to the other, encompassing 52 feet in total. Around this courtyard stood a stately structure made of wood, with a column at each corner supporting a cornice.

Above these columns were four arched panels or wooden boards displaying images of the four Evangelists at each corner, and above that two wooden hoops placed as if half-moons, with a tall cross standing at their center. On these upper boards, one could see various depictions painted from within, featuring Apostles and similar figures. The best was on the east side of the river, depicting Christ's baptism by St. John in the Jordan, with four standing angels depicted on the right side, without any further images. Outside, the panels were painted with five angel heads, three below and two above, with wings. To the west of the water, there were four steps, at the end of which a large weight of lead was placed to allow it to descend into the water. On these steps, the Patriarch or the man performing the ceremonies would proceed to the water, which is 8 feet deep. Around the water lay large red cloths spread on the ground, and outside them a square fence was erected,

45 paces wide from one corner to the other; making the circumference 180 paces; the fence also had two setbacks in the manner of *balusters*, 4 paces apart and 4 feet high, all around covered with red fabric. To the west of the water or courtyard, on an elevated platform covered with planks, were three altars draped with beautiful cloths. Four gates were erected to access this area, one at each corner in the middle, of which the most important faced south from the flot, also decorated with some similar depictions, though of minor artistry. Having surveyed everything, I made my way up to the height near the flot or castle between the two gates named Tayniemskie, or secret gate, where the procession would pass. It was about 11 o'clock when the procession began to move forward. It came from the church called Saboor, as much as it is the Gathering Place of the Saints, being the most important church in Moscow within the flot. The procession consisted entirely of people dressed alike, except for a few who stood out wearing common attire and carrying various banners on long staffs. The others were all in their liturgical vestments, which were richly adorned. The clergy, Papists, and monks, numbering about 200, went ahead. Before them walked many singers, both men and boys, in common clothing, each with a book in hand. On either side of the route, numerous soldiers armed with muskets marched alongside, as did many foot runners carrying staffs to clear the way, all maintained in very good order. Following these priests were all those wearing episcopal vestments, numbering approximately 300. The most prominent among them were Metropolitans or Cardinals, of whom there are twelve, wearing a garment commonly called a *sackoff*. Then came four Archbishops, three Bishops, and many Archimandrites, who are the heads of monasteries. Now, after about 200 of these had passed, one saw what was being carried in the procession by the priests: namely, a long staff made like a lantern, which signifies the light of God's word, to honor or glorify the icons. On two similar staffs were seen two gilded Cherubims, called *Lepiedi* in their tongue. Then two censers; then an icon of Christ painted life-

size, almost to the half body. Following this was a very large book. Also, about 20 richly crafted mugs of gold and silver, ## The Visit of Cornelis de Bruins

Ver, adorned with precious stones, this procession was carried: each from a *perfoon*. After performing the solemnities, some of the most prominent donned these hats. The hat that the Metropolitan wore was made of gold, set with pearls and gemstones. They call it a *mietre*, meaning a head covering of the highest ecclesiastical rank. Behind this large book came the Metropolitan, who assumed the place of the Patriarch, holding a large golden cross set with precious stones in both his hands, and repeatedly touching it to his forehead, being supported by an acolyte on either side. In this order they proceeded to the water. Having performed their ceremonies there, spending nearly half an hour, the Metropolitan approached the water. Here he immersed the cross three times, and spoke, as is customary for the Patriarch, the following words: *SPACI GOSPODI LU-DI TWOYA, I BLAGOSLOWI DOSTOANIA TWOYA*. That is: GOD PROTECT YOUR PEOPLE, AND BLESS YOUR HERITAGE. Then they returned to the Palace; but the 200 priests, who had led the procession, did not return in the same order, but rather separated and dispersed from each other. Those wearing their vestments maintained their order. Amidst all this, I observed a fairly large tub or cauldron, which was difficult to discern because of a cloth draped over it, being carried by two flag-clad *perfoons*; followed by another similar one, along with a tin can full of water: the water, after being consecrated there, was brought into the courtyard to sprinkle the houses and icons. No sooner had the procession arrived at the palace than I noticed that everything that had been used for the aforementioned water was taken away and carried to the Palace. Meanwhile, a Russian took a long broom in the aforementioned water and began to sprinkle the onlookers, whom I could not see were very pleased; however, it seemed to me that this sprinkling originated from jest. It was two o'clock in the afternoon when this work ended, with such an immense influx of people that the sight alone was worthy of observation. The view, as one is on the river, is particularly striking because the Palace sits atop a height where one can see the crowds—thousands of men and women—standing above the walls. When we returned to our quarters through the gate of the Palace, there was such a crush that we had enough to do to free ourselves from discomfort. Thus, this curiosity could have cost us dearly, especially since it is not very pleasant to spend so much time in the cold *fineu*.

This display was even more magnificent previously, as their Majesties themselves attended the festivities with all the Great of the Realm. But here, as in many other matters, such a change has been made by the present Tsar that it cannot be expressed. However, we will speak more broadly about this later.

On the 9th of the month, it began to drizzle and rain, causing much *fineu* to melt away; this winter season was as mild as it had not been in many years.

On the 11th following, there was great rejoicing over the victory achieved by His Majesty's troops against the Swedes, about which we spoke just now. A pageant was arranged.

[Image of the Palace on the embankment, which is particularly low and somewhat wide: in the middle of which the pageant extended from one end of the place to the other.] To the side of the Palace a long wooden gallery with glazed windows had been erected, where His Majesty gave a banquet to the most prominent lords of the court and foreign ambassadors present, such as the Envoy of Denmark, the Resident, and various officers, along with some of our and other overseas merchants. In front of the gallery three rows of saplings were set in the ground for shade or decoration. The banquet began at two o'clock after noon, and the pageant continued until 6 o'clock, and ended at 9 o'clock. The design consisted of three large, high, and wide screens made of planks, on which various figures stood, fastened to the planks and painted with a brown color. The drawing or outline of the pageant was of a new design, never seen by me before. In the middle one saw, on the right side, Time, twice as large as life, holding a sandglass in his right hand, and a palm branch in his left, standing opposite Fortune on the other side—also being grasped with his hand—with this inscription in Russian letters: GOD BE THANKED THEREFORE. On the other side, to the left of the gallery of His Majesty, was depicted the flame of a tree, where a beaver stood biting with these words... ## Travels.

words: HE WILL UTTERLY DESTROY HIM. On the third side, one saw the trunk of a tree from which a new branch sprouted; and beside it, a small sea, behind which half a sun appeared seemingly, marked as rosy in color, above which this inscription stood: **RENEWED HOPE**. Beside these tables stood small square quadrangles that steadily burned, each also having their inscriptions. The second, which was first indicated by His Majesty himself, where I happened to be present, was a cross with four bars. The third was a vine, the fourth a birdcage, also marked with inscriptions. In all the latter mentioned were lights set, through which one could see the images: in such a way as we were accustomed to in our Netherlands. In the middle of this place, one saw a large Neptune sitting on a dolphin. Beside him were many kinds of quadrangles on the ground, surrounded by poles, to which a multitude of pennants hung, indicating their function properly. Some poured golden rain, others lights. While the quadrangle was being indicated, several stately persons and other Lords who accompanied His Majesty emerged from the aforementioned lodge, and entered a covered place in the middle of this gathering, to perform some ceremonies there. Above the gate of the lodge flew several banners, where many soldiers kept

watch. The influx of people from all sides was indescribable. At the end of this place stood a tower, within which His Majesty's suite was with many Ladies to have a view of all this. One of the prominent towers nearby was lit up from top to bottom with lights, and each of the aforementioned large tables remained burning for more than a fourth of an hour. Beneath it one heard the booming from several large cannons; as had also occurred before noon. With the completion of the quadrangles, the table was again ready. Then it was time for me to depart from there and proceed towards the Slobode: having arrived there I heard at 10 o'clock 90 shots fired from a large cannon, followed by others some time later. Notably, in such a great throng of people, such strict order was maintained by the soldiers and watchmen that I do not know if anyone experienced any discomfort. Only shortly before parting with the company, which occurred shortly after midday, did some unrest occur among the French officers, causing their swords to be drawn from their sheaths amidst a great uproar in front of His Majesty's lodge. But counsel was well taken: for we saw a few days later near the German Slobode close to the Dutch Church a pole erected, at whose top end an ax and sword were attached, and three placards affixed there, one in Russian, one in Latin, and one in High German language: whereby it was made known that anyone who would attempt to strike with the sword or engage in a duel with the ax would be punished without mercy.

Sharp order. ## VI. CHAPTER

Severe Legal Proceedings in Moscow. Magnificent Wedding of a Certain Favorite of the Tsarist Majesty. The Author's Appearance Before the Tsarist.

Execution by Hanging. On the 19th of the month, there was to be a public punishment within Moscow concerning a certain woman in her fifties who had taken her own husband's life. She was ordered to be buried alive up to her shoulders. I went to see it and found her thus half-buried, but quite fresh and well-treated. She had wrapped a white cloth around her head and neck, which she occasionally loosened because it was somewhat bothersome. Three or four soldiers guarded her, tasked by the court to ensure that no one gave her any food or drink to prolong her life. Those who wanted to throw coins or small bills onto the ground near the pit where she stood buried. She repeatedly showed gratitude by nodding her head. This money is commonly ordered to be used to buy some candles, lit in honor of a particular saint invoked for prayers, and also as a fee for her burial. I don't know if the guards sometimes allow people to secretly use some of the given coins for themselves, since some live long lives. As it happened, she died on the second day after I had seen her. On the same day, there was also a man who was burned alive, though I do not know for what

offense. But we will speak more broadly later about the legal proceedings in use here. Now, I continue my account in chronological order.

On the 26th, the wedding festivities were to take place of a certain favorite of the Tsar, named Fielat Prienewits Souskie, a Russian nobleman, and Kneefna Maria Surjovena Schorkofskaja, whose brother held an equally high position with the Tsar as the bridegroom, named Knees Eedder Surewits Schorkofskaja. For this wedding, the most prominent lords and ladies of the realm were invited by His Majesty's grace, along with foreign envoys, and most of our and other overseas lords and ladies. It was announced to all the wedding guests, both men and women, that they should dress in the old-fashioned manner of this land for the occasion, some more elaborately than others, according to the instructions given. The wedding took place within the German Sloboda, in the palace of the late Herr General la Fort. This manor is a large building of stone, into which one enters through a reciprocal staircase along its breadth. It is entirely designed in the Italian style, adorned with stately rooms and a magnificent hall hung with fine tapestries, where the wedding was held. To enhance the splendor, a collection of silverwork had been brought in beforehand and displayed in a suitable location. One saw two large leopards made entirely of silver, each wearing a silver chain around its neck, to which were attached their front paws resting on a silver shield. There was also a world globe of the same material, quite large, standing on the shoulders of a silver Atlas, along with large silver jugs and other vessels, some of which belonged to the treasury of His Majesty. The place where one could come to perform the ceremony was situated near the Kremlin in Moscow, within two prominent buildings that faced each other. With the morning light, the Tsar and all the invited guests proceeded there. Men entered one building, women the other. It was about ten o'clock when they departed for the Kremlin, where I had positioned myself to observe the procession and admire all the finery, which was made even more striking by the beautiful weather of that day. At the front rode the Tsar, seated on a handsome black horse, dressed in rich gold fabric. The upper garment was worked with figures of various colors. On his head he wore a tall, round, spotted cap, and leather boots on his legs. The horse was extraordinarily finely harnessed; its hindquarters were covered with a heavy gold harness. Beneath each front leg, it had a silver ring four fingers wide. The dignity of His Majesty's person, who sits particularly well on horseback, contributed greatly to the splendor of this spectacle. And one could indeed not see anything greater or more kingly. On his right side rode ## A Journey Through Moscow

The esteemed Alexander Danielewits, known as Mensikof, arrived riding a magnificent carriage alongside his attendant, a man dressed in fine gold attire and adorned with silver rings on his

front boots. Following him were the principal nobles: then each in their rank by carriage, all mounted, similarly clad, numbering 24 pairs.

His Majesty, having arrived at the flot (riverbank), paused to await the others in orderly fashion, a process that took nearly an hour. During this time, he exercised his horse. He was situated near the Ewart Gate or Palace Gate, where His Majesty's chambers are located. Above these chambers stood a large opening revealing the princesses of His Majesty's household and the Czarina (Empress) with her three young princes, the orphaned children of the late Tsar, brother to the present Majesty. As the sovereign rode through the gate, all the princesses greeted him with great reverence, to which the monarch responded in kind.

As the nobles arrived pair by pair, one could see several burning lights approaching, accompanied by numerous servants on foot. Following this were 60 more pairs of riders, dressed alike, all prominent figures. Then came our Resident, the Governor, and overseas merchants, whose clothing and hats differed significantly from those preceding them. All, however, wore yellow boots but common flat caps. They were not as lavishly adorned overall. Their number totaled 17 pairs: so that the aforementioned individuals amounted to a total of 204 people, most of whom were splendidly dressed in furs. Many horses had silver harnesses, and one even had a silver chain, roughly two fingers wide and fairly thick, hanging from above the head down to the harness, positioned at the front of the saddle. These adornments produced a pleasant sound for the ears. Others featured white felt, flat, and linked like a chain.

Subsequently, five sleds appeared. Each of three held one of the German doctors. The other two each carried one of our nation's oldest merchants. Then approached a very large wagon, covered with red cloth, resembling those used to transport the two Empresses, as the courtiers observed. For all those chosen by His Majesty to attend such affairs are called "Women of State"; they relinquish this title once their service is complete.

The first of these, the wife of Knees Fudder Seurfewits Romodanoski, who governs Moscow in His Majesty's absence, remained at home due to indisposition. Therefore, only the other, the wife of Iwanawits Boeterlien, observed the ceremonies. She wore a white felt cap, fashioned like a fur hat with a small fringe on her head, and had two "state ladies" seated before her, riding behind. This wagon was drawn by 12 white horses, accompanied by numerous servants dressed in red on either side. Following this were 25 other smaller wagons, similarly draped, each pulled by two white horses. One contained the Boyar (high-ranking noble), and another held Russian ladies. On one of these sleds lay a small, intricately carved sleigh, drawn by an unusually beautiful horse to which was attached a tiny figure, equally pleasing to behold as the

horse and sleigh, dressed in a Jewish garment. This spectacle brought me to ponder whether this person might be genuinely present; and I did not err in my assumption. For being well-known there, it was reported that he was not entirely robust. He was of Jewish origin but had converted to Christianity. Due to something he had done, he was compelled to play this role in the procession.

Then followed 7 sleds with ladies from our nation, and behind them some empty wagons, completing the procession. Thus, they continued their journey along the flot and through a portion of the city to the church Bogojastenja (Church of the Presentation), where the wedding took place, attended by His Majesty himself and many members of this grand company. Having fulfilled my purpose in observing everything, I rode back to my inn to refresh myself. Afterwards, I hastened to a good spot on the Slaboda (a district) to witness the entire procession ride towards the house where the wedding feast was to be held. It was three hours past noon before the entire company arrived at the designated location, comprising approximately 500 people, men and women alike, each in a separate room; none could see the others. The princesses of His Majesty's household and the Czarina with her three young princes sat alongside some ladies of the court: also the Boyar with several ladies. The so-called Empress sat alone on a platform elevated by a staircase. All other women, both Russian and German, were in another room. The musicians were placed on an elevated platform, their music adding to the festive atmosphere. After that... ## Cornelis de Bruins' Account of the Royal Wedding

After spending several cheerful hours with the royal party, those newly married were led to their encampment, situated behind the house on the Joufe River. This was a raised wooden playhouse, furnished with a simple and adequate lodging for this purpose. Most of the company dispersed between ten and twelve o'clock, remaining within the Slabode enclosure, where white chalk had been written at the gateposts indicating where each person should take their lodgings; so that they could join the household the following day according to the Tsar's custom, where the wedding was held for the Russian nobles, and from there ride to the court of General Major Menefius, now still inhabited by his widow. This large royal stone building, standing on the great slope of Slabode, had been the Empress's sleeping quarters, and the retinue had also ridden that way before dawn. It was about ten o'clock when His Majesty set off, leaving behind the overseas nation who, after an hour, arrived in good order at the house of Mr. Lups, himself awaiting the procession with some of our countrymen at the gatepost. Here the Tsar halted, as did the following nobles. Mr. Lups offered His Majesty a refreshment of drinks, which the Vorft accepted while seated on horseback.

Now I cannot pass by an incident that greatly contributed to the merriment. The groom was seated on a very fine stallion; one of the other dignitaries on a stately mare, both having been prepared for this occasion as they were considered suitable. The stallion leaped over the mare, from which the rider suddenly dismounted, but the groom remained in his full posture on the jumper until it had completed its work with customary result. This caused great laughter among us all. It was also imitated during the ride out of the wedding house, though without such a good outcome. Riding onward, I saw the Tsar's son on one of the later horses, accompanied by a stable boy at the reins. He was attended by many noble young men, children of prominent nobles. Then came the carriage with two horses, as mentioned. Following that, the large wagon with twelve horses, in which, as stated, the so-called Empress was seated. Subsequently, several other wagons followed with Russian ladies. When we arrived at the wedding house, where I had managed to join by another route, one saw His Majesty and other nobles riding there, proceeding to the bruit (side) of the palace into a separate house, namely the residence of General la Fort, whose widow still resided there. The large wagon halted to make way, standing still because it could not easily pass through the gate or have the horses turn in the narrowness of the road. Meanwhile, the young Tsar's son dismounted from his horse and stood by the wagon until it entered. However, due to the height, it remained stuck at the gate. Then the young Prince went to the court towards the palace, with the Empress then also descending from the carriage and ascending the stairs on the right side. The overseas nobles and ladies now proceeded there as well. It was again about the same time as before when this second gathering came to an end. On the last day, that is the third day, it was stipulated that everyone should appear in German clothing. Consequently, all men and women changed their attire, except for a few Russian ladies who retained theirs. Hereupon, each person went individually into the wedding house, without leaving again as on the previous day. Then the men and women were also seated at the same table, just as is customary in our country, and after the meal, they danced and leaped to the great enjoyment of His Majesty and all the guests. Thus this wedding, which I have wished to describe in detail due to its unusual nature, ended with great pleasure around midnight.

On February 2nd, being Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, some of the Swedish prisoners, about whom we spoke earlier, were brought into Slabode.

On the fourth of the month, I was summoned by a messenger to come before His Majesty at the court of Mr. Alexander Danielewits, who is Menfikof, a great favorite of the Vorft; this court bearing the name of Semeunofkie near the village located about half an hour from Slabode. Upon arriving here, I found His Majesty testing some newly arrived cannons from Holland, which

were found to be good. The Vorft then wished to enter, so I approached him. And addressing me, he said, "You have seen much in the world. But have you ever..." ## Reisen.

Schryvers observed; that I would show you, sweet one, I do not promise. Here he commanded a certain poor Russian, summoned here, to open his garment. I recoiled in shock at the sight. For on his body was a growth resembling a bowel, about a hand's breadth long and four fingers thick around, standing three fingers above the navel. This wretched man expels all food from it; which has now lasted for nine years. He contracted this misfortune by the splinter of a knife, whereby the path that the food must take was so damaged that there had never been any healing to it. He was a man of 35 years. I expressed my wonderment to the Tsar, and that I had scarcely ever seen anything like it, but knew a man who could expel all his food again through his mouth after it had been digested. The Tsar also listened with astonishment to this account, and to further examine this misfortune of the poor man, he pressed the digested matter out with his hand. Here I was refreshed with drink: and after a conversation of two hours, His Majesty departed. Then the Lord Alexander approached me and informed me that his Tsar, knowing that I was skilled in painting, wished that I would paint the three young Princes, grandchildren of his brother Czar Ivan Alexewits, who, as long as he lived, ruled with the present Tsar, and died on January 29th, 1696. This was, he said, very likely the main reason why I had been summoned to court. Being willing to do so, I rode with the aforementioned Lord to first view the Princes, to the Tsarina's palace, an hour from Moscow, a delightful country estate of his Majesty, called Ifmeilhoff. Before being presented to the Tsarina, I was asked by her Majesty if I spoke the Russian language. Upon which Lord Alexander took the word and informed her that I was not proficient in it, and further held some conversation with her. Hereupon the Tsarina filled a silver dish with brandy, took it in her hand, and passed it over to Lord Alexander. He emptied it, and handed it back to the lady-in-waiting. It was refilled a second time, and offered to me in the same way by the Tsarina. I emptied it in turn. Upon which we each received a glass of wine from the hand of the Tsarina, and shortly thereafter also from each of the three young Princes present. Hereupon a large glass was filled with beer and passed back to the Tsarina, who handed it to Lord Alexander. He drank a little from it, and passed it over again to the lady-in-waiting. This one refilled it, and gave it to the Tsarina, from whose hands I received it again, having set my mouth to it, and then passed the vessel back. For after the customs of this court, drinking dry a glass of beer that had been passed around would be somewhat unseemly. Then I discussed with Lord Alexander some reasons regarding the making of the paintings, as he understands Dutch reasonably well, and prepared to depart. Hereupon the Tsarina extended her right hand for me to kiss, and after her also all three of the Princes, which is the greatest honor that one can receive here. From there I returned to my inn the

same evening. After a few days, in my aforementioned court, the wedding of a certain servant of the Tsar was held by Lord Alexander, who himself was present along with the Tsarevich Prince, uncle of his Majesty, together with many prominent Russian Lords and Ladies, as well as many English and Dutch merchants, and German young ladies. The table was set in the large hall, running with an elbow-shaped curve. On one side sat His Majesty with the Russian Lords: all the Ladies facing each other across. In the middle of the hall, at a round table, sat the Tsarevich Prince, Lord Alexander, the English and Dutch merchants, among whom I was also counted. After we had been duly received, the tables were removed, and cheerfully danced in the Polish style, with musicians on one side who let themselves be heard very entertainingly.

On that same night, Lord Alexander departed for a few days to settle some affairs. On the eleventh of the month, Mr. Paul Heins, Envoy of the King of Denmark, also returned home, intending to return in the spring; therefore he left his wife here. On the 5th of March I had the good fortune to be present with His Majesty at Probrofensko, the usual residence of that sovereign. He took me after midday to the Tsarina's palace to view the portraits of the three Princes, which I had begun in the meantime. In the interim he had much conversation with the Tsarina about the journeys I had made. On the 11th of the month he departed with a few others to the house of Mr. Brants, and viewed there in my room the paintings that I had made at Archangel, over which he took great pleasure. During

Wedding-joy.

Moscow-vian Princes painted. ## Cornelis de Bruin's Account

The conversation was so pleasant that His Majesty spoke of some cannon pieces, upon which it seemed the weapon depicted the arms of the Republic of Genoa, resembling those of Venice, a lion holding a book with its forepaw. However, these pieces being aged, the emblem on them was so obscured that one might doubt whether it was a lion or some other animal. The party then proceeded to take a closer look, bringing the entire company along to the court of Mr. Alexander. As soon as His Majesty appeared there, each member of the company—comprising several prominent overseas merchants whom he greatly favored—was presented by Mr. Alexander with a gold commemorative medal, depicting the arms of the Tsar, bearing a laurel wreath on his head: inscribed in Runic characters: PETER ALEXEWITS, GRAND

TSAR OF ALL RUSLAND. On the other sides were two Eagles with the date 1702, February 1st.

Having been received so splendidly here, we rode to His Majesty's court at Probrofensko; though it is not considered a court as much as the residence of the Captain, who had yet to receive a higher rank from His Majesty—as His Majesty himself does not wish to bear a higher title in this regard.

It lies about half an hour from the city, not far from the court of Mr. Alexander. Here was the artillery ground of His Majesty's life regiment; where we examined the three pieces mentioned earlier and, despite their age, noticed enough to determine that they depicted a lion. They were short and made in the fashion of mortars. However, no matter how much effort I expended, I could not quite ascertain how the Russians had come by them in previous times. ## VII. CHAPTER.

Royal banquets of His Majesty outside Moscow, in a large company of Lords and Ladies, and attended by the Writer. Particulars concerning the Empress. The amusement of His Majesty on the Moskow river. Feast celebrated with the Russians. Departure of His Majesty towards Archangel.

While we were viewing the aforementioned cannon, arrangements were made for riding out to a village belonging to Lord Alexander, named Alexcejeskic near Lemuenefskie, 12 miles from Moscow, where the mentioned lord had built a stately country house by the Joufe river. It is a very pleasant place, provided with beautiful ponds and meadows of the finest fish. Among all that occurred to me worthy of wonder, the stable was particularly noteworthy, stately and spacious, made of wood, just like the house. I counted there about fifty horses, some of which were exceptionally fine. Upon our arrival, we found here already a company of German Ladies who had come here at His Majesty's request to enjoy some cheerful banquets. The company of men consisted of the Resident Lord, three English Lords, and other gentlemen of our nation, numbering ten, besides a few Russian Lords. The women were thirteen, and among them only one young Russian Lady, who was the daughter of Lord Alexander. We were well received, and that evening we were richly feasted with meat and fish.

For this purpose, two tables were arranged in a spacious hall: one long, placed along the side of the hall where His Majesty sat with several Lords, and another across from it for all the Ladies together; and a round table which was placed in the middle. Here sat the English and German, or rather Dutch, gentlemen. Having spent the evening, each went to his resting place; it being noted that our overseas friends were still cheerful for some hours within the same quarters, while the Russian Lords and Ladies were in other rooms. The following day the reception was again Royal, overflowing with meat and fish dishes. To add to the joy, musicians were placed on one side of the hall, who meanwhile entertained themselves by playing viols, balls, trumpets, slide trumpets, cornets, flutes, and whatever else is customary, just as in our

lands. After dinner was concluded and the tables removed, a light dance was performed in the Polish style to the great delight of His Majesty, who was very cheerfully amused; which led to further performances of various entertainments and jokes, where the drinks were not forgotten, until finally it grew late, and each went to his rest to resume the joy the following day. It also happened with the same amusement and pleasure, without my knowing that anyone had overindulged in drink. A few hours later we departed from there quite pleased, and each went to his own dwelling.

Meanwhile, I was permitted to bring the images of the three Princesses, which I had rendered as large as life on canvas, into my lodging, and to finish them further. Also, His Tsar had commanded me several times to complete them as soon as possible, because they must be sent away, without me knowing where. I did not cease until the paintings were completed, the princesses being painted in German clothing according to the given pattern, which is what they are accustomed to wear when appearing in public; except that the headgear was left to my discretion, so that I could finish it in an antique style.

Now, to give a picture of the Empress, named Paskowya Feodorofna, she is somewhat heavy-bodied, but this does not detract from her good figure. One may say that she is graceful, kind by nature and friendly in demeanor, which also corresponds to her conduct. She is about thirty years old, and in great favor with His Majesty, whose son, Prince Alexey Petrowitz, often comes to her to enjoy some amusement with the young Princesses. The eldest of the- ## Cornelis de Bruins' Account

Here is an account of Katharina Iwanoffina, a Muscovite princess, who was twelve years old. Her two sisters are Anna Iwanoffina, aged ten, and the youngest, Paraskowya Iwanoffina, eight years old. They are all remarkably well-formed. The middle one has blond hair, is beautiful, and fair-skinned. The other two are lovely brunettes. In particular, the youngest stands out for her cheerful disposition and innate politeness and gentleness; qualities that the others also possess in abundance. The hospitality I enjoyed while here, to complete my work, was extraordinary. Each morning, drinks and other refreshments were offered. Many afternoons, I was invited to dine, and even on fast days, the meat and fish were so skillfully prepared that it seemed foreign to me. Throughout the day, wine and beer were readily available as desired. I cannot believe that any individual in any land, especially within the courts of such prominent figures, would encounter such courtesy. Therefore, I felt all the more compelled to offer His Majesty a copy of my travel description, which I had brought with me bound for this purpose; news of which had already reached him so extensively that I had no doubt it would be pleasing to him upon receiving it from me in Proskov.

On March 29th, he enjoyed himself with some companions on the Moskovfe river, rowing upstream for three or four *warfts* (a unit of distance) from the bridge near the castle. Returning, he descended the stream at a remarkable speed, again covering three or four *warfts*, after passing under the bridge. Then he returned to the bridge where he was received by Lord Alexander and entertained with several English gentlemen and countrymen of our nation. Again, above the fast day restrictions, meat and fish were prepared with great care for those who wished to partake freely.

Now, April arrived with such thawing weather that no ice could be found in a few days; causing the water to rise due to this sudden melting, which continued day and night to an extent never before seen in memory. This resulted in damage to several mills located on the Joufe river, and several cellars and low-lying lands behind the houses were flooded. The roads also suffered, as is commonly the case after winter when snow melts, creating a significant inconvenience, particularly in the German *Slabode* (slums), where horses sank knee-deep into the mud. Upon learning this, the Tsar ordered the *Slabode* to be cleaned and measures taken to remove all the mud and filth.

On the 5th of this month, around six o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the *Slabode*, in a house belonging to one of our countrymen. The Tsar immediately arrived on the scene, personally overseeing the efforts to extinguish the fire – as is his custom, he always attends any fires that break out, ensuring there is constant vigilance to report such incidents at all hours of the night.

On this day, the Feast of *Pascha* (Easter) was celebrated with great joy by the Russians, not only for the desired resurrection of Christ but also because the long fast period ends then. Throughout the night preceding the feast, one hears the bells ringing merrily; as does on the feast day itself and the following day. Then they begin distributing *Pascha* eggs to each other, continuing this custom for fourteen days. This is common among both rich and poor, old and young: everyone carrying decorated eggs with them to give to others. One also sees many egg vendors sitting in the streets and squares, selling boiled and painted eggs. They are typically a blue plum color; some are more elaborately adorned with green and white hues. Some are so beautifully crafted and decorated that they fetch two or three *ryxdalers* (guilders). Some bear the words: CHRISTOS WOS CHREST; meaning, CHRIST IS RISEN. These eggs are held in high regard within prominent households, to be presented to those who come to greet them. They kiss each other on the mouth, and the one giving the egg adds these words: CHRISTOS WOS CHREST: CHRIST IS RISEN. To which the recipient replies: WOISTI-NO WOS CHREST, meaning, HE IS TRULY RISEN. People of lower rank give these eggs to each other when they meet on the streets,

in the same manner as described; and no one ever refuses to accept them, regardless of their social standing or gender. Also, all the servants of the Tsar bring *Pascha* eggs.

Extraordinary high water.

The writer presents his travel description to the Tsar.

Amusement on the Moskovfe river. ## Reisen: Travels

The houses contained such eggs in the chamber where their people were, to obtain a trial piece or festival coin through this means: as one usually brings twelve or fourteen of them, and among them some that were proudly made by the womenfolk. In previous times, much effort was put into these egg gifts; but nowadays, as with many things, it no longer holds so much significance. Although during the reign of this Tsar it had still been customary for the most prominent Russian nobles and overseas merchants to visit him to wish him a happy Easter celebration—for which each would receive an egg from his Majesty's hand—that practice is now entirely out of use.

On the ninth of the month, the Tsar resumed his amusement by having himself rowed on the Moskov River, for which some barges had been prepared. All the oarsmen, both those of the Tsar and of his daughter, the Princess, were dressed in white shirts made in our fashion and set with lace at the front; having received orders from a few of these shirts to be provided the day before. On each barge stood two small masts, to which sails were attached, being hacked several times as the wind served. Now this occurred as one descended the river, namely from the location of General Field Marshal Boris Petrovich Sheremetyev, situated a short distance outside Moscow on the aforementioned river, opposite the famous place bearing his Majesty's name, Vorobyovy Gory. This Field Overseer had already received and welcomed the Tsar and the accompanying company the previous day, and they had spent a night there. The company consisted of the Tsarevich Prince, the daughter of his Majesty, accompanied by three or four Russian ladies, many prominent nobles of the realm, state officials, and others; the Resident Gentleman, and several overseas merchants. Fifteen to twenty German young ladies also came along. Before this landing place lay all the barges, numbering around forty, each manned with ten or twelve rowers. His Majesty and the entire company having entered one, they descended the river at an extraordinary speed and passed over the bridge. From there, they proceeded to Kolomenskoye, a large estate of his Majesty, twenty miles by water but only seven miles from Moscow. They arrived there in the evening around 7 o'clock and were presented with a royal banquet; as was also resumed the following day, not without the music of musicians. However, they departed at three hours after noon, returning to town in carriages and calashes, also on horseback. On that day, Mr. Brants

showed the Tsar his portraits in the company of the Dutch Resident and other Dutch and English gentlemen. The joy was abundant; so that his Majesty did not leave until 11 o'clock, and the last friends until 2 o'clock after midnight.

On May 19th, I received instructions from his Majesty to bring the three completed paintings to the court at the Empress's residence, for her inspection. I then went there with the brother-in-law of Mr. Alexander. The Princess was somewhat indisposed and lay in bed, so I displayed the pictures before the foot of the bed. Having seen them to her satisfaction, she gave me a gift of gold with thanks and granted me the honor of kissing her hand. She asked if I would stay for some time so that the princesses might also be painted by me. Upon answering that I had done so, one of the princesses presented us with a golden decanter of brandy. Then a glass of wine; and with that we took our leave. I then brought the paintings to Mr. Alexander's court, where I rolled them up in order to send them. That night his Majesty departed for Archangel, accompanied by the following persons: Mr. Alexander; Patriarch Mikhail Mstislavsky Sotin, Grand Keeper of the Seals; Mr. Fedor Alexeevich Golovin, Senior Minister of State; Mr. Gabriel Ivanovitch Golofkim; Knees Gregory Grigorievitch Ronodanovsky; Boyar; Knees Yury Yurevich Trubetskoy; and the Stolnik, or table servant of his Majesty.

Underneath, all preparations were made to cleanse the roads in Slaboda to Purification, where work began on May 26th. The gravel was laid along the sides of the streets to be carried away later. To oversee this, two men of German nationality were chosen; who promoted the work so that the largest part was cleansed this week as far as one could walk upon it.

On May 3rd, letters arrived from Archangel stating that with the ice melt there had been such high water as had not been seen in the memory of any man: causing much damage. Most of the houses near the Novo Dvinka Fortress were washed away. The shipyard of his Majesty's shipbuilding yard was so flooded that all the timber floated and drifted away. A ship on the stocks

Entertainment on the Moskov River.

High water. ## Cornelis de Bruyns' Account

The standing water was swirling around everywhere. Several vessels positioned near the city were also carried up to the bridge in front of the Merchants' Palace. Furthermore, the water reached into several courtyards within the city.

The following day, people began removing the earth from the flooded area, having the freedom to do so at their own expense, taking it from there and bringing it to their estates to raise the land or lay it elsewhere. To further encourage this cleansing work, a gathering was held by the German nation in the Slaboda at the

Noble Residence—a house very pleasant due to its view and the beautiful garden behind it. Here, two other individuals were chosen alongside the previous two to oversee the commenced work and manage everything related to it. This election took place with a majority vote, with each person's name written on a special slip of paper indicating who they chose. In addition, eight people were elected as assistants, ready to lend a hand if needed, with full authority to carry out anything that seemed appropriate to them.

On the 9th of the month, we received letters from the 28th of the previous month sent from our homeland, reporting the death of the illustrious Prince William III, King of England, who had passed away after a four-day illness: news which brought great sorrow among overseas people, particularly our countrymen, who knew and valued the virtues of the fearless King. Therefore, they observed mourning for a period of six weeks here as well.

On the 19th of the month, we received further letters from our homeland, along with reports of a large flood that had occurred, causing some places to be submerged and many people to drown. Another report detailed how Kaiser-weert was besieged by the Confederates.

On the 21st, the feast day of *Volla-diemerskaia Bogarodieffa* was celebrated—a town where it is said that the image of the Virgin Mary appears. This memory is therefore celebrated in every place, within a designated church. This always occurs on Thursday before Easter, known by the Russians as *Secmick*. On this day, certain priestly individuals go to the pit or well where people who have died on the roads or elsewhere are thrown—as well as those executed by the court, of which we have already spoken briefly. These pits (for there are three or four around Moscow) are filled with earth every year and new earth is added; this had occurred the day before on this feast day. On this day, the mother of the Empress, who had died the previous day, was buried. For in this land, they leave the deceased above ground for only a short time, about which we will speak more later. This burial took place simply and without any pomp. This morning, fire broke out again within Moscow, lasting until ten o'clock; as on June 3rd, a fire also broke out in a village outside the city, and on the 14th, it broke out again within Moscow. Meanwhile, some merchants departed from here to Archangel.

Feast in memory of Mary. ## CHAPTER VIII.

Description of crops, fruits of the earth, gardens, ponds, and other things where the Russians find amusement. Russian Hermits captured.

Meanwhile, I amused myself pleasantly outside in the countryside with good company. There, in July, while walking through the forest, I found certain kinds of berries. The first are called

Coftenitfa, appearing palatable due to their tartness; therefore, many people who use honey or beer, as we are accustomed to do with the fruits of the earth, make a kind of lemonade from them, both for eating and drinking; and the sick are also served with cool drinks made from them. Outside Moscow you find them in abundance in the woods, and indeed throughout all of Russia, under trees, because they prefer to grow in the shade. This word *Coftenitfa* means a stone berry, because in each one a little stone is found. On each stone there are 3 or 4 twigs, on which the berries hanging make up a number of about 20, as indicated here beside with the letter

A. BESSEN COSTENITSA AND B. BESSEN BRUSNITSA.

A is designated. The foliage is green in winter and summer; the berries ripen in the aforementioned month. The second kind, called *Brusnitfa*, is somewhat larger. Each berry is attached to a particular twig, as are our elderberries. Twenty or thirty can be found on a branch; this type grows about a span high above the ground, but the first mentioned grows about half as high again. Of these fruits, an unbelievable quantity is brought into Moscow every year, when both Germans and Russians provide themselves with them. The latter certainly fill whole barrels with them, then pour cold water over them, and let them stand until the approaching winter fair. Then they tap off this water for their drink, and refill it with new water afterwards. This drink is ##
Cornelis de Bruins's Observations

His very cooling and pleasant drink, especially when one mixes in some honey or sugar. The *beffen* themselves are also eaten with some honey for refreshment. The Germans also boil it down, cooking it with honey and sugar to a proper thickness, and consume it with roasted meats; this is remarkably fitting. They also put it into small vessels, pour the boiled *beffen* from other pressed fruits over it, and present it to their friends as a delicacy and refreshment. The *blat* is about like a palm, as can be seen in the letter B, and remains green both in winter and summer. This land naturally yields many crops in great abundance. One sees common white cabbage, called *Kapoesie* by the Russians, which they store in large quantities and eat twice a day; also cucumbers, or *Ongortjie*, which they eat from their hands, just as we do apples and pears. They also preserve them: and respectable people even present them to someone as something esteemed, and therefore have them on hand throughout the year. There is also plenty of garlic, which is used extensively in this land, so that anyone encountering them on the road is bothered by its smell. There is also *Green* or root pepper, which they eat a lot with fish and meat, and from which they know how to make good sauces. There are tubers of various kinds: red cabbage, brought there some years ago by the overseas nation, now also abundant; as is cauliflower. One also finds asparagus and artichokes, but only among the overseas people. It is also so with the artichokes under

the earth. They have also received from us yellow, white, and red roots, or carrots, and parsnips, which they have propagated abundantly, along with sorrel, of which the Russians had previously known nothing. But now they are working on it. The same goes for celery. Around Moscow there are many strawberries, especially the smallest variety. The larger ones are mostly eaten from the hand. There are also raspberries and melons in large quantities, particularly large, although not as impeccable as in Italy. For they are watery, and more like our cucumbers. One finds much water there, but little sweetness. As for trees, one has many hazel nuts, but no acorns. Apples are of various kinds, sweet and sour, which are quite edible, and look remarkably good. I saw a variety of apples so clear and translucent that one could see the kernels clearly within them. Pears are common, mostly small, and with little difference. There are also plums and cherries, but they have planted orchards that one finds in the courtyards of the Dutch merchants, where there is also enough *Aelbessen* to be found. These have planted their gardens with flowers, and keep them neat and tidy. Otherwise, the gardens generally are wild, and without any arrangement or division, where one does not know what to look at. They do not work on fountains or other embellishments of that kind; to which otherwise an abundance of their water would provide a good opportunity to create something beautiful with small stones. Nevertheless, it is noted that since the Grand Prince's return from our lands, much change has occurred here and there, both in building houses and gardens. Especially Knees Daniele Gregorits Serkaskie near his village, called Sietjove, located about 13 *wurft* from Moscow, had a garden made entirely in our manner, which I found quite beautiful and large. He also brought with him a gardener skilled in the art from Holland for this purpose. This garden, increasingly well arranged and adorned, is certainly the most notable to be seen here. Many remarkable things are not seen here; therefore, outsiders draw their greatest attention to the ponds, which are often found two or three, or even more near the manor houses. There are some very large and significant ones, and full of various fish, which are kept there for use. For when they receive visits from friends, they throw the net into it in their presence and catch so much fish that they know how to prepare 20 or 30, even more dishes with it, as I have often seen.

It refreshes my memory of a day of amusement, when we went with a sweet company of ladies to the village of Fackeloof, located 15 *wurft* from Moscow, belonging to Mr. Strefenof, a well-respected man who received me and the accompanying party, which consisted mostly of Dutch ladies, with great courtesy; in which his beautiful and gentle wife did not participate, who cheerfully contributed much to entertain us. The house was well built, and provided with many good rooms. The kitchen in particular was tastefully and beautifully made in the Dutch style. There our ladies themselves prepared some dishes with fish

according to their own liking: although we had already decorated ourselves sufficiently with cold appetizers, which we also brought.
Travels

They brought us dishes of fish, prepared in the style of the *Ruffen*, numbering approximately twenty, among which were some decorated with tassels that were quite tastefully arranged. After the meal was finished, they led us into a room where various swings or platforms had been suspended from the beams above. We sat on these ropes, taking turns going forward and then backward, thus pushing each other higher. It's a common form of amusement here. The lady of the house herself would sit there, while her two young and pretty maids held the rope, gently moving it back and forth. While sitting like this, she sometimes took her little child onto her lap, singing without stopping with her maidens some pleasant songs with such grace and charm that their faces were as pleasing to behold as their voices were to hear. At the end, they asked us to enjoy this very much, stating that it was only because they lacked musicians that they could no longer entertain us further. For which we thanked them and were led to the pond where a net had been cast, so that we would not return without catching fish. Thus, we parted from there quite satisfied and entered our coaches to continue riding.

Besides this village, I found a large tree whose branches had spread remarkably far. It was particularly beautiful in shape, and about three and a half feet thick at the base. It was an *Esfen* tree, which the *Ruffen* call *Afina*.

The people of the overseas nation commonly have a garden behind their homes or dwellings, where they painstakingly cultivate many kinds of good fruit trees alongside various types of flowers brought from our lands. One sees planking covering the flowerbeds or plots instead of palms everywhere. The land itself produces few flowers; those that are found are of little value. So when the *Ruffen* come near our lantern, they always present a bouquet of flowers, which they eagerly take home with them. Some of the most prominent *Ruffen*, however, even have gardens and cultivate flowers to their ability.

As for the customs of these people: it is their habit that when they come together and enter a room or hall, no one speaks until they have paid respect to the painted icon, as one always finds placed in those rooms. For this, they offer three prayers with a bow of the body and the waving of incense, while speaking these words: *Gopodi Pomilui*, meaning: Lord have mercy on me; or also: *Mier efdom Zjeiewoesfonon*, as much as: Peace be to this house and the living within, waving themselves in like manner. Then they greet their superiors and the people of the house speak. When they come to someone from another nation, they do the same, always first paying respect to one or the other painting, for which they offer a *Poklon* or obeisance to give God first the honor. Their main

entertainment is hunting birds with falcons and chasing hares with hounds; regarding which a certain rule has been established with a prescription of how many dogs each may keep according to his ability. Besides this, they have little enjoyment of other amusements. Their common toys are a lute with four strings, the kettle drum, a pipe, and a hunting horn, on which they blow. Furthermore, they take great pleasure in handling madmen and deformed people, or drunkards who are completely ruined by drink. When they come into company, they eat around ten o'clock in the morning and separate around one hour after noon. Then they go home to sleep, both in winter and summer. Their manner of writing is thus: They take the paper only with their right hand and place it on their knee, and therefore write whatever they have to write. Although some have begun to follow our way of writing, as is evident in their *Kanffeleryen*. They also tie the ring or finger-board to the thumb, and pulling the thread with that and the thumb toward themselves, not away from them, as we do. To this they also use their feet, which they have prepared for it because they are commonly bare. They know how to grasp the fabric they have to work on between their two foretoes, just as we place it under our knee, or otherwise fasten it. But there are also those who do differently, as I have often seen in various places.

In the beginning of July, I rode with a friend to Probrosfensko to visit three Russian hermits who had been imprisoned for four or five days. They had withdrawn themselves near a small river on Afos that flows into the Danube. The appearance of these men seemed strange and dissimilar to me, as far as their form and attire were concerned. The oldest might have been seventy years old; the two others...

Their manner of writing,

Russian Hermits.

Customs of the Ruffen. ## Cornelis de Bruins

re wat meer dan vyftigh. The first mentioned had spent forty years in the cave on that place within a rock, though he had been taken away by the Tartars in the meantime and sold to the Turks. After a short time passed, he escaped and made his way back to the aforementioned hermitage, where he had kept himself hidden until now. Their crime, it is believed, lies in their deviation from Russian religious beliefs; they deny this, however, requesting only to be questioned, and appearing to have endured all that could be inflicted upon them through pain or killing, with expressions of willingness to suffer for Christ's sake. None of them could read or write. Their clothing consisted of a simple skirt. Their hair hung down to the middle of their bodies, being like matted ropes due to never having been combed. It hung over their faces so that one could not recognize them unless they brushed it aside with their hands. On their chests, they had a large iron cross, weighing

approximately four pounds, hanging from two iron bands attached to a similar band around the waist and fastened to the front of the chest on the underside of the cross. The other two showed such reverence for this one that, whenever he stood up, as he did before us, they always supported him with their arms. In this dungeon, they were allowed to remain until His Majesty returned. However, they sat unconnected, exposed to the open air, only with a few mats and separated from each other in corners. The other prisoners there mostly had an iron ring attached to a short chain on both legs: so that they could barely move their feet. Furthermore, each of them has a guard assigned to prevent escape; however, vigilance is also maintained outside. This dungeon is very high with beams cut into it and open above (although there are several covered areas inside), otherwise small and square in its dimensions. Shortly after wanting to resume the visit I had given these hermits, I was informed that they had been moved to a house nearby to remain there until further notice. This favor was done for them through intercession.

At the end of this month, we received news of another victory by His Majesty's troops on new ground against the Swedes. Shortly thereafter, the Empress summoned me again to depict the three princes, about whom we have spoken, in their full size and to value the same. I would gladly have been released from this task, so I politely requested permission to be excused, under the pretext of continuing my ongoing journey. However, sensing that refusal would be unpleasant, I found myself moved by several considerations to consent to the Empress's wish and then proceeded with the work.

On the fifth of June, almost all the other merchants departed from here for Archangel, whom we, as we had done before, escorted according to common custom up to ten versts from the city, to a village in the field by the river Joufe, where some tents were erected to remain together for a while in the company of several ladies. After having made a good toast to the luck of the journey, they proceeded onward, and we returned to the city in carriages and sleighs, some on horseback.

Shortly before this, one day while walking in the garden behind our residence—which I often did to amuse myself with a gun, and to shoot at waterfowl and river birds in the pond or the river Joufe—I noticed a crane flying overhead. As soon as I spotted it, I loaded the gun with a ball, because these birds cannot be killed easily with ordinary shot due to their size, and fortunately, I hit it so well that it fell directly into the pond before me. This crane was shot and eaten.

It was quite foreign. For these birds are rarely heard of here, especially near the courts, although many keep them on their estates for amusement. But they are brought from elsewhere. After plucking the bird, it was skewered. However, tasting it, we found that it had a bitter flavor.

1. **The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges**

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that require careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and more effectively. Self-driving cars promise to reduce accidents and improve traffic flow, while personalized learning platforms can tailor education to individual student needs. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and develop innovative products and services.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise ethical concerns. Algorithmic bias, where AI systems perpetuate existing societal inequalities, is a serious issue that must be addressed through careful data curation and algorithm design. The displacement of workers due to automation is another concern, requiring proactive measures such as retraining programs and social safety nets. Furthermore, the potential for misuse of AI in areas like surveillance and autonomous weapons systems demands robust regulatory frameworks and international cooperation.

Ensuring responsible AI development requires a multi-faceted approach. Transparency and explainability are crucial; we need to understand how AI systems make decisions. Robust testing and validation processes can help identify and mitigate biases. Collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and industry leaders is essential to establish ethical guidelines and standards. Finally, ongoing public dialogue about the societal implications of AI will be vital to shaping a future where this powerful technology benefits all of humanity.

- **Algorithmic Bias:** The risk that AI systems reflect and amplify existing prejudices in data.
- **Job Displacement:** Concerns over automation leading to widespread unemployment.

- **Ethical Guidelines:** Principles for the responsible development and use of AI. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire emerged from humble beginnings as a small Turkish principality in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Led by **Osman I**, the Ottomans gradually expanded their territory, initially at the expense of the Byzantine Empire and other neighboring Muslim states. Their military prowess, particularly the innovative use of gunpowder weaponry and a highly disciplined standing army known as the *Janissaries*, proved instrumental in their early successes.

The conquest of **Constantinople** in 1453 by **Mehmed II**, also known as Mehmed the Conqueror, marked a pivotal moment in history. This event effectively ended the Byzantine Empire and transformed the Ottomans into a major power, controlling vital trade routes between Europe and Asia. Constantinople was renamed *Istanbul* and became the empire's vibrant new capital.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I**, often regarded as the greatest Ottoman ruler, the empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. Suleiman's reign witnessed significant territorial expansion into southeastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. He was also a patron of the arts and law, overseeing a flourishing period of cultural development and codifying Ottoman legal principles.

The Ottoman military continued to be a formidable force, engaging in numerous conflicts with European powers such as **Austria** and **Venice**. The empire's control over strategic locations like the Balkans and North Africa brought it into direct competition with these states, leading to prolonged wars and shifting alliances.

However, by the 18th century, signs of decline began to emerge. Internal corruption, economic stagnation, and technological backwardness relative to Europe weakened the empire's ability to maintain its vast territories. Attempts at reform were often met with resistance from conservative elements within the Ottoman bureaucracy.

The 19th century saw a series of reforms known as the **Tanzimat**, aimed at modernizing the empire along European lines. These included legal and administrative changes, military modernization, and efforts to improve education and infrastructure. Despite these efforts, the empire continued to face challenges from nationalist movements within its diverse population and increasing pressure from European powers seeking to expand their influence.

The Ottoman Empire's involvement in **World War I** on the side of the Central Powers proved disastrous. Defeat led to the collapse of the empire and the subsequent partitioning of its territories by the victorious Allied powers. The modern state of **Turkey**, established under the leadership of **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** after World War I, emerged from the remnants of this once-mighty empire.

“The Ottoman Empire was a bridge between East and West for centuries, leaving an indelible mark on history through its military conquests, cultural achievements, and complex political landscape.” ## Moscow

1. The Kremlin.
2. The Church of the Annunciation.
3. The Cathedral of the Dormition.
4. St. Basil's Cathedral.
5. The Church of the Intercession.
6. The Church of the Nativity. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that require careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and more effectively. Self-driving cars promise to reduce traffic accidents and improve transportation efficiency. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and personalize customer experiences. Moreover, AI is accelerating scientific discovery by enabling researchers to process massive datasets and identify patterns that would otherwise remain hidden.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise important ethical and societal concerns. One major worry is job displacement, as AI-powered automation could replace human workers in various industries. Ensuring a just transition for affected employees through retraining programs and social safety nets will be crucial. Another concern revolves around algorithmic bias - if AI systems are trained on biased data, they can perpetuate and amplify existing inequalities. Addressing this requires careful attention to data collection and algorithm design.

Furthermore, the increasing autonomy of AI systems raises questions about accountability and control. As AI becomes more sophisticated, it may become difficult to predict or explain its decisions, making it challenging to assign responsibility when things go wrong. Robust regulatory frameworks are needed to ensure that AI is developed and used responsibly, with appropriate safeguards in place.

The future of AI hinges on our ability to navigate these challenges effectively. Collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and the public will be essential to harness the transformative power of AI while mitigating its potential risks. Investing in education and workforce development will prepare individuals for the changing job market. And fostering a culture of ethical innovation will guide the responsible development and deployment of this powerful technology.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, increased business efficiency, accelerated scientific discovery.
- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement due to automation, algorithmic bias perpetuating inequalities, accountability concerns with autonomous systems. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small Turkish principality, it rapidly expanded under ambitious leaders like **Osman I** and his successors, capitalizing on the weakening Byzantine Empire and internal divisions within the fragmented Seljuk Sultanate of Rum.

The empire's early successes were largely due to its highly disciplined military, particularly the elite **Janissary corps**, composed of Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and rigorously trained as soldiers. This unique system provided a loyal and effective fighting force, instrumental in conquering key territories like Bursa, Adrianople (**Edirne**), and ultimately, Constantinople in **1453**. The conquest of Constantinople marked a pivotal moment in history, effectively ending the Byzantine Empire and transforming the Ottomans into a major European power.

Under rulers such as **Mehmed II**, known as "the Conqueror," and **Suleiman I**, "the Magnificent," the empire reached its zenith. **Mehmed II** consolidated Ottoman control over the Balkans, expanded into Greece, and laid the groundwork for further expansion into Europe. **Suleiman I** oversaw a golden age of Ottoman culture, law, and military prowess. His reign saw significant advancements in architecture, exemplified by the construction of magnificent mosques and palaces like the *Şehzade*

Mosque and *Topkapi Palace*. He also codified Ottoman law, known as the *Kanun*, which provided a framework for governance across the vast empire.

The Ottoman Empire's influence extended far beyond its military conquests. It controlled vital trade routes between Europe and Asia, generating immense wealth through taxation and customs duties. The empire fostered a diverse society, incorporating various ethnic and religious groups under its rule, although with varying degrees of autonomy and privilege. *Devşirme*, the practice of conscripting Christian boys for service in the military and administration, was a key element of this system, allowing the Ottomans to draw talent from across their territories.

However, by the 17th century, signs of decline began to emerge. Internal corruption, succession disputes, and increasingly ineffective leadership weakened the empire's ability to respond to external threats. European powers, benefiting from advancements in technology and naval power, gradually chipped away at Ottoman territory. Despite attempts at reform throughout the 19th century, including the *Tanzimat* reforms aimed at modernizing the military and legal system, the empire continued its slow decline, ultimately collapsing after World War I in **1922**.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries:** Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
- **Mehmed II:** Sultan who conquered Constantinople.
- **Suleiman I:** Sultan during the empire's golden age.
- *Devşirme*: System of conscripting Christian boys into Ottoman service. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire emerged from humble beginnings as a small Turkish principality in Anatolia during the late 13th century, gradually expanding its influence through military conquest and strategic alliances. Initially focused on establishing control over Byzantine territories, the Ottomans quickly demonstrated their prowess as formidable warriors, utilizing innovative military tactics and advanced weaponry to overcome their rivals.

The reign of **Sultan Mehmed II**, also known as "the Conqueror," marked a pivotal moment in Ottoman history. In 1453, his forces decisively captured **Constantinople**, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, effectively ending over a thousand years of Roman rule and transforming the Ottomans into a major power in the Eastern Mediterranean. This victory not only secured vital trade routes but also provided the Ottomans with a strategically located imperial capital.

Under subsequent sultans, the empire continued to expand, encompassing vast territories across southeastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The **Janissaries**, an elite infantry corps composed of Christian converts trained from childhood,

formed the backbone of the Ottoman military, renowned for their discipline and effectiveness. The empire's sophisticated administrative system, known as the *devşirme*, allowed for efficient governance and resource management across its diverse population.

"The Ottoman Empire was a unique blend of Turkish, Islamic, and Byzantine traditions, creating a vibrant cultural landscape that attracted scholars, artists, and merchants from around the world."

The empire's economic prosperity stemmed from control over key trade routes between East and West, facilitating the exchange of goods such as spices, silk, and precious metals. However, internal power struggles and external pressures from European powers eventually led to a gradual decline in Ottoman strength during the 18th and 19th centuries. Despite these challenges, the **Ottoman Empire** endured for over six centuries, leaving an indelible mark on world history.

- **Mehmed II:** The Sultan who conquered Constantinople.
 - *Devşirme:* The Ottoman system of recruiting Christian boys into military service.
 - **Janissaries:** Elite infantry corps within the Ottoman army. ##
- IX. CHAPTER.

Description of Moscow. Number of Churches and Monasteries, as well as other Particulars.

Now it is time for me to bring some further observations and descriptions of the territory of His Imperial Majesty into the light. Indeed, this Fortress has graciously permitted me (a privilege not granted to others) to use it freely, having told me with his own mouth that I might describe whatever I observed within his realm truthfully, and according to his command.

Here I begin a depiction of the city of Moscow, which I went to sketch in these days at a particularly large building of His Majesty's, named Vorobyovy Gory (Sparrow Hills), grandly and spaciouly constructed from wood, with two stories, having, as far as I can tell, 124 rooms both above and below, surrounded by a wooden wall. It lies on a hill opposite the *Devichiy Monastyr* (Maiden Monastery) on one side of the Moskva River, about 3 verst from the city of Moscow. Here I was received with hospitality some days prior in the company of many Lords and Ladies, through the brother-in-law of Lord Alexander, mentioned above. His Majesty himself had ordered me to choose this place for carrying out my undertaking, judging it to be the best that could be conceived: which I also found after examining other locations. During this summer, the Czarevna herself resided in this house, enjoying the pleasures of the countryside. Therefore, I

sought assistance from the brother-in-law of Lord Alexander, who led me there to make myself known to the Princely Court according to His Majesty's wishes. She replied that I could come when I found it suitable, provided I brought a single servant with me. So I rode there a few days later and completed the depiction from the upper rooms in watercolor on paper: as shown by No. 12. From this height, a beautiful view presented itself, since one could observe everything discreetly, both within and outside the city. I have indicated everything separately with the corresponding number. No. 1 is the *Novodevichiy Monastyr* (New Maiden Monastery). No. 2 comprises a place occupied by a regiment of soldiers. 3. Vorotruki, or the Gatekeeper's Place. 4. The place named Sufchova. 5. The monastery named Savinsky Monastyr. 6. Savinskiy Monastyr, a monastery named after St. Savin. 7. The Church of Nikolai-na Khipach, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and therefore so called. 8. the Church of Blagoveshcheniya (Annunciation) of Mary. 9. *Devichiy Monastyr* Strathvoy, or the Maiden Monastery that suffers. 10. Ulretenkoia Bachna, the tower of the Uftrenye gates. 11. Potroffsbeey Monastyr, or St. Peter's Monastery. 12. The Castle or *Kapitel*. 13. Troitska Bascrna. Thus is named the Tower of the Church outside the Castle. 14. The Church Saboor; that means as much as, the foremost church of the city, where most relics are kept. 15. Ivan Velikiy (Great Ivan), or the high tower in the Castle. 16. *Tserkov Philatova*, or the beautiful Church, built by Philatov. 17. The Church named Vafsenya Boroschak. 18. Kodafsbewa, the place of the linen-weavers of His Majesty, along with the church. 19. The St. Nicholas Church. 20. Glyn-Borock, or the Elias Church. 21. Tuganni, a church named after the location. 22. Anduonof Monastyr, or the monastery dedicated to Andronius. 23. The beautiful monastery named Spas-novoy (New Savior). 24. The courtyard of the Krutitsy Monastery. 25. Donfko Monastyr, or the Monastery of the Don Mother of God. 26. Spafa-novoi Monastyr, or the New Monastery, dedicated to our Savior. 27. The monastery of Andrew. 28. Daniel's Monastery, which they call Danilojski Monastyr. 29. The Moskva River. 30. Vorobyovy Gory (Sparrow Hills).

It has been recorded in the writings that this city of Moscow was once much larger than it is now. But after much investigation, I found the opposite to be true; indeed, it has never been as large as it is now, nor has it had such buildings of stone, which are increasing in number daily. It lies at 55½ degrees North latitude, or Polish height. They also call it Mosko, and sometimes Muskow, and Moscu. It lies in the southern part, and within Ruflant or Moskovie, on the little river Moskva, from which it derives its name. The size of the city... ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

of the city. I found the city to be three good hours' journey away, beyond the earthen wall. Then I took the beginning for the Potroffe Warate or Potroffe Gate: where the road is also called that, which extends to the red wall or *Kitai*. Then I passed by the

Mefuitsche Gate, which also has such a road. On the earthen wall, these two gates have been built of stone. The third is called Uitreffensfe Bralon, which actually means the way that leads to the city gate, so named because there is no gate on the earthen wall, but only an embankment of the earthen wall. The fourth is called Petroffe; where such a road also runs to the city. The fifth, 'T Werkske, where there is also such a road. The sixth, Mekitfe, with an equally similar road. The seventh, Arbatse. The eighth, Preszikh-terske, formerly named the Tenth, also with a road. The ninth Dref-wetsche, likewise located. The tenth, Kaknetske, which is located across the Negliene River. The eleventh likewise. The twelfth Taganse or Janse in one way or another.

Having taken this perimeter, I found myself the following day around the wall of the city, named Beloy Gorod and Muir. The distance around was about an hour and a half's journey. Near the aforementioned gates of the city, two towers have been built on the wall, and near some of the gates three, which are square, but made without fortifications to use artillery therein: standing four hundred paces apart, except in one place where this wall is not occupied with towers; that is near two gates. Also, His Majesty has made a garden in place, where one cannot go around the wall. Why one must enter the city on that side, namely towards the North. Moscow is thus divided into four parts, of which the first is the Castle or *Kafteel*, named Kremlgorod. Castle. It lies on the river Moscua, which runs to the west of the Castle and falls into the river Occa near the town of Colomna, counted 36 hours from Moscow: falling into the river Volga, near the town of Nifen Novogorod, 100 hours from Moscow. The Castle is surrounded by a high fortified stone wall, and provided with many towers: as we have seen the appearance of it, from the side of the river near the great Bridge depicted here alongside. It has an hour marker been seen: the Nikolske Dem-vyf gates, such as the Spakae, where the kamennon Morlu : the Trifwatske, and the Tay-

CASTLE OF MOSCOW. ## Moscow: A Description

Taynuski, a loop running around it with a dry ditch, all the way to the river. There is no artillery in the Kremlin. So, if joyful signals are to be made by shooting, the cannon must be brought from the storehouses. Then they are placed on the Bafuar or market square in front of the Kremlin, where the Tsar's palace stands, large and built of heavy stone, though partly dark. Yet His Majesty never forgets it. In the same place is also all the residence of the Patriarch, as well as all the Kanflaryen or court houses, called *Prikas* by the Russians: along with a few, but not many, notable noblemen's houses; which the Tsar has now begun to take for himself, so that there is only one remaining. In the middle of the place, which is spacious and roundly surrounded by buildings, stands a tower called Ivan Velikiy, as much as Great Fan, where the large bell hangs, which in the year 1701 was knocked down and shattered by fire. It is estimated that this bell weighs 336

fentenaers, that is 8000 *pood*, each *pood* being reckoned at 33 pounds of Dutch weight, totaling 266,666 pounds. It was cast during the time of Grand Duke Godenou. To reach the place where it hangs, one ascends 108 steps upwards between two towers, where it still stands after having fallen. It is of an exceptional size, with Ruffian characters inscribed around its outer rim. On one side, one sees three heads depicted in bas-relief. Ascending another 31 steps, one sees 8 bells hanging in the wall's window openings. Having climbed higher with a wooden staircase of 20 steps and another of 10, one finds 9 bells hanging in the same manner, each smaller than the last, and two together. From this tower, one views the city in a beautiful form, along with many stone churches that appear in great numbers. The domes and spires of some are gilded, creating a lovely sheen when the sun shines. Above all is the Church Saboor. There are many large stone buildings there. Currently, a new arsenal is also being built within the Kremlin, and a large wooden lodge has been erected beyond the Nikoloevsky Gate to display theatrical performances; for this purpose, several players have already arrived from Dantzic this winter, having given some trials of their art in the palace of the late General la Fort. Now the Russians are also learning this art, to perform plays in their own language; they have already made a small start at it, which, as one might think, is not much to boast about. But this lantern is reasonably well understood and eager, like monkeys, to imitate what is presented to them, however flawed it may be. If you show them a good way that differs greatly from theirs, they will admit that it is better, but add that their way is also good.

Having dealt with the first part of the city, we come to speak of the second, which covers about a fourth of the area beyond the Kremlin walls. It is called Kitay Gorod, and lies more or less in the middle of the general city, surrounded by a high stone wall, which they call *Kraftnajftenna*, or the Red Wall, because it was once of such a color; a wall. Within this wall stands directly opposite the Kremlin the most important church, namely that of St. Trinity, a common church, built by an Italian architect. Nearby is the main market or trading place, where people gather daily. In the same area are almost all the most notable noblemen's houses, as well as the *Gathoven*, where the merchants' goods are stored, as well as the most important shops, which have their fixed places in the streets, each in its own row, including some covered areas for cloth and fabric dealers, goldsmiths, silk buyers, furriers, and others of a similar kind. One also finds the *Gathof* of overseas merchants, who have warehouses there to store their goods, where they ride daily to conduct their trade. In the same way, artisans and sellers of all kinds of wares have special streets suitable for them.

The third part of the city is called Beloy Gorod, or White Wall. This and Kitay Gorod cover the entire Kremlin up to the river. Here runs the Neglina River, with an artillery depot on one side and a large *kabak*, or brandy house, on the other.

The fourth part included in the outer wall is called Skorodum, which means as much as "Hasty." The origin of this name is that this wall was erected hastily within a very short time, particularly along the Moskva and Neglina rivers, to resist ## Cornelis de Bruins on the Invasion of the Tartars during Tsar Fedor Ivanovich's Reign

Cornelis de Bruins recounts the invasion of the Tartars during the reign of **Tsar** Fedor Ivanovich, who ascended to power in 1584. He was a son of **Tsar** Ivan Vasilevich, who sought to be honored with the title of Tsar after subjugating the kingdoms of Kafernof, Caftan, Astrakan, and Siberia under his rule. The word *Tsar* in Slavic speech actually means King; therefore, many believe that it signifies Emperor, as Slavonic language expresses the term Emperor through *Zefar* or *Kezar*, and King through *Karolie*. Germans particularly make this mistake, mistranslating *Czarietse* as Empress, when it merely denotes Queen.

In this latter sense, the *meef-te Slaboden*, or soldiers' dwellings (specifically, the streeps), are located here. Some of these were within the red and white walls that **Tsar** Fedor drove and relocated from time to time due to their numerous uprisings and rebellions.

While speaking of dwellings, I must mention how unusual it was in this city to see entire houses being sold outright on the market. Not only whole houses but also individual rooms and chambers, detached and consisting of beams or half-logs, could be taken away and reassembled wherever desired; they would then be fitted with new frames within a short time. Such houses cost from 100 to as much as 200 rubles, each ruble being reckoned at five guilders of Dutch currency. Individual rooms also sold for varying prices.

Beyond the earthen ramparts lie villages, farmsteads, and outlying settlements surrounding the city; some are densely built and populated while others are close to the walls. A half-hour's distance from here lies the German *Slaboda*, and further out, various villages.

The churches and cloisters in Moscow, on the **Tsar's** court within the Kremlin, in the other divisions of the city, and also beyond the earthen ramparts but close to the city walls, are so numerous that one can count 679 churches, cloisters, and chapels. These churches are built round and onion-shaped, not like some portray them resembling the shape of heaven, which opens up like a vault: supposedly to provide a more pleasing sound from the priests' singing. Others believe this people ascribe some religious power

to the bells; however, that is unfounded. They are only consecrated and frequently used during major festivals for performing religious services.

The cloisters within and around Moscow have various names. Within the Kremlin are two: one for men, called the *Zudoff Monastir*, or Monastery of Miracles, where Tsarevichs and Princes (but not Tsars) are buried; as we shall discuss further below. The other is called Vosnesensky Monastir, or the Monastery of Christ's Ascension, where women dedicate themselves to a life of seclusion. Outside the earthen ramparts near the city are large and rich cloisters, such as Spassky Monastir, or the Monastery of the Savior; Simonovsky Monastir, dedicated to a certain saint named Andronius; Donskoy Monastir, dedicated to the Mother of Christ, where miracles are recounted that she performed on the Don River; Danilov Monastir, or Daniel's Monastery; Devichy Monastir, or the Great Women's Monastery; Novinsky Monastir, or the New Cloister; Slatoustensky Monastir, or the Monastery of Chrysostomus; Ivanovsky Monastir, or the Monastery of St. John; Rofibefrumsky Monastir, dedicated to Christ's birth; Varfonovsky Monastir, dedicated to a certain saint of that name; Satzatoi Monastir, or the Monastery of the Annunciation; Moevsky Monastir, or the Monastery of Moses; Strafnoi, so named for its frightening nature; Sdvifenkovy, named after the location; Stretenksy Monastir, or the Monastery of the Meeting; Nikolayevsky Monastir, or the Monastery of St. Nicholas; where there are also two others of the same name; thus, in total, there are 22 cloisters. The city itself is generally paved with beams or bridges of beams because the roads are unusable during summer due to heavy mud when it rains. Shopkeepers, being so numerous, must make do with a small space that they barricade at night when they return to their homes. The city has many long and fairly wide streets. In these are numerous *Prikaz*, or chancelleries, the most important of which is the Pofolye, where all foreign officials are registered. Following this is the Rozdelsky, where records are kept of all the Russian nobility, governors, and other ministers. Then there's the Dvoretz, where knowledge is maintained of everything pertaining to His Majesty's court. And then the Ponye, where records are kept... ## Reisen.

Of all the landed estates of entire Russia. Then follows the Streltse Prikas, where previously a register was kept of all the Streltsy or soldiers, but that record is finished. All these Prikaz are built of wood, and consist of several rooms, in which many scribes reside. Some of these rooms are also wooden, and floating like prisons, for which they are also used, being suitable places where criminals are confined. Others, imprisoned for debts, wander through the Prikas, but chained in iron. The aforementioned writers sit in separate rooms. Others in some Prikaz at a long table, covered with red cloth, with which the rooms are also furnished. In the Inofense Prikas is the register of all foreign officials. In the Kafanse d'Woores are the kingdoms of

Kazan, Astrakhan, and the lands attached to them registered. There is also a new Prikaz established for the Admiralty, called the Ruschewne, where all the weaponry is recorded. One has the Apothecary, the gold and silver Palace, where the names of the gold and silver smelters are listed who are paid in His Majesty's service: the Bolfchaia Kaefna, where a register is kept of the income of the land. In the Sudnoy Wolodinerskoi, and Sudnoi Moskofskoi all nobles, councilors, and scribes must appear in court. In the Petutnoi Prikas the payment of seals must be made, and it is recorded there. The Monasteerse Prikas depends on all monasteries. In the Patriarchate are handled all sacred matters, marriages, inheritances, also disputes settled between married people, and whatever else concerns disturbances over pelt and other similar things. In the Jamskoy are listed all those known who must ride in service of His Majesty throughout the year in a given order. While I was there, these 18 Prikaz were all within the Kremlin: outside which still many others exist: namely the Pushkari sche, where one finds the number of all the cannons; the Sibierche, from which the land of Siberia depends; the Rosboina, where all condemned prisoners are interrogated, and several others. In these Prikaz sits commonly one of the aforementioned favorites, or first civil servants, whom His Majesty has elevated to this rank of esteem out of affection or as a reward for their merits, and further favored on emerging occasions. For while sitting here they become Boyars or State Councilors, an office which cannot be better compared than with that of the Grandees of Spain, or the Peers in France. One finds among these people Okolnitschen, who must always be found by the Vorft as he is about to go out: also Doemnie d'Woreni, or noble councilors; also Doemnie Diaek or Council Secretaries. Still there are Stolinki or servants of His Majesty's table: D'worene or court servants: Schilfe a host of servants of lesser rank. People also of the aforementioned nobility, or who have some acquaintance with the Czaritiele, are elevated to Spalnicken, or nobles of the bedchamber. Then follow Maids of Honor, Warders, Mouthpieces, and so forth. And since His Majesty has returned from the Netherlands into his realm, he has instituted the Order of St. Andrew, the Apostle, and up to this time four lords have been invested with that order, namely Feudor Alexewits Golowin Bojaer, first State servant and Admiral; Stetman, chief lord of the Kofakken; the Lord of Prinsen, extraordinary envoy of the King of Prussia; and General Veltmaerschalk Boris Petrowits Seremetof. All of whom are invested with a St. Andrew cross, on which his image stands, richly adorned with precious stones. Concerning all the splendor of this court it must be noted that this Vorft is so full of a monarch of his lands that I do not know if one like him can be found, conducting everything according to his pleasure and good will, having the life and death of all his subjects, from the least to the most, in his hands, and, what is even more astonishing, power to regulate matters of religion, and to introduce some change

therein; a matter which crowned heads avoid entering into, knowing how dangerous it is to interfere with the established order.

As we have touched upon above in what manner the virtues and merits of people who have acquitted themselves well in war and peace, or concerning the affairs of the realm, are rewarded: so let us also add here the punishments that follow vices. Those who have committed grave crimes are burned alive. To this end they erect a square house of wood on the place where justice is administered, and surround it inside and out with straw. After the sentence has been read, the guilty party is placed therein, and the straw is set alight, so that he perishes by the rising smoke and then burns. Beheading takes place

Order of St. Andrew.

The Czar a complete Monarch.

Rewards and Punishments.

Burning.

Disposal. ## Cornelis de Bruins on Moscow and Muscovy

Those found guilty are sometimes laid across a beam, with their heads placed upon it, and then beheaded with an axe. Others are hanged on gallows; still others are buried alive in the earth. They are lowered into a pit to their shoulders, which is filled with soil, and left there until they die; we have already mentioned an example of this, and could provide more, as such occurrences were frequent during my stay there. However, these executions take place here with such secrecy that, while justice may be served on one side of the city, people are often unaware of it on the other. Those who do not deserve death are flogged with the *Knoet*, a long whip or leather strap that is very harsh. They are brutally lashed across the naked back with such force that many die from the floggings. This is typically how it happens: when someone is to receive this punishment, the executioner selects one of the overseers whom he deems suitable and strong enough. He has the guilty party brought to him, placing them on their back with arms over their shoulders so that their hands rest on their chest. Meanwhile, their feet are bound together with a rope. Then, one of the executioner's servants seizes them by the hair and administers as many lashes as are prescribed. Intense flogging exposes the flesh of the buttocks. The least severe punishment is being beaten with sticks. Those who suffer this are laid on the ground; then a man sits on their head and another on their feet until the punishment is complete.

Torture. We torture them in much the same way we do with the rack. But those hanging are flogged with the *Knoet*, or sometimes scraped with a glowing iron over the strips of leather. If the

torture is severe, they cut into the scalp and let cold water drip onto it. Incompetent or malicious debtors are brought before the magistrates and beaten three times daily for several journeys with a stick on the side of their leg. Whoever owes 100 rubles or 500 guilders must endure these floggings every day for an entire month. Those who owe more or less are punished according to the magnitude or smallness of their debt. If, after this period, they have not paid, everything they own is seized and handed over to the creditors. But if they are not satisfied with this, the debtor, along with his wife and children (if he has them), is given to the creditor as serfs to reduce his debt in that way. For this service, 5 rubles per man must be paid annually; half as much for a woman, since she must be fed and clothed. This continues until the entire debt is fulfilled.

It is said here that Moscow lies in the middle of the land, like in the palm of its hand, and everywhere around it is about 120 German miles from the borders. It is calculated to be 86 miles from the Polish border and from the Kingdom of Persia, or the city of Tarki, which lies within the territory of the Tsar and on no side of the Caspian Sea, approximately 460 miles, each mile being reckoned as a good hour. From Moscow to the outermost boundary place of his Tsarist Majesty's domain in Siberia, or to the river Argun, which separates the territory of the Tsar from that of the Khan in China, it is commonly calculated to be a length of 7600 fathoms, amounting to 1320 miles; likewise, from there to the capital Peking in China, 2500 fathoms. This information I have obtained from the mouth and notes of Herr Everhart Ysbrants, who was sent as an ambassador of his Tsarist Majesty. As for Ruslant or Muscovy in its entirety, it is called *Ruffia nigra* in Latin, or otherwise *Ruffia rubra*, black or red Ruslant to us; also known as Little Ruslant. It is located in the southern part of the Kingdom of Poland between the territories of Polesia, Volhynia, Podolia, Transylvania or Seven Mountains, Hungary, and Upper or Little Poland, being the northernmost part to the east, which is the largest territory of all Europe, situated between the North Sea, the Ijsel, the river Jank, the Caspian Sea, a portion of the river Volga, the Crimean or Przecops Tartary, the river Boristhenes, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the territories of Livonia, Esthonia and Ingria, the Kingdom of Sweden, and Swedish Lapland. The most important cities are Moscow, Vladimir, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kazan, Bulgaria, Astrakhan, Vologda, Pleskov, Refan, Seroflaw, Peroflauw, Arkhangel, and St. Nicholas. This kingdom of Ruslant began to be ruled in the year 1545 by Grand Prince Ivan Vafeliwits, who in the year 1584 bequeathed his domain to his son Feodor Ivanovits, who died in the year 1598. In the same year Boris Godunof seized the throne, but suddenly died in the year 1605. His son Fedor Boniowits Godunof came into his place, but reigned for only three months, as he was killed in the year 1606 by the fallen Demetrius.

Location: Moscow's position. Cities of Ruslant. Grand Princes of Muscovy. ## Reisen: A Chronicle of Russia

Following his father's death, **Waffili Iwanowits Schuisk** was elected Grand Prince in 1610 by the Ruffians (Russian boyars). He ruled for two years before being handed over to Poland. In 1631, **Michaela Fedowits** from the Romanov family ascended to power, ruling the realm for 32 years until his death in 1645. His son, **Alexei Michailowits**, succeeded him that same year and reigned until his passing on January 29, 1676. Then came **Fedor Alexewits**, who died on April 27, 1682. Shortly thereafter, Peter Alexewits was elected in place of his deceased brother by the Ruffians. However, in the same year, the rebellious *Streltsy* (Russian musketeers) crowned **Iwan Alexewits**, Peter's brother, and placed them both on the throne. Iwan died on January 29, 1696.

Until 1700, there were only eleven Patriarchs: **Joff** the first, **Germolen** the second, **Ignatius** the third (not considered due to his conversion to Roman Catholicism under the false Demetrius), **Philaret** the fourth, **Jofaff** the fifth, **Jofiff** the sixth, **Nikon** the seventh, **Jofaff** the eighth, **Pefterim** the ninth, **Joakim** the tenth, **Advan** the eleventh, who died in 1700 without a successor being chosen at that time.

In 1689, Moscow held an assembly of Boyars or State Councilors, comprising: two from the *Zerkaffen* family, three from *Galitheus*, one from *Odoefskoy*, three from *Proforefskoj*, five from *Sollofowen*, three from *Wruforey*, three from *Schermetowen*, one from *Dolgoruki*, one from *Bonodanofski*, one from *Trokurof*, one from *Repum*, one from *Wolmskoj*, one from *Koslofskoj*, one from *Beratsenskoj*, one from *Tzerbatof*, two from *Golowin*, one from *Scheyn*, two from *Bakurlino*, one from *Punskin*, one from *Chilkoff*, one from *Stueschnoff*, one from *Sabakim*, two from *Milofsafs-koi*, two from *Nariulkuns*, one from *Sokoffinus*, one from *Jufchhoff*, and one from *Matuskin*; totaling 44 Boyars. They advise the Vorst (Tsar) and manage state affairs.

The military, which the Tsar is entitled to maintain, consists of 46 or 50 thousand soldiers, along with several regiments of cavalry and infantry paid from the treasury, receiving their annual provisions in money, grain, and other necessities. In times of war, the entire nobility of Russia is summoned, forming a considerable force. Estimates place this at two hundred thousand men, as some nobles bring ten or twenty people with them, while others with less means bring at least two or three.

The principal sources of income for all of Russia, which we have touched upon in part, are furs, grain, flax, potash, woad, hemp, mats, birch bark, tar, talc, and so forth. Furthermore, there are substantial revenues from the *Kabakken* (taverns) that belong to the Tsar. Spirits, beer, and mead are produced here. Customs

duties also generate significant income. Archangel is used for shipping and sending caviar and *Karloek* (sturgeon roe) to other countries; this latter is a delicacy derived from the sturgeon caught in large quantities in the Volga River and other places. It is primarily used for clarifying wine, is also a beautiful ointment, and is widely used in cosmetics.

It would not be amiss to note here how the Russians calculate the shortening and lengthening of days and nights. According to them, on September 8th, the day lasts 12 hours, and so does the night. On September 24th, the day is 11 hours long, and the night is 13. On October 10th, the day is 10 hours, and the night is 14 hours. On October 26th, the day is 9 hours, and the night is 15. On November 11th, the day is 8 hours, and the night is 16. On November 27th, the day is 7 hours, and the night is 17. The days begin to lengthen on December 12th. January 1st has 8 hours of daylight and 16 hours of darkness. January 17th has 9 hours of daylight and 15 hours of darkness. February 2nd has 10 hours of daylight and 14 hours of darkness. January 18th has 11 hours of daylight and 13 hours of darkness. March 6th has 12 hours of daylight and the same amount of nighttime. On March 22nd, the day is 13 hours long, and the night is 11 hours. April 7th has 14 hours of daylight and 10 hours of darkness. On April 23rd, the day is 15 hours long, and the night is 9 hours. May 9th has 16 hours of daylight and 8 hours of darkness. On May 25th, the day is 17 hours long, and the night is 7 hours. The days begin to shorten on July 12th. Then, on July 6th, there are 16 hours of daylight and 8 hours of darkness. On July 22nd, there are 15 hours of daylight and 9 hours of darkness. August 1st has 14 hours of daylight and 10 hours of darkness, as does August 23rd with 13 hours of daylight and 11 hours of darkness. ## X. CHAPTER.

Changes in the Customs of the Land. Gateways within Moscow. Triumphant Entry of the Tsar Following the Conquest of Notenburg, etc.

Time has introduced many changes into this realm, and these have multiplied since the Tsar returned from our lands. His manners seem particularly pleasing to him. Indeed, he initiated a reform in the clothing styles, both for men and women; especially concerning those who serve at court, and where one finds certain attendants—without exception, even among the noble lords and their children. In fact, Russian merchants and others who have observed this note that they are dressed in such a way that one can readily distinguish them from our countrymen. Also, this year an edict was issued stating that no city gates would be opened to those passing through unless they wore Polish trousers or clothing and shoes polished in our fashion. This particularly concerned the servants of foreign nations, who, if they did not want to be taken as guards, were not released without paying a fee—although this did not affect peasants or common folk. This change will gradually erase the memory of old-fashioned attire. Therefore, I have here

depicted the traditional female dress of this land on canvas in profile, so as to more easily show the adornment at the back; which is indicated by No. 13; as is the entire figure at No. 14.

One must note that this image portrays a young unmarried woman, because married women wear it covered, as it would be shameful to display it. They have a pointed cap on their head, flat on top and round underneath, with an eight-pointed crown pattern all around, adorned with jewels, just like the top. Behind it is somewhat longer with two pointed tips. They call it *Tryoegh*.

The headdress of the maiden we depict here is a crown pattern, adorned with pearls and precious stones called *Perewaske*. In front of this, some wear a ribbon, called *Sweetske*. What they have around their necks is called an *Ofarelje*, and the earrings are *Sergi*. Beneath, large tassels hang from the braids of her hair, and at the top, to display it proudly, a linen ribbon, as partially shown here in a fragment; therefore, I have painted it in profile or sideways. The upper garment lined with fur is called *Soebe*. The underskirt is *Telagrea* or *Serrataen*; the shirt is *Roebacht*. These sleeves are so white and full of pleats that 16 or 17 yards of linen are required for them. The arm coverings, which reach to the hand, are called *Sarokavie*; the kaftan is *Zoelki*, which is commonly loose and unbuttoned. The shoes, called *Basmakje*, are typically red or yellow in color and have particularly high and pointed heels.

The Russians, reluctant to accept this change of dress, were also compelled to shave their beards—except for the servants. However, many court officials and others had theirs removed. To enforce this, several people were appointed this year to seize anyone found with a beard and forcibly shave all Russians without distinction. This caused such distress among some that they blinded the guards and bought back the loss of their beards by paying money. But this ruse was futile: for they were not free until they fell into the hands of others equipped with the same mandate. This happened to prominent lords, both by the Tsar himself when he was visiting someone in need, and by other similar occurrences. It is impossible to express the sorrow that this caused many of these people, who parted from their beards—which they had worn for so many years as a certain mark of distinction and honor—only with grief. Indeed, many would have spent sums of money had it been allowed them to buy back this loss.

The change is not so great among women, except for those of high standing. For among them, one sees young ladies adorned with fountains, and otherwise dressed in our fashion. ## The Russian Woman: Traditional Attire and Style

In traditional Russian fashion, women frequently wore striking headscarves, often adorned with intricate patterns and embroidery. Their clothing typically consisted of a richly decorated dress paired with a heavy fur coat, the sleeves and collar embellished with detailed stitching. Jewelry, such as earrings and necklaces, was often crafted from gemstones or metal and formed an integral part of their appearance.

This image depicts a Russian woman in traditional attire, featuring a prominent headscarf cascading over her shoulders. The dress is decorated with complex patterns, and the coat is covered in fur. She wears earrings and possesses a graceful posture.

This style was characteristic of 19th-century Russian fashion, where wealth and status were frequently expressed through the use of luxurious materials and elaborate embellishments.

- **Headscarf:** A defining element, often showcasing intricate designs.
- **Dress:** Richly decorated with complex patterns.
- **Fur Coat:** A symbol of warmth and affluence.
- **Jewelry:** Crafted from precious stones or metal, enhancing the overall elegance. ## Reisen.

To develop this fashion of dress, initially hats, shoes, and other necessities had to be imported from overseas. However, as this proved to be a costly endeavor, they began producing items domestically, first somewhat crudely, but subsequently better, once hatmakers were summoned from our lands to teach them the craft. We have previously noted that these *lantaart* (lanterns) are amenable to learning and imitating what is shown to them.

Order Against Beggars. Good order was also enforced this year against beggars who, both men and women, filled the streets with such numbers that one could scarcely pass a shop within Moscow without being surrounded by them. This caused inconvenience, as many vagrants among them were not above preying on someone's purse and robbing them of their belongings. The *Ruffen* (Russian people) do not consider this sin to be particularly burdensome. Therefore, His Majesty wisely issued an edict prohibiting the poor from displaying themselves in the streets to solicit alms, expressly requesting that anyone who might give them something would incur a penalty of five rubles, or 25 guilders. To support the poor, a *Godtshuis* (house of God) has been established near each church, both within and outside Moscow, serving as lodging for impoverished men; His Majesty provides an annual income for this purpose. Consequently, we are now free from these inconveniences, which used to be considerable, particularly around the churches, where beggars would pursue people attending divine service down the entire street without leaving them until they received something. It is likely that many, in order

to avoid living in the *Godtshuizen*, have taken up work, as begging is generally considered shameful among the poor. Although there are those who would work if given a suitable opportunity. This reminds me of the following incident.

House of God for the Poor. While I was lodging at the same house, a young boy came to beg an alms from a gentleman also residing there. The gentleman asked him why he sought to earn his living in this way rather than by working or serving good people. The boy replied that he was not suited for work because he had not learned how, and as for service, he could not find anyone willing to hire him. The merchant, noticing something promising in the young man's face, asked if he would like to live with him and diligently attend to his duties, but stipulated that he must provide a guarantor. For this is customary when hiring servants here, lest they prove untrustworthy and no recourse can be had; although many neglect to obtain a guarantor. The boy responded that he had no one, but invoked God as his witness and guarantor, promising to serve him faithfully and honorably. The merchant was satisfied with this assurance and took him into his service on those terms. Indeed, he proved capable in every aspect of his duties and performed the work diligently. Meanwhile, it happened that he became intimate with a certain maidservant of the house and lay with her. Subsequently, she discovered she was pregnant and complained to him about her condition. He was also urged by others to marry her, whom he had wronged. He did not readily agree (as she was reasonably aged). Therefore, he was pressed to fulfill the promises he had made to her. They also asked if he would be able to answer for such a mishap before his guarantor. Thus pressed, he replied that he could bear this burden and subsequently pledged to marry her. He did so and began with what he had earned in the meantime to start a small business as a merchant. Fortune favored him so greatly that while I am writing this, he is a prominent linen and fabric shopkeeper in Moscow and is considered a man who possesses more than thirty thousand guilders. He lives harmoniously with his wife; but now having reached seventy years of age and the children being deceased, he would like to place her in a convent if she were willing, while providing for her support and marrying another woman to beget children again; which is permitted by Russian law. However, they have not yet come to an agreement on this matter.

The changes we have discussed also affect the *Kafeleryen* (chancellery), where all documents are now written in our style. The Prince pays much attention to this.

Change in the Kafeleryen. ## Cornelis de Bruyns

...gen, like all other things. For nothing happens outside his sphere or knowledge, with all state affairs, whatever their nature may be, being brought before him. Currently, through his diligence, Novogorod has been strengthened, along with Plef-cow,

Afop, Smolenske, Kicof, and Ar-changel. A great deal of money has been spent on this; yet despite that, due to the good order and foresight in the state treasury, a sum of approximately three hundred thousand rubles was found, as his Majesty declared to me personally, and others have since confirmed it to me: and this was discovered after all expenses related to warfare, shipbuilding, and other such matters had been paid. However, it should be noted that the costs associated with shipbuilding are separate, with every ten thousand farmers obligated to provide funds for constructing a ship with all its accessories. These farmers belong partly under his Majesty and partly under private lords, nobles, and collectors, among whom the Troytfe Monastery stands out as previously mentioned.

From this, it is enough to observe that the subjects of this Prince may pray for his long life and happy reign, so that they may gain more and more understanding from him regarding many good things. Certainly, everything in this can be seen, especially considering that the Tsarevich, now about 14 years old, follows his father's example, already demonstrating sound judgment at such a young age, being observant, inquisitive, and of good character. The Prince also takes good care of him and ensures he receives a proper education in Latin and German.

On September 14th, approximately 800 Swedish prisoners were brought here, consisting of men, women, and children. Some of these were sold as slaves for 3 or 4 guilders, but their price rose to 25 or 30 guilders within a few days; which prompted many from the overseas nations to buy some men, women, and children - certainly to their benefit, since it often happened that these poor people would be hired and kept in service during times of peace, and then released into freedom. Many were also bought by Ruffians, and the most unfortunate by the Tartars, who took them far away, which was truly a sad sight to behold.

On the 20th of the same month, news arrived that his Majesty had captured the fortress of Notenburgh on the 13th; after which the Te Deum was sung in the churches throughout the city.

At the end of the month, the first snow fell, and with the beginning of October, it began to freeze, though soon afterward there was more rain, just as much water had previously fallen.

In this year, so many ships arrived at Arkhangelsk that their number was calculated to be 154 merchant vessels, namely 66 English ships, along with four convoys; and an equal number of Dutch ships, along with three convoys. Although among the English there were many small ships of little importance. The rest consisted of 16 Hamburgers, 4 Danes, and two Bremer.

In mid-November, the Joufe River behind our residence was covered in ice, so that some Germans and several Ruffians rode across it on sledges, as no snow had fallen yet. I also took this

opportunity to have a sledge made in the style of our country, placed a young lady upon it, and rode across the river; which had never been seen here before. This was the second time in 32 years that I had possessed a sledge. But I found that once one has learned something, it is not easily forgotten. However, this amusement did not last long, as it snowed again the following night.

It happened during this time that on the 24th of the month, the Kanfelery within the Kremlin burned down, causing considerable distress.

December arrived, and news was received that his Majesty had reached the city of Pechik, located 90 versts from Moscow, where he stayed for a few days. From there, he traveled to the estate of Lord Lofkreilis, his uncle; which is counted as being 30 versts from Moscow. It is called Salnikof. Further on, the Prince approached within 7 versts of Moscow. This is the place of Knees Michalo Sakoliets, Serkaskie, Governor of Siberia, who gave it its name of Nikoolske.

Now preparations began to be made for the Tsar's entry. Arrangements were made for the anticipated arrival of his Majesty, and everything was prepared accordingly. Most of the merchants from overseas nations received permission to procure a large number of horses, along with a servant dressed in the German style. These horses were suitable for housing the captured Swedish artillery. Now, on the following day, the envoys, our Resident, and the En- ## Arrival and Triumph

English consuls, and a few merchants, set out to welcome His Majesty at the aforementioned location, returning here on the fourth morning of the month. We learned that this day would witness the triumphant entry. Approximately 800 men were outfitted in clothing made in the German style. Two wooden arches had been erected within the city walls: the first near the Red Gate, directly opposite the Greek Monastery and the Druckhof, where also resides Field Marshal Seremetof's residence; the second near the White Gate, about 400 paces from the other. A large crowd of people gathered to view these structures, both inside and outside the city walls. I rode through initially, then a short distance outward to observe the beginning. Upon arriving, I saw that the crowd paused briefly to ensure everything was in order, an arrangement made by His Majesty himself. We found the Tsar dismounted and approaching, welcoming us freely. He thanked us and embraced me, seemingly quite pleased that I had come to his land and here to witness this spectacle. Subsequently, he took my hand, saying, "Come, I will show you some naval flags." After this was done, he said, "Now go on your way, and take whatever you desire." While I was occupied with this, a certain Ruffich gentleman arrived riding with several attendants. Seeing me holding a paper, he approached and engaged in

conversation with one of the German officers to understand what I was doing. I replied that I was doing as pleased me and following His Majesty's orders. He then returned the paper to me. Thus, I satisfied my curiosity, something impossible without the favor of His Majesty.

The procession now unfolded as follows: Leading the way was the first regiment, the Tsar's Life Guard, consisting of 800 men under Colonel de Ridder, a German by birth. Half of this contingent, marching at the front, were dressed in red clothing made in our style, while the other half wore ordinary Ruffish attire, as there had not been enough time to prepare so many outfits. Following these were Swedish prisoners and peasants, three abreast, divided into seven groups, each group containing 80 or 84 individuals, totaling approximately 580 men, accompanied by three companies of soldiers. Next came two ornate hand-drawn carriages. Then a company of Grenadiers with green coats lined in red, made in the German style, who wore tall, black bear fur caps instead of hats. These were the first of the Life Guard Grenadiers. Following them were six Halberdiers, five Hobooblaizers playing loudly on their instruments, 6 officers, and then the Tsar's regiment from Probofenske: approximately 400 men of whom were also newly dressed in green with red lining, all having a white trim around the hats. Leading this regiment was the Tsar with Lord Alexander. Nine transverse flutists and several ornate hand-drawn carriages were also present. Then followed the Regiment or a portion of Semenokie, belonging to the Life Guard, dressed in blue with red lining. After it came the captured Swedish banners: first two standards, then a very large flag carried by four soldiers. This flag had flown over Notenburgh Castle. Next, five naval flags, followed by 25 pennants, each carried by two soldiers. Some of these were blue, green, yellow, and red; among them nine that were yellow and blue. In several, one saw two golden lions in the center with a crown above. Behind these came 40 cannons pulled by horses - some drawn by four, others by six. All were of a single color. Then 4 large mortars followed by 15 metal pieces, both large and small field guns; then another mortar. Next, 14 large long metal guns, some drawn by six, others by eight matching horses. Following this was a wooden case containing kitchenware, then ten sleds with muskets, three drums, a sledge with blacksmith's tools, and among them a large bagpipe, and one with weights. After all of this came the captured officers, approximately 40 in number, each accompanied by two soldiers. Behind them were several sleds carrying the sick and wounded, finally followed by some Ruffish soldiers. As they proceeded, it was an hour after noon when the entire procession entered the city. Having passed through the Twerskie Gate on the North side of the city to the first triumphal arch... ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

first regiment there. However, His Majesty remained silent for a considerable portion of an hour, as if awaiting the customary offering, which had arrived to that end, with a refreshment of drink revealed. This gate was, because the passage was fairly wide, equipped with three arches, the largest in the middle and the smallest on either side adjacent to the houses—named “the gatehouse.” The entire gate was hung with tapestries to such an extent that one could not see the woodwork. Above the gate, on a balcony, eight small boys stood, two-and-two divided, dressed splendidly, who let their voices be heard in music. The gate was adorned with many paintings, among which were some symbolic images alongside inscriptions belonging thereto. Above the gate stood a large bear and a display of banners. On both sides of the passage before the gate it was also hung in the same manner with tapestries and paintings. Moreover, there were balconies above, and upon them many musical instruments with an organ and all sorts of toys, which produced a pleasant sound. Many banners flew on both sides. Around this gate, the ground was covered with numerous green branches on either side, and the passage itself was adorned with greenery. On the back side sat various nobles. Having passed through this gate, one saw

the Prince, after his Majesty, the Czarietie with the three young Princes alongside some Russian and German ladies, who were withdrawing into the residence of Mr. Jacob Waffielof Feuderof to better be able to view everything. His Majesty greeted the Vorf while continuing to advance through the second gate, which was decorated and equipped in the same manner. Having passed through the city and the Meftietse gate, one proceeded through the German Sloboda. Upon arriving before the court of the Dutch Resident, he offered his Majesty wine, which this flant accepted and drank a glass. It happened that I was there, and it fell to me to hand it to the Vorst himself, who having drunk very little, continued on towards Probrofensko. Now it went straight ahead: and when His Majesty came outside the Sloboda, he mounted his horse. Thus this procession ended. To see such a multitude of people in the city of Moscow as if they were flowing like water is beyond belief; everything proceeding with unremitting joy, and without any mishap, as far as I could ascertain, although the houses and buildings were crammed with people.

1. CHAPTER.

Inauguration of Ifmeelhof. Many gifts brought there. A French surgeon mortally stabbed. Magnificent Throne Room. Customs concerning Birth, Burial, and Marriage; also of foreign nations.

ON the 12th of the month, the Vorst unexpectedly arrived in the morning at ten o'clock local time by Mr. Lups, who had returned from Archangel here the previous day. I came to the court without knowing anything about it, to greet Mr. Lups. But His Majesty learned that I was there and ordered me to enter, accompanied

only by two Russian nobles. I offered His Majesty a paper, excusing myself for my inadequacy in poetry, but nevertheless expressing that I could not fail to set down some proof of joy in writing over the fortunate victory of His Majesty at the recently captured Notenburgh. The Vorst accepted it somewhat unpleasantly and ordered me to sit down and tell Mr. Lups what I had seen upon arrival. After this was performed to his satisfaction, a few small glasses of wine were emptied, dedicated to the newly acquired victory and its good continuation. Upon which the Vorst departed again at two o'clock.

On the 19th, I received instructions from the Empress to bring the three portraits of the young Princes, which I had painted life-size as before, in the morning to Ifmeelhof. Upon arriving there, the carriage with six horses, come from Moscow, drove directly before me, wherein the three Princes sat, who dismounted at the front gate. Here stood the brother ## Reisen.

Accompanied by several priests, the Empress arranged to guide the princes in procession to the court, which had recently been rebuilt this summer since the previous one was entirely decayed by time. For it was appointed that this day the court should be consecrated and then entered. Having presented myself, I was requested to wait in the first chamber, where I found many ladies of the court. The floor was completely covered with hay. On the right side stood a large long table, entirely covered with large and small loaves of bread; on some lay a handful of salt: on others a silver salt-cellar filled with salt. For it is customary in this land that friends and acquaintances of those who move into a new dwelling house the house with this salt, and follow it for several days. That is to be a sign of abundance, which they wish here: so that the inhabitants may never lack any necessities. When leaving a house, they also leave hay on the ground, and a loaf in it, as a blessing-wish for those who move into it. Above the doors and windows of this chamber, the walls were decorated with seventeen different paintings, made in the Greek manner, depicting all their foremost saints, which they commonly fill the first chamber with; although similar paintings are also seen hanging in other inner rooms. In the second chamber, which opened onto the hall, was the brother of the Empress, and several lords and priests, who were heard singing holy hymns while standing before some books. The Empress was with some noble women in a third chamber during this religious observance, lasting about half an hour. Then I was led through another passage into a spacious hall to await the Empress, who upon coming in shortly thereafter greeted me with wishes of much good fortune and blessing; which blessings the interpreter, who stood by me, conveyed to her. Hereupon this Princess took my hand, saying: I want to show you some other chambers; that she brought forth with a kindness which one would not expect in such a high position. Then she ordered one of the ladies-in-waiting to fill a golden bowl with brandy and gave it to me by her own hand to

drink, and made me kiss her hand, and that of the princes present. Then she bade me farewell and promised to return in three days. Whereupon I departed.

The Christmas holidays were approaching. Because I found a painting of Christ's birth, which I myself had made, more suitable to take with me than bread and salt; also some paternosters, which I had brought from Jerusalem. I offered these things to Her Majesty, saying that I took the liberty of offering them as an offering instead of bread and salt. I delivered a few paternosters over for the young princes. The Princess expressed that everything was pleasing to her, thanked me, and reached out a token of honor; further ordering me to go with the princes and hand them the paternosters in her own hands. Which I promptly did, finding the princes in another chamber at mealtime. Having delivered my gifts, I returned to the Empress: where one of the princesses also briefly joined me there, offering me a bowl of brandy and shortly thereafter a large glass of wine. After which I took leave with thanks. On the 25th of the month, the Russians held their Christmas according to their custom; and from then on Her Majesty began to visit her kind friends, as I mentioned in the previous year.

Until the end of this year all remained the same, mixed with much rain, which made the roads so bad that merchants and other travelers arriving here from Archangel and other places were five or six days longer than they used to be on their way; so that one had not seen such a poor winter in many years. But this changed at the beginning of January of the following year: and the sky cleared, bringing with it bitter cold freezing. On the first of January of this year 1703, there was a great commotion due to a celebration of victory over Notenburg. This display was made over the Moskofwe river, just beyond the castle in a plain named *synburgh*. Her Majesty's hayloft: where hay is used on a certain day of the year according to an old custom, to consecrate the churches. This fireworks display differed little from the aforementioned one in terms of the meaning of the images.

The following day His Majesty came to Mr. Brants' house, accompanied by about 200 people, who were all received in the front hall by Mr. and Mrs. Brants, under the fanfare of trumpets and kettledrums. Among other things, a swan of particular size was displayed here. It was long over 5½ feet Rijnland measure, wide in the sheath 3½ inches, made in good proportion. The G 2 weighed ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

After thirty days, the owner retrieved it at my request, and we saw that it had ignited reciprocally, rising and falling slightly. Due to the size of the fight, the blade was almost light and convenient to use. When grasped with one hand above the fight, with the point resting on the hilt, a man of good strength would have enough to do just lifting it from the hilt three times high. We did not do this

with our three men to force the owner to yield. He was a son of the late Governor of Astrakhan, named Petrofske, who was killed by the *Streltsy* and thrown out. This happened when he was still a young boy. They hung him by his feet, but released him after forty-eight hours. He was found alive, but his feet were badly damaged and missing; however, he could still walk in comfortable shoes with the aid of a crutch under his arm.

From the Patriarch. As evening fell, the one who held the position of Patriarch, adorned in a religious mantle, entered while singing to the sound of a bell—a sign of departure. Then His Majesty and all his retinue departed, postponing the remaining visits. The feast day of the Three Kings was celebrated on the seventh of the month, as it had been the previous year. However, there were fewer priests this time. Few of the previously mentioned *mutfen* were carried either; indicating that a reduction in these ceremonies would also occur. On the same seventh of the month, His Majesty announced that he would come to Ifmeelhoff at 9 am that morning with all the most prominent Russian nobles and ladies, and other persons numbering almost 300 people. The envoys and most overseas merchants, along with their wives, joined them, so there were nearly 500 people present to be received. However, it was expressly stipulated that each person should bring a small offering to present to Her Majesty upon greeting her. These gifts mostly consisted of finely crafted gold or silver items, fine minted money, and similar trinkets—each judging them likely to please. Before presenting the gifts, all the offerings were recorded along with the names of the givers, and then handed over to one of the young princesses designated for this purpose, who would grant each giver a kiss on the hand. Most of the Russian nobles and ladies departed early. The others remained to eat. Dancing and other festivities continued after the meal, and it was nearly midnight before they parted ways.

On that same night, at the wedding of Captain Staats, an unfortunate incident occurred. Two surgeons were dancing with their brides when two officers entered the room and wanted to pull the brides away from their grooms, even to dance with them. An argument arose over this, and one officer, named Bodon, in service of the Czar's Majesty, mortally stabbed one of the surgeons, named Garree, a Frenchman by birth, so that he fell lifelessly to the ground and gave up his spirit. The other surgeon, Jan Hovy, was also wounded by the other officer, a captain named Saks. But feeling this, he raised his hand over the wound and fled into the room, trying to save himself by running across the courtyard. However, being pursued by the captain, he returned to the wedding chamber where he fell down near the dead man and fainted: until one of his friends revived him by sucking the blood from the wound. Shortly before this, these soldiers had already been searching for trouble; but the surgeons, one grabbing a saber, the other a chair, had forced them to leave the room. Enraged, they returned and committed this act in front of the

entire company. What distress this caused is easy to understand. After committing the act, they were caught two days later and imprisoned. The surviving officer promised his servant with kind words and promises that he would say he had committed the deed out of anger: for which he would help him join a regiment and obtain forgiveness for the act. The innocent man was moved and confessed to the murder; but when tortured, he denied it again and named the instigator; but too late. What followed here I will tell at its proper time.

During this time, His Majesty decided to travel to Veronis with some Russian and German nobles, having been informed that he would be ready for the journey shortly. On the same date, I also received a message on the 25th of the month, which was repeated to me again that evening by Mr. Kinfius in the name of His Majesty.

Foreign mistreatment and leave-taking.

Feast day of the Three Kings celebrated.

Gifts for the Czar's Majesty.

Unfortunate incident.

Murderers captured.

Preparations for a journey to Veronis. ## Reisen

The Voivode desired that I inspect the place, the ships lying there, and whatever else was noteworthy, before departing from the realm. I accepted the task and arranged my affairs in order to be ready at the proper time.

Meanwhile, the time approached for the wedding of Boyar Ivan Fedorovich Golovin, or Joan Theodore son Golovin, whose father is Feodor Alexe- vitch Golovin, first Stadiaenaer; and Lady Boreefwits Seremiet'of daughter of Boris Theodore zoon Seremeit'- of, who currently serves as the Velmazhchalk of the Tsar, having been used in several embassies, including to the court at Vienna in Austria, where he was greatly esteemed. He was also honored with the Order of Knighthood of Malta.

My lord considered this wedding, as something uncommon and concerning the most prominent of the realm, worthy of description, as it occurred on the 28th of the month. The wedding was held at the house of Boyar Feodor Alexe- vitch Golovin: whose court had been adorned with particular splendor. It was a building of wood, skillfully made, with beautiful rooms, both above and below, situated on an elevation just outside the German Sloboda, on no side of the Yauza River. In the upper hall, which was quite large, there were several tables arranged in good order, and nearby a multitude of musicians, ready to increase the joy.

Beside this was in another room a table prepared for the majesty, the Tsarietfa, and the three Princef- fen, along with the retinue of the Hofjufferen, and many Russian lords and ladies, who kept themselves separate. Many people joined them afterward. Around eleven o'clock, the groom was found below in the audience hall, standing alone on the right side, to receive the felicitations from all the lords: while refreshments were offered to each distinguished person. It was shortly after noon when news arrived that the groom would be led to the wedding place, under the blare of the trum- pets and the sound of the kettle drums, which stood before the court. This was a small chapel, separated from the court by only a few steps, and nevertheless belonging to it. It is almost impossible to describe what splendor was displayed here. His Majesty the Tsarietfa was herself Marshal here and therefore present everywhere. As soon as the groom was brought into the chapel, they sent for the bride from the house of the late Herr Adolf Houtman, standing in the German Sloboda directly across from the Dutch Church; for the Velmazhchalk, father of the bride, had been granted time by express order of His Majesty. Here the bride was brought, having been taken from Moscow the previous evening, and then all the invited Russian and German women hastened there to lead the bride to the wedding house. This retrieval took place in this way. Riding ahead was a kettle- drummer seated on a white horse. He was followed by five trumpeters on equally fine horses, three first, and then two behind. Then came 16 equerries, come from Russian and German lords, each seated on a beautiful horse. Here appeared His Majesty, sitting alone in a beautiful Dutch karos, drawn by six apple-tree horses. Behind him followed five empty karoffen, each with 6 horses; also a kales with the bride and other Jufferchap to be taken. Meanwhile, about half an hour passed when the aforementioned company was seen returning. The bride and the other ladies now boarded the empty karoffen. When they arrived at the wedding house, there were two lords as fathers to receive the bride. To this end, a Russian lord and the Envoy of Poland, named Konigzegg: who both took the bride by the hand and led her into the chapel, and placed her beside the groom. Then followed the Princes, majesty's zufter, the young Princef- fen, and many Hofjufferen, who stood at the entrance of the chapel: as on both sides of the chapel were some Russian and German ladies. The chapel itself was small: so that only ten or twelve people could be comely inside. These were His Majesty, the Tsar Prince, the groom and bride, the two fathers, and two or three Russian lords. I carefully observed everything, and also went inside, standing behind the groom, who, like the bride, was dressed in our fashion splendidly. The bride was adorned in a costly white fatyn, worked with gold. The entire headgear was entirely covered with dia- monds and gems; hanging behind under the fontaine a long braid loose: as has been customary among the German nation here for some time. Above on the back of the head she had a crown set with precious stones. Then the ceremonies began. The priest ## Cornelis de Bruins

quam staen voor den Bruidegom en Bruit, and began uit een boek, dat hy in de handen had, te lezen. Na weinigh tydts flak de Bruidegom eenen ring aan de hant der Bruit. Toen kreeg de Priester twee gladde en vergulde kronoen voor den dagh, waer van hy de eene den Bruidegom te kuffen gaf, en toen voorts op syn hooff zette. Dit zelve verrichtte hy aan de Bruit. Nadat hy weder een weinigh gelezen had, gaven de Bruidegom en Bruit elkander de rechte hant, en gingen zoo driemael rondom. Toen bragt de Priester een glas met rooden wyn, waer uit hy eerst den Bruidegom, en vervolgens de Bruit deed drinken. Deze een weinigh daer uit gedronken hebbende, gaf het den Priester weder over, die het aen die hem bedienden overgaf. Zyne Majesteit ondertuiffchen met eenen grooten Maerschalktaf in de hant heen en weder wandelende, en ziede dat de Priester syn lezen front te vervolgen, geboot hem syn werk te verkorten. Waer op een korte poos daarna de zegen gegeven zynde aan de nieu gehuwden, zyn Majesteit den Bruidegom gelafte zyne Bruit een kus te geven. Zy scheen'er daer ter plaetse eenige zwarigheid in temaken: maer de Vorft het andermael gebiedende, liet zy het zich wel gevallen. Hier op scheidde men, en vertrok op de voorige wyze naer het bruiloftshuis. Terwyl de ceremonien ver richt werden, zag men de Czarietse en veele Hofjuffers in de venfteren van 't pa leis, dat regt over de kapel was, leggen. Maar na weinigh tydts begaf men zich nu ter tafel. De Bruidegom was gezeten onder de mannen, de Bruit onder de vrouwen aan de algemeene tafel in de bruiloftzaal. Drie dagen duurde de vreugt, en wert de tydt doorgebracht met danlen en andere tekenen van vrolykheid. Den laetsten dagh werden de schafmeefters onthaelt. Het is aenmerkens waerdigh hoe zeer de troufaetfie tegenwoordigh verschilt van het overout gebruik. Maar het is onnoodig dit te toonen, dewyl dat van anderen genoegh gedaen is.

De zeden der overzeeche natie ontrent deze dingen verschillen weder. Als'er een kint geboren wort, ziet men geene andere ceremonien, als die in onze landen gebruikelijk zyn. En zoo gaat het ook met de trouw. Maar ontrent de bruiloften toonenze een groote rykelykheid. Als'er een flaet gehouden te worden, worden alle de vrienden, die men daer by wilhebben, door twee opperschafters genoodigt: die, zoo het in den winter voorvalt, gezeten zyn in een fierlyke fiede, door twee schoone paarden getrokken, die met enige linten opgeprunkt voor den dagh komen. Deze hebben twee voorryders, en twee dienaers achter op de fiede staen. Het getal der genoodigden beloopt wel op 100 of 150, en meer, naer de gestel tenisse der bruiloft, of het bykomen van eenige Ruffische Heeren en Vrouwen, daer mede verzogt. De opperte van die de bruiloft bedienen, is de Maerschalk, die omgat met eenen grooten staf van bevel, boven aen met lint beftrikt. Deze ftelt met de opperschafters, die gemeenlyk twee in getal zyn, alle de gezontheden in. Nogh zyn'er 4 of 6, of ook wel 8 onder schaffers. Deze bereiden het bruiloftshuis, behangen het met ta pifferyen, en verziën het met andere zoot.

De manieren der trouw, die uit dit voorbeeld genoeg af te meten zijn, afgeschetst zijnde, zal het niet ongevoeglijk zijn hier aan te hechten de zeden, die by dit volk in zwang gaan ontrent de geboorte en het afsterven der menschen.

Zoodra een kind geboren is, wordt de Priester ontboden om het te reinigen. Deze reiniging strekt zich ook uit over alle, die daer tegenwoordig zijn, die hy alle by hunne namen noemt, en den zegen over hen uitspreekt: Eer de Priester ter daer is, komt'er niemand binnen. Als hy gekomen is, wordt aenflants een naam aan 't kind gegeven, naer den naam van dien heiligh, wiens gedagtenis agt dagen voor de geboorte des kints geviert is, of agt dagen daer aen slaet geviert te worden. Men geeft ook op den zelve tyd aan 't kind het nagmael volgens hunne ceremonien, eerze het doopen, inzonderheit by luiden van aanzien. Indien het kind gezond en sterk genoeg bevonden wordt, wordt de doop vyf of zes weken uitgesteld. Is het een zoon, wordt de moeder na vyf weken gereinigt, wanneerze ter kerke komt. Is't een dochter, wordt zy na 6 weken gezuiverd. Dan nemen ze eenen gevader tot het kind, ook een eene gemoeder. En die ze daer eens toe gekoren hebben, nemenze altydt weder. Waer ontrent noch slaet aen te merken, dat zulk een gevader en gemoeder elkander niet mogen trouwen; datze uit trekken tot in het derde lit toe.

Als'er een lyk is by voornamen luiden, gaan alle bekende vrienden mede tot de uitvaart, mannen en vrouwen, zoo wel ongenoodigde als genoodigde. Het doop de lichaam wordt op een baer van 4 of 6 mannen gedragen. De kist is overdekt met een kostelyk kleedt, waer van het dextel, met een flechter kleedt bedekt, voor het lyk gedragen wordt. Ondertusschen maken eenige der naefte beftaande vrouwen een groot misbaer op de Griexsche wyze, waer van ik in myn vorige Reize gesproken heb. De Priesters ook heffen het gebruikelijk lyket aen. Dit alles geschieft onder de gemeene luiden met min deren omflagh.

Zeden der overzeeche natie. Zeden der Ruffen ontrent de geboorte, ## Weddings

They require elaborate preparations, and also offer the wedding gifts alongside the chief, indicating them with a distinctive badge worn on the right arm. The badges of the highest officials are more richly adorned than those of their subordinates. The Ladies of the Bruut tie these badges to their arms. These ladies are brought into the wedding hall with great fanfare, amidst the sound of trumpets and flutes. In honor of the groom and bride, two Fathers, two Stewards, and two Drinkers are chosen on each side; they are also led in playing music. Then everyone sits down at the table in their designated places. The Overseer seats both the Ladies of the Bruut directly opposite the bride; while these ladies tie a distinctive badge to his arm. The groom sits with the fathers and brothers; the bride with the mothers and sisters. After the meal is served, the Marshal, the Officials, and the Overseer

are received into another room. Then the dancing begins, initiated by the Marshal. He takes the bride's hand and requests other ladies to dance with the chief officials. Having completed their task, the Fathers and Mothers dance with the Brothers and Sisters. Then the groom and bride dance, along with two or three other gentlemen and ladies. This is followed by the Ladies of the Bruut with the Overseer, and other gentlemen. Once this has been accomplished, it is customary for the Marshal to proclaim "Freedom," signifying that anyone can dance who feels like it. After this, the wedding gifts are presented amidst dancing. These weddings typically last three days, on the final day when the Marshal, along with the chief and subordinate officials, as well as the Overseer, are received by the Ladies of the Bruut. It also happens that the Prince himself attends such weddings, allowing himself to be counted among the Fathers.

Their burial customs proceed in this manner. They leave the deceased above ground for a few days. The day before the burial, they first invite the chief of the nation; then all the merchants and others who reside within the city or in Slabode. This invitation is carried out by two persons from the same nation, selected for that purpose, or requested from the funeral home, wearing long mourning cloaks with black ribbons or lampers on their hats. The gathering typically takes place two hours after noon. But during wintertime, it may be late before the coffin reaches the earth. Even in summer, it can also be quite late. Sixteen to twenty-four mourners and ten to twelve pallbearers are selected for this funeral procession, all married individuals who are found dressed in black within the funeral home, wearing black mourning cloaks that the church has prepared beforehand. The mourners gather on the right side of the main room, as do the nearest blood relatives of the deceased, who greet everyone upon arrival. The pallbearers receive a mourning band around their hats and over their shoulders and bodies, sometimes also a pair of white gloves. Typically, two rooms are arranged with a table laden with refreshments; while constantly offering each person wine, cold beer, spirits, and lemons, if available, along with roasted bread that is palatable. Before the coffin is carried out, each pallbearer receives a memorial token, typically placed in a silver spoon inscribed with the name of the deceased. Such a memorial is also given to the preacher and schoolmaster; as well as to the mourners. If a young daughter has died, a gold ring is given instead of spoons, also inscribed with her name. As the time for departure approaches, the pallbearers close the coffin lid. Then the schoolmaster and his students begin to chant a hymn, each holding a book in their hand—though those of the Reformed faith usually do this only at the cemetery. They then depart with the coffin according to our custom to the cemetery; without reciting any names. The young scholars lead the way, followed by their master. Then comes the preacher, and after him the speakers. Behind the coffin are the blood relatives and mourners, followed by the merchants, officials, and others who are not paired in rank,

as with us, but four or five at a time according to their preference. Upon arriving at the cemetery and placing the coffin in the grave, one hears some dirges again. Then the preacher delivers a eulogy according to common custom, thanking all the friends for the honor they have shown the deceased. After this, the pallbearers, each with a shovel in hand, cover the coffin with earth until the grave is nearly full. Afterwards, the friends are invited back into the funeral home. But usually, no one goes inside except the pallbearers and a few others who are received with drinks and tobacco. Sometimes a funeral sermon is delivered in the church, to which the women are also invited. Then you see the widow of the deceased, and some

Burials. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

the others of his closest friends, entirely covered in velvet. These men sometimes display signs of mourning in the middle of the street. Sometimes a hearse follows. In summertime, this spectacle occurs with carriages and on horseback, as the roads cannot be used on foot at that time. The coffins were formerly made entirely from oak trees; that is now forbidden, as His Majesty does not wish the oak forests to be destroyed thereby. Therefore, they are now made of planks from other wood.

The number of Reformed individuals here amounts to approximately 200 people. But the Lutherans are considerably stronger, which is why they have two churches in the Sloboda: the Reformed only one. A few years ago, two German Jesuits also arrived here. These Fathers instruct many children of prominent families in Latin.

XII. CHAPTER.

Departure of His Imperial Majesty to Veronis with his retinue, among whom is the Scribe. Some noteworthy occurrences on the road. Arrival at Veronis.

Journey to Veronis.

Now it is time to continue our journey to Veronis, to which the Tsar had invited members of his retinue to accompany him: Ivan Alexewits Moefin Poeskin, overseer of all Klofters in Ruflant, formerly Governor of Aftrakán, in which office he had acquitted himself honorably; Alexe Petrowits Ifineclhoff; Knees Gregori Gregoriwits Gagarin; Ivan Andrewits Tolftoy, Governor of Asof; Ivan Davidewits, Governor of Kolomna; Alexander Wafflewits Kieken, Master of the Table and Chamberlain of His Majesty; Narieske, a son of the Tsar's uncle; and several other prominent nobles and favorites who joined us in Veronis. The Lord Kingzegg, Extraordinary Envoy of the Polish Crown, also enjoyed this honor: the Herr Keizerling, Envoy of the Kings of Prussia; the Herr

Belloeur, sent by the Herr Ogienskie, a prominent military officer and friend of the King of Poland; some officers in service of His Majesty, among them the son of the celebrated General la Fort. Three merchants were also included, namely Henrik Steils, a brave man and well-regarded by the Tsar; Thomas Heel, and Abraham Kinfius, two Englishmen, the last one being a Dutchman, all very dear to His Majesty: the latter being the same with whom I had come from Archangel. His Majesty then wished that I should depart beforehand with these three gentlemen on January 26th, intending to follow himself with the rest of the retinue on the following night. To this end, we had already had our sledges covered in iron everywhere to mitigate the scarcity of snow on the roads and to better endure the discomfort of travel. His Majesty had provided us with post wagons, namely three horses for each sledge, making 6 sledges with attendants and those belonging to them. About three hours after midday, we set off in them, departing from the German Sloboda, having 20 spare horses ready for us. This road is marked at every verst to Veronis: so that on every post, written in Russian and German letters, stands the year, 1701, where it is stated. Between these posts, which are fairly high and painted red, 19 or 20 young trees have been planted on both sides of the road, some 3 or 4 together, standing as if in arbors, woven from branches of trees, to offer them shelter and prevent egress. These posts number 552, making a total of 121 miles, 5 versts counted per mile. On all of these, one can see how far one is from Moscow, Veronis, and other places that lie nearby. The young trees, if they were to be counted, would amount to approximately two hundred thousand. This work is of great benefit, as otherwise the roads would be difficult to recognize, especially since they are entirely covered with snow in winter, and travel along these roads continues both at night and during the day. Having ridden for two hours, we had traveled 25 versts and arrived at Sgelina, from where we continued with spare horses on Kreeföf, which is 20 versts away, then to the village of Oeljamina, another 20 versts, being about 8 hours. Having arrived there, we entered a house, ## Reisen

The house, belonging to His Majesty, was well built of wood but consisted of various rooms and had a beautiful staircase or pentagonal stairway of five steps leading up to the entrance. Here we received refreshment of beer, and found the rooms heated because they were preparing for His Majesty's arrival, who had ordered houses to be built along the entire route every twenty miles for the convenience of travelers. After spending two hours there, we continued on under a canopy of trees, although the weather remained damp; we found the horses ready everywhere, and at all the villages people were stationed with torches, and farmers stood before their houses, burning straw, as a sign of joy over the expected passage of His Majesty—a sight that was not unpleasant at night. Then we had another thirty miles to go before reaching the city of Kolomna. Arriving there shortly before dawn, we stayed until the Vorit arrived at a designated resting place. In

the morning around 9 o'clock, His Majesty arrived with his entire retinue; while I went inside and out to view the city. There I took note of the gate through which we had entered, called Pjaet-nietske or Friday's Gate, also known as the gate of the fifth day of the week, to the other, called Koffi: for there are no more. The city is surrounded by a sturdy stone wall, about six fathoms high and two fathoms thick, encompassing half an hour in its circumference, with many towers—some round, some square—placed 200 paces apart, but not made for using artillery. A stream called Kolommenske runs along the back gate, from which the city is named. I also had to speak of the Moskva River, but since we crossed it there in water, I will postpone that and now continue describing the appearance of the city. On the side mentioned, the wall is entirely broken down, and a portion of it lies collapsed. This gate is reached by ascending a high hill from below; namely, on that side, the land lies low along no side of the aforementioned river. In front of the other gate is the suburb where goods are sold—as I saw this very morning hundreds of farmers within the city gates bringing their wares for sale. The city is almost round; and along the high side of the land there runs a dry ditch, where the wall is very high.

The most important thing to see here is the Church of Ufplenja, or the Presentation of God's Mother, built beautifully of stone and fairly large. Near this one can add the Archpriestly court—there is little else of great importance. Having satisfied my curiosity, I went to the house of Governor Ivan Davidewids, where I found His Majesty and his entire retinue already seated at table. As I approached the Vorit to offer the customary greetings, he turned around and nodded to me. After I had recounted what I had accomplished in the meantime, he ordered me to sit down. After we had eaten and drunk well, we all departed two hours after midday to the estate of Alexander Wafielewits Kiecken, five miles from this city; where upon our arrival we were received with drinks and with a magnificent feast in the evening. This place is a beautiful wooden building with good-sized rooms on two floors and a pleasant view over the land, which looked lovely in the fine weather we were experiencing. We parted here at 5 o'clock. In the morning at nine o'clock, we arrived at the lake called Het Ivan or Jan, near the village of Iva-meertjie nofra, which is counted one hundred and thirty miles from the resting place of Lord Kiecken, mentioned above. From this lake springs the famous river Don, or the Tanais River; from which it shoots forth through a long canal, where the water is very clear and good tasting, as His Tsarist Majesty and we all found out. This lake Ivan itself, which one might more aptly call a pool, is otherwise quite muddy or boggy. One half of its water runs this way, and the other that way, which is noteworthy. Here is the place where in 1702 His Tsarist Majesties began an impressive excavation—

The river Don to the Ooftzee. The entire area was then, as now, personally inspected and surveyed by His Tsarist Majesties themselves. This excavation begins from the stream Don and goes through the small lake Ivan to the Schata River with a deep canal; this river falls into the Upa stream, which in turn flows into the Occaftroom, just as this flows into the Volga; so that one will be able to reach the sight of the eye from this river to the Ooftzee. These works are being carried out by means of floodgates, which 80 paces in ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Measuring in length 14 and 14 across, completed under the authority and supervision of Vorst Gogarin, a lord whose virtues, abilities, and zeal for the welfare of the Tsarist Court are widely known. His Tsarist Majesty, having transported us on sleds that carried us over the frozen waters of the dug canals, gave us a view of the work now completed, consisting of seven sluice gates made up of living, gray stone. Here I also saw a dam shaped like the Dutch ones, through which, after his Majesty had broken the ice, peat ground was hacked out before our eyes. This peat is brought ashore by the Vorst and used to make turf, as he had seen in Holland. A few sheds have been erected for this purpose, and several of them are already filled with turf. We tested this turf by building a fire, and found it very good.

After we were well received by his Majesty at noon here, we departed again at 3 o'clock to continue for another 30 verstras towards the estate of Herr la Fort. Being separated from the road, three of our guides followed the right path instead of joining the leading company; so we advanced five verstras further and arrived at a house belonging to his Majesty, where we, I and two French officers, entered with the adventure. We stayed here until ten o'clock, waiting for the company. Not hearing from them, we continued on our way, mostly through sleet or snowdrift, with little more than some scrub brush here and there. On the third of the month at 9 o'clock, we arrived at the estate of Herr Alexander Danielewits, called Mensikof, located 110 verstras from the estate of Herr la Fort. This is a very bright and stately building, constructed in the style of an ice house. Above it, in fan-like fashion, is a beautiful playhouse with a hanging roof over it. From the outside, it is brightly painted with various colors. It has many good and comfortable rooms, which are fairly high in height. To enter it, one must pass through the fort's gate, as it is surrounded by a common earthwork but small in size. Here there are several bastions, well arranged and equipped with cannons. On one side is the mountainside, on the other a swamp or standing water. When I arrived here, his Majesty asked where I had been. I replied that the Heavens and the Coachman had brought me, since I was ignorant of the roads and paths. This made the Vorst laugh, who explained my answer to the Russian lords, but nevertheless made me empty a generous cup of wine as punishment, and very well welcomed us all, while firing cannons from the ramparts with each toast. After dinner, we were led by

the Vorst around the rampart, and at each bastion we were treated with various drinks. We were provided with sleds to ride over the frozen swamp in order to view everything well. The Vorst had me sit beside him on the sled, without forgetting the drink, which was also carried and used at several places. After this was done, we returned to the castle, where the glasses circulated again vigorously. Meanwhile, at this place, which still had no name, his Majesty gave it the name of Oranjenburgh. The village of Herr Alexander, located nearby, is called Slabootke. We parted from this pleasant place in the evening at 9 o'clock. On the fourth of the month, having traveled a considerable distance, we took the meal around ten o'clock. Then we proceeded slowly, because no fine weather had fallen in those regions. The Vorst, however, continued with much retinue and first stopped in the village of Stoepea, where 10 ships were lying at anchor. We spent the night passing through again, and on the fifth of the month arrived at the city of Veronis at one o'clock in the morning, being 190 verstas from this new Oranjenburgh. Since the company had become separated during the night, it arrived here in several parties. The young Herr la Fort and I were the first, and not finding a place where we could enter, decided to ride to the house of the Nachtschout by night. But upon arriving there, we learned that he had been bedridden for three weeks due to a severe fall with his wagon, which had damaged him internally. We went to see him early in the morning, expressing our sympathy for his misfortune. He received us very politely, as did also requesting that we would kindly accept his house and table. An hour after noon, his Majesty arrived, whereupon cannons were fired in abundance, both in his Majesty's courtyard and on the ships, although they lay fast in the ice. This happened after his Majesty came directly to the Nachtschout, complaining of his misfortune. Then he proceeded to the court of Herr Feudor Mas- ## XIII. CHAPTER.

Description of Veronei. Procession to the River Don. Return to Moscow. Departure of His Majesty for Sluetelenburgh.

The city of Veronei lies at 52° degrees, on the height of the mountains, being surrounded by a wooden wall but divided into three parts. The walls are very decayed and rotten due to age. In one part of the city live all the most prominent Russian merchants, a place called Jakatof. Within the city there is a large cannon foundry, and just outside it, the gunpowder cellars underground. Along the slope of the mountains you see many houses built below along the river, forming a stretch well over 400 paces long. The most notable are inhabited by Admiral Golovin, Admiralteitsheer Apraxim, Boyar Lofkrielowits, Lord Alexander Danielowits, and other prominent Russian nobles. These houses mostly face the castle. Beyond them lie dwellings of the night watchman and other sea officers. Behind these are further rows of the same length, where those who work on shipbuilding and others reside. The city lies at the mouth of the River Veronei, with

which it shares a name. The court or castle is on the opposite side of the river, over which there is a long bridge to reach it; being surrounded by the old river. The building is square, having a tower on each corner, fairly large and furnished with spacious rooms, appearing very stately from the outside. The new river has been so silted up by the drainage of the sand mountains that it is unnavigable: therefore ships must sail back through the old river. The main warehouse (as they call it) is the court itself, where one sees over 150 cannon; many of which lie on the ground awaiting shipment, when necessity requires it. It is occupied in several places by palisades, also with fortifications fairly well decorated, and a good number are placed around the city against incursions from the Tartars, for whom there has been much fear. Adjacent to the court is the shipyard: now not built everywhere as before, but only on the wharf alongside the ships. The Ammunition House lies on the other side of the court, a large building with three floors, the two lower ones made of stone, the upper one of wood. It is furnished with many rooms where all necessities for the ships are stored, but so that each type is in a particular room. One finds clothing and whatever else the ship's crew needs there. Next to this stands also a sailmaker's house. They estimate that there are as many people inside and around the city as close to ten thousand. In the plain one finds

Location of the City of Veronei.

Shipyard.

Castle of Veronei.

Number of People in and Around the City. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

observed two or three villages.

On the 10th of the month, I went to see where the flatlands seemed most suitable for sketching and marking. The highest point on the mountainside, on the southern side, about two *wersten* from the flatland, was chosen. Here I began making a drawing, but had to stop due to the intense cold and harsh wind; it was unbearable in that exposed location. I intended to resume my work the following morning. So, I went there early the next day to be warm when I arrived. I took my servant with me, along with three night watchmen from the *schout*, to protect against the arrival of curious onlookers or anyone else who might approach me with inquiries. I instructed them to bring a large mat, some planks, a shovel, and an axe so that after digging a hole in the ground, they could sit more comfortably. After this was done, I placed the mat behind me as protection from the wind. Sitting thus, I could be seen clearly from the flatlands and along the river below. It wasn't long before many people had their eyes on me from the flatland. This led to two English shipwrights, who were

watching me from below the river, sending two or three of their men up to investigate the situation. Upon learning this, I signaled to the night watchmen, each armed with a half-pike, to ensure that no one approached me and not to reveal what I was doing if asked, but simply to reply that they did not know. Now, about fifty or more Ruffians arrived, gathering on the mountainside to satisfy their curiosity, as they couldn't understand what was happening. However, when they approached, they were driven back by the night watchmen without any resistance. Around dusk, I returned to my lodging and informed the night watchman that a rumor had spread throughout the entire flatland that a certain official of His Majesty's service, whom no one could name, had been buried alive on top of the outermost mountain peak. It was even said that he had a large book with him. This referred to the paper I used for sketching. Being thus embedded halfway in the earth, no one could approach the midpoint without being chased away by three guards keeping watch there. Even the officers asked each other what punishment the court had imposed that day. On the 12th of the month, they discovered that the supposed deceased person had fled and were therefore mistaken in their assumption. But they formed another notion: a little further on was an old cemetery where I had also been seen on previous days, and to which I now returned to sketch the *inflyx*. The Ruffians, no longer knowing what to think, finally concluded that I must be a prophet, newly arrived from overseas, wandering around visiting ancient cemeteries and performing rites for the souls of the deceased, and engaging in other religious practices. They also pointed out how I was dressed with a tattered undergarment and always accompanied by my servant who carried a blue cloak behind me, and attended by three night watchmen from the *schout*. These idle imaginings could easily have brought some misfortune upon me among this people, who are constantly eager to see something happen; fortunately, His Majesty was present, under whose protection there was nothing to fear.

The image of this city is indicated with No. 15. The letter A represents His Majesty's house: B the shipyard: C the *Worits* or His Majesty's court: D the Ambaer or the warehouse: E the sailmaker's house: F Alexander Daniels' house: G Feudor Mafhwits' house: H Ufplenje Dogoroditta, or the Church of the Elevation of God's Mother: I Gufma Idemjan, the church dedicated to Cofmus and Damaen, two brothers who are counted among the saints: K the Saboor, or the assembly hall of the saints and icons: L Petrita Bogoroditta, or Friday's church, which is said to have received this name because the Virgin Mary appeared in a remarkable way on a certain Friday and thereby earned the dedication; M the old river: N the new river: O the mountain where I sketched the city. Because the aforementioned ancient graveyards seemed so strange to me, I brought them onto the paper along with the cemetery, which is a mountain, greatly decayed by time, and so separated that one sees part of it detached from the other, so that earth clumps fall into the

lowlands on both sides. This cemetery is now nothing more than a graveyard where one sees skulls and various bones of the deceased sticking out of the ground here and there, along with fragments of broken coffins. Above ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire's early successes were largely due to its effective cavalry, known as the *sipahis*, and its innovative use of gunpowder weaponry, which gave them a significant advantage over their rivals.

The conquest of **Constantinople** in **1453** by **Mehmed II**, also known as Mehmed the Conqueror, marked a pivotal moment in world history. This event effectively ended the Byzantine Empire and transformed Constantinople into Istanbul, the new capital of the Ottoman realm. The city's strategic location on the Bosphorus Strait made it a vital trade hub connecting Europe and Asia, further bolstering the empire's economic power.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I**, often called "the Magnificent," the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. Suleiman implemented significant legal reforms, codified as the *Kanun*, which modernized the legal system and strengthened central authority. He also oversaw a flourishing of arts and architecture, exemplified by the stunning mosques and palaces built during his reign. The empire's military continued to expand, conquering vast territories in North Africa, the Balkans, and parts of Eastern Europe.

However, the Ottoman Empire's dominance was not without challenges. Internal power struggles, succession crises, and economic difficulties gradually weakened the empire over time. External pressures from rising European powers, particularly **Austria** and **Russia**, also contributed to its decline. Despite attempts at modernization in the 19th century, known as the *Tanzimat* reforms, the empire faced increasing instability and territorial losses.

Ultimately, the Ottoman Empire dissolved after World War I, formally ending with the Treaty of Lausanne in **1923**. The collapse paved the way for the creation of modern **Turkey** and several other nations in the Middle East and North Africa, leaving behind a complex legacy that continues to shape the region today.

- **Osman I**: Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Constantinople (Istanbul)**: Strategic capital city bridging Europe and Asia.

- **Suleiman I (“the Magnificent”)**: Sultan during the empire’s golden age.
- *Beylik*: A Turkish principality or small state.
- *Kanun*: Ottoman law code implemented by Suleiman I.
- *Tanzimat*: Period of reforms in the 19th century aimed at modernizing the empire.

“The conquest of Constantinople was a turning point, not only for the Ottomans but for the entire world.” – Historian Bernard Lewis ## Oud Kerkhof

The illustration portrays an ancient burial mound, its exposed interior displaying numerous skeletal remains and artifacts arranged along the cliff face. A lone tree stands atop the ridge, while distant buildings and rolling hills create the backdrop beneath a cloudy sky.

Vremde Molen

This engraving depicts a large, cylindrical windmill with vertical wooden slats, standing on an open plain. Several figures are present: one rides a horse in the foreground, another stands near a small thatched building, and others appear to be interacting with the mill’s mechanisms or nearby structures. A dramatic sky filled with clouds completes the scene. ## Travels to the Don River

Even now, one can still see a nearly complete fortress, alongside another that has been dismantled. On the same hill stand two trees where I had a Russian man coaxed out to see if he could retrieve bones from the earth. Unsuccessfully: they were frozen too deeply within. These bones, exposed above the black earth and bleached by the air, appear as white as chalk, which looks quite pleasing, as shown in No. 16; having previously been on the cemetery grounds. To the right side, low down, is the passage to this side of the river; on the right side, in the lowlands, lies Siefoskije by the river, where several mills stand. As for the ships here, one sees 15 in the water, including 4 warships, of which the largest carries 54 guns; 3 victualling ships; 2 brigs, and 6 bombarding vessels. On land are ready to depart 5 Dutch warships carrying 60 or 64 guns; 2 Italian warships of 50 or 54 guns; a Venetian galleas; 4 galleys; still another 17 galleys on Siefoskije, two miles from the town. There are also 5 ships under construction, 4 English, two with 74 guns, and 2 with 60 or 64 guns. The fifth bears the name of His Majesty’s ship, as it was built during his reign; it will carry 86 guns. A packet boat is also being overseen. On land on neither side of the river are approximately 200 brigantines, mostly made in Veronis. There are also about 400 large brigantines on the Nyper River near the Crimea, and roughly 300 vessels on the Volga River, both

Cossacks and smacks. At Afotf there are also 18 warships, a bombarding ship, and a yacht. Still more ships are present, of which the largest carries 66 guns; 4 have 48 or 50; 5 have 36; 2 have 34, and others of lesser size, but the smallest has 28 guns.

This day His Majesty enjoyed sailing over the ice in a small sailboat, as there was a suitable flat area for it. On the 13th, around dusk, 20 bombs were fired from two bombarding ships, as well as several from a battery of 20 oarsmen. Upon returning to the house, I was informed by the bailiff at night that His Majesty had sent for me. Which I did not understand immediately, or I hastened after to the ship where the fortress was: seeing along the way still some bombs being fired. I found the fortress with the entire company merrily drinking wine, and learned that he had decided to depart with all the company on the morning of the 14th towards the Don River, or Tanais – a journey of approximately 12 miles from Veronis – to view the ships lying there. We then departed at 3 o'clock in the afternoon from Veronis, most of us on horseback, some few on wagons. When we had not gone far beyond the ramparts, His Majesty paused briefly at a certain church; while we strayed somewhat off the road to view a mill, whose machinery was unfamiliar but pleasing to our eyes. It was made by a Circassian master, who had given it an eight-sided shape, having four mills inside, all grinding simultaneously. It was entirely without vanes or any external aid upon which the wind could act. All were internally equipped with 7 sails in the manner of a small boat. It surrounded itself with large doors or windows. However, when the wind blew, one could see two or three doors open on the windward side, through which the wind entered the cavity of the sails and caused them to rotate with great speed. See here the depiction we made of it in No. 17.

Then His Majesty, seated in a calash, came along and urged us to continue our journey, which some of the company were reluctant to do as quickly. We nevertheless arrived there on time before dusk. Upon arrival, the cannon fired from all ships, some of which we then went to inspect. We were richly regaled with wine; and in the evening, we were received at his house by Mr. Ivan Alexewits Moftin Pouskin with a good feast. After the end of some of their nocturnal revelries, they went to take rest on the ships, as there was little lodging available, and there was still no carpentry for houses established. However, it is said that there are plans to build a flat area there. The following day we viewed the work being done to dam the Don River and divert its course. To this end, a weir is being constructed where the flow will be turned.

This river, commonly called Tanais or Donets by the inhabitants, is famous for abundant sturgeon. It flows through the Precop or small Tartary Ooftelyk, and after many bends turns sharply not far from the Volga River, joining with several streams, passing by the city of Afotf, formerly Tanais, into the Meotian Sea, where it

separates Europe from Asia. Here we found, to our astonishment, numerous tusks of elephants lying on the ground, one of which I took as a memento.

Journey to the Tanais.

Strange mill.

Arrival at the Tanais.

Course of the river.

Elephant tusks. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Now, as my thoughts drift away, I ponder those who might have come. Regarding the Fortress, it was said that Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of historians, crossed this river near the village of Koftinke, 8 versts from there: and that apparently some of his elephants died here, leaving these remains behind.

Now we returned to the ships, where a good fire was made for us with roasted watermelons. There were 13 in number, 11 warships and 2 victualing ships. Among these, one of the warships stood out due to the craftsmanship of his Majesty's artillery. It was very well built and adorned with carvings and other decorations; the cabin inside was entirely lined with walnut wood. Alongside this was another, also very fine, made by an English shipwright. The others were not particularly impressive. This afternoon, the aforementioned Lord summoned us again at five. Then we went back to the ships, where we drank lightly amidst the booming of the cannons.

Misfortune. In the midst of this merriment, misfortune struck a Russian sailor. He, through carelessness, held his hand near the mouth of a cannon, and was so lamentably knocked that he tumbled head over heels downwards, apparently breaking several ribs in his body. They thought to keep the matter quiet: but his Majesty became aware of it, examined him himself, and learned that he would not last long.

We parted from there that evening at eight o'clock, as the rain continued until Veronis, where we arrived again at ten o'clock. On the 16th, we prepared everything to depart again the following morning with our four companions, just as we had arrived, to return to Moscow, for which the Vorst had given us permission. The roads, damaged by the wet weather, necessitated that we provide ourselves with 8 wagons, whose wheels we had entirely reinforced with iron. Then on the 17th in the morning, we reached the Fortress and took leave of him, who granted us a gift at arm's length and embraced us, wishing us a safe journey, while also reminding us to inspect some mortars standing by the river, about two versts from the town; which we did without delay. There were

ten of them, with 13 palms in circumference and 8 in length. They stood close to a wooden shed where they had been cast. In the afternoon I went again to see his Majesty, who was busy sailing in a small boat on the ice, which once circled due to the shifting frost but continued sailing onward. Half an hour later, the Vorst ordered me to go with him, leaving the entire company there. He got into a sled drawn by two horses, one of which stumbled in its bit; however, the other remaining on the ice, slipped out of the water from the returning weather. Then his Majesty invited me to come closer, saying to me: "We will ride to the float, where you will see a bomb fired, since you were not present when the bombs were launched." Having arrived there, we examined the float and the framework in which it was fixed; in the middle of which stood the mortar that could be turned and directed as desired. After the bombardier had prepared the firing, a signal was given to the people standing in the field to move back. Upon which, I stepped out of the boat with his Majesty, and the mortar was fired. The bomb flew away smoothly, falling and detonating. It weighed four pounds. The Vorst asked me if I had enough of seeing it: but I avoided that by saying that I had as much as more. Then I led him to the residence of Lord Sleits, and after a short stay, to his home, which was nearby, where I took leave with all due respect. The Vorst embraced me and gave me the customary wish of GOD PROTECT YOU.

It was three hours past noon when I returned to my inn, where, after partaking of some food, I prepared everything for the journey. I thanked the night watchman for all the honor and friendship he had shown me, leaving him in a reasonably good state; which pleased me greatly: for this Lord is truly a brave man, respected everywhere, and very dear to the Vorst.

Against evening we set out on our way, falling into fine snow at night, and following it along a dense country road. On the 18th in the morning at ten o'clock, we had advanced 58 versts. For each wagon, we had three horses due to the poor roads, which brought us back along the same route we had come.

On this journey, we noticed that the houses of his Majesty near Veronis are mostly inhabited by Serkaffs. These are lively people who keep their homes very clean and live cheerfully and happily. The violin and bagpipe are their daily pursuits. From these— ## TRAVELS.

These sounds are also found in some houses within the fortress near the residence of Lord Alexander. Upon arrival, they play brightly and distinctly. They typically have brandy and gin for sale. Women are present, who offer a pleasant welcome to strangers. Their clothing is unique, quite distinct from that of the Dutch: especially the women, whose gowns, which they mostly wear, are cinched at the waist with a belt; around which they commonly drape a piece of fabric extending from the waist to the feet,

resembling a skirt. This fabric is often made of fine material. Their heads are wrapped in white cloth. Also, part of the lower face or chin is covered. The ends of this cloth elegantly hang down on either side of the head, with the ends sometimes slightly loose. Around the forehead is an overcloth that slopes upwards. At the back of the head, it lies flat like a turban, as one sees among Arab and Jewish women in the Levant. The gown has a two-finger-wide opening at the neck, similar to how sleeves are used. But the reader will best see this in the drawing I made of one of the most attractive ones, as we found her inside the stove or warm room, where a maidservant was busy kneading bread and

SERKASSIAN WOMAN.

some children were sitting near the oven according to their custom, which is displayed here. It was three hours after noon when we departed from there into snowy and damp weather; but after an hour, it began to freeze with a very fierce north wind. After traveling fifteen miles, we came to a stream that had been partially freed of ice by the thaw, but was too deep to wade through. We spent nearly two hours searching for a place to cross, but in vain. We sent two servants on horseback across; one also to a village to inquire if there was any way to get across, who returned with news that there wasn't. He dared not venture into the water a second time. Therefore, we ## Cornelis de Bruins

We returned to the village where he had been, with a promise that he would meet us there in the morning. One of our servants, whom we had thrown into a cartman's custody because he was drunk at our last stopping place, remained behind; we couldn't fathom the reason for this. In this predicament, the people were in danger of freezing to death. Why we set all the wagons close together is beyond me - to be somewhat shielded from the biting and cold wind. It was already nine o'clock in the evening, and there was no escape in sight. Finally, we decided that since there were no houses nearby, we would ride back to a village some distance off the road, where we arrived at eleven o'clock and rested our people and horses. Meanwhile, the intoxicated servant had arrived here during the night. When asked where he had been, he replied that the cartman had taken the horses out of the custody where he was lying and snoring and had ridden home. Upon waking up, he had been forced to seek out another cartman and persuade him with money and sweet words to bring him back; which he eventually succeeded in doing after a long search. The next day I discovered that the axle of my wagon had broken due to carelessness on the part of the people. Therefore, I decided to set the wagon on its side in the hard frost and fallen snow, and take the wheels with me, hoping it might be possible to repair it later. One of our foremen had absconded (as often happens here) leaving his horses behind, hoping that his comrades would bring

them back when the weather improved; so we had to find another man to replace him. We also took three people with horses and carts, some large planks, and long poles to help us cross the river. The sun shone this day, but it was bitterly cold nonetheless. We set off at ten o'clock towards the place where we thought we would cross the previous day. But upon arriving, we found that the water had now frozen so much that several horses were walking across it, although some of them also fell through. As a precaution, however, we spread out to better and more easily get the wagons across the ice. On the side where the river was deep, we used the planks and beams. Some got stuck in the ice; but thanks to the great effort of everyone who lent a hand to the work, we managed to get them all across safely. Thus, we continued on our way an hour after noon, and after riding for another hour, we arrived at the place where horses were tethered. Now we had advanced 78 versts, 2 versts from the Romanof estate. Here we rode over a bridge that was frozen about a foot and a half below the water, spanning the river Belle Kolodits - which means as much as "the white pit." Here we took a break to the sound of Serkaffie's instruments. It was eleven o'clock at night before we could depart, because we couldn't get horses from the governor of the town any sooner. Meanwhile, all the wheels of the wagons were removed and placed on the carts, as I had done with mine. This night we passed through a large village called Stoe-dumke, and on the 20th of the month we arrived in the morning at the milestone of 136 versts. Finding fresh horses here, we continued without delay. Having covered another 2 versts, we passed to the right of the town of Dobry, about a verst from the road by the Veronis river. At 151 versts we had a long village on our right. At 154 another; where one must climb over a high mountain, with such a steep descent that on the higher side of the mountain a wooden railing or fence has been built from top to bottom to prevent falls. We passed through three more villages, at which point we found ourselves at 157 versts. After riding for a short while, we saw the common road so covered with frozen water that there was no chance of crossing it. We were then forced to seek out a better route, which we did find. And thus we managed to get across safely, except for the pack-wagon, which, because the wheel went into the water through the ice, and was nevertheless hauled out without being seriously damaged. After passing several villages, we finally arrived at the house of Lord Alexander, reckoned 190 versts from Veronis. Here we didn't stop, but took the road to a nearby village, now being six hours past noon and about ten o'clock when we had the fresh horses ready. On the morning of the 21st at four o'clock, we had covered 218 versts, shortly after 238, and then 257; from here we saw the town of Schoppin lying on our right...Schoppin, which appears quite large and has several villages before it. We rode, because our Podwoden stopped here, towards it. To enter the city, one crosses a bridge that is a verst long and stretches over... ## Reisen.

Over een moerassige poel. De stad verscheen voor ons, weelderig uitgespreid. Aan het einde van de eerste straat bevindt zich het Kasteel, waar de Gouverneur woont. Het is omringd door een houten muur en heeft niets aan buiten- of binnenkant dat aantrekkelijk is. Ons werd een huis toegewezen, waar we door de Burgemeester, in opdracht van de Gouverneur, werden ontvangen met versnaperingen: Brandewijn, bier, brood en meer. We verzochten om 30 paarden in plaats van 24, zodat de wielen van onze karren beter konden worden ondersteund; en men stemde ermee in. We vertrokken een uur voor zonsondergang opnieuw op weg en legden die nacht 40 wersten af. Vervolgens reden we met verse paarden tot op 311 wersten, plus de plaats van Heer la Fort, waar we op 22 des ochtends om zeven uur aankwamen. Want Heer la Fort had ons brieven meegegeven, waarin stond dat alles voor ons verzorgd zou worden wat we nodig zouden hebben, zowel paarden als andere benodigdheden. We lieten alle de wielen daar achter, om met minder paarden beter voort te kunnen trekken: aangezien de wegen door de vorst en vrie nu merkbaar waren verbeterd. We namen ook enkele verse paarden en vertrokken na een uur verblijf opnieuw op weg. Zo kwamen we tot op 329 wersten en om drie uur na de middag op 347 wersten tot het dorp Podaffinke, waar we onze zinnen versterkten. Nu sneed de winter hevig aan met strenge koude. Rond zonsondergang namen we weer verse paarden en trokken die nacht door verschillende dorpen, ook door de stad Nikole Saraifke, een tamelijk plaatsje, niet zonder moeite vanwege de menigte boeren, die met hun sleden de hele vlakte bezet hadden om van daar met hun goederen naar Moskow te trekken. In de ochtend vroeg, 23 wersten verder, gingen we voortvarend met verse paarden tot het dorp Gorodna, waar we om negen uur aankwamen, op 440 wersten, en bleven een korte poos. Na het weer afleggen van 7 of 8 wersten bevonden we ons op de rivier Ocka, waar we enige tijd overreden. Deze verlaten hebbende, moesten we een hoge berg opklauteren langs een final lange weg, die steil omhoog ging aan de flinke zijde van de rivier. Naar boven voortspuwend ontmoetten we enkele sleden, waardoor we gedwongen werden stil te houden tot ze voorbij waren, hetgeen meestal terzijde de berg af geschiedde, aangezien ze niet naast ons konden doortrekken. De weg ook, die ze genoodzaakt waren te nemen, was mede slecht genoeg: waardoor paarden en sleden groot gevaar liepen van beschadigd raken vanwege de steilen en grote stenen; want de meeste paarden moesten alleen, zonder dat er de voerlui bij konden blijven, aflopen. Ondertussen ontstond er geschil tussen enkele voerlui en ontmoette dienaren: en het scheen dat er slagen gevallen waren, naar alle schijn, omdat de ene voor de ander niet tijdig uit de weg was geweken. Verschillende van deze voerlui, dronken zijnde, maakten elkaar op en kwamen van beneden weer optrekken naar ons toe, ongeveer 20 bij elkaar. Mijn in mijn sleden liggend werd dit bekend gemaakt. Ik sprong er zonder dralen uit met twee pistolen, en de degens in de vuist: Kinfus ook met schietgeweer, en Heel met de label. We traden dus naar de sleden van Heer Steils, die de achterste was, en de eerste aan loot

te lijden hadt. Hij was al uit de sleden, maar zonder geweer, staande de Ruffen nevens hem, die hem al bedreigd hadde te slaan. Maar hij een bezaaid man zijnde ging den weg van zachtheid in, en wenkte zijn knecht hij uit de weg zoude gaan. Want hij oordeelde niet onvoorzichtig, dat, ware men handgemeen geworden, het om ons leven ge wed geweest, aangezien er nogh een groot getal van Ruffen om laag stondt, die op het eerste gerucht toegeschoten zouden zijn. Deze dan ziende dat we naar hen toekwamen zonder moeite te zoeken brachten zo veel te weeg, dat de drie of vier beschonken na twijfeling van weinig woorden weg gingen, en nu beter koop gaven. De aanvoerders dus gewekt zijnde, werd alles gestild: en ze allen trokken naar beneden. In het hoger op komen bleef ik uit de sleden, maar had genoeg te doen met me op den grond te houden door het geweld van den harden wint; aangezien het zoo vinnig koud was, dat men nauwelijks de handen kon roeren. Ondertussen komt er een voermans sleden wel geladen met het paert, doch zonder voerman, van het opperste des bergs. Het paert niet kunnen de wegen den harden wint en gladde weg den hoek omzwenken om het regte spoor te houden, maar te veel afwijkende naer den kant des bergs, stort het plots van deze steilen neder tot heel in de laagte aan de rivier, dat een afgryf-felyk gezicht gaf. De sleden was aan mee nigte stukken ge lagen: het paert zonder twijfel alle ribben in't lyf gebroken, hoe wel ik het tot mijn verwondering den kop nogh zagh oprechten. Maar het kan niet lang in 't leven gebleven zijn. We ten lange bleven met veel moeite boven gekomen zijnde, vervolgden onzen weg, en geraakten een uur na de middag aan de stad Kolomna, nu 456 wersten verder.

Grote moeite.

Yflyke val van een paert.

Kolom: na. ## Cornelis de Bruins

We remained outside the village until we received a message confirming His Majesty's letter, which we sent to the city. Upon arrival, without warning, the City Clerk or Secretary came to announce his master's invitation, offering us hospitality and inviting us into the city to allow for some refreshment. However, we politely declined, sending back brandy, mead, beer, and a few delicacies, explaining that we had brought our own food. We spoke with him for about two hours and shared a light drink. At four o'clock, we departed again with fresh horses and rode until nine o'clock, having covered 25 *verst* to the village of Kofachof, where we stayed for two or three hours to feed the horses, as they would be needed for our journey to Moscow. On the morning of the 24th, at eight o'clock, we approached the village of Oftraweets, having traveled a further 46 *verst*. After feeding the

horses, we continued riding at ten o'clock and arrived in Moscow within the German Quarter, 25 *verst* from the previously mentioned location.

On the night of the 27th of the month, a certain night in the Quarter, Joan Frederik Maes from Königsbergen, the Cantor and Schoolmaster of the Lutheran congregation, was treacherously murdered by a German merchant named Kraffo, who was caught at the scene and confessed to his guilt.

Now I thought it would be good to take something after such a tiresome journey; but I was greatly disappointed. On March 5th, in the evening, I was struck with an unusual heat of the body, feeling like a hot fever. I went to bed but spent a wretched night. And upon rising from bed with the coming of day, I found myself so weakened that I could scarcely walk across the room. I had also brought along a large swelling and a persistent cough that did not subside either at night or during the day. The burning sensation was so intense that there was no relief, even after drinking more than a hundred draughts at once. Sometimes I used sweet milk, sometimes thin beer, sometimes boiled water with tamarind and sorrel; of which drink I had also availed myself in Egypt, occasionally refreshing myself with some Rhine wine to strengthen my stomach, and whatever else seemed beneficial to me. Thus, I endured five days without experiencing any relief: as a result of which, I became particularly dizzy at night. Seeing me decline from day to day, my friends suggested using a physician. To this, I added that I was the physician myself, knowing best what suited me and having the greatest knowledge of my constitution; and believed I would recover more through moderation than the physician, as I knew where my discomfort originated: something I had foreseen some time ago. Finally, on the seventh night, I experienced a release, which grew progressively better, so that I felt considerable relief. However, for ten days afterward, I continued to rely on simple remedies and a little solid food, causing the cough also to diminish. Also, on one evening, I expelled 70 or 80 drops of blood from my nose, which also relieved the pressure in my head.

On the 11th, His Majesty arrived with his entire retinue from Verone: and in his presence and amidst a multitude of courtiers, on the afternoon of the 13th, the Overste Bodon—previously mentioned as Bodon in the German Quarter—was executed after due process. The block upon which the axe and sword were placed was laid upon a stump, and he was cleaved in half with the axe. The merchant Kraffo was hanged and publicly proclaimed, and it was announced by posting a placard that anyone attempting to draw a sword henceforth would be punished with death.

On the 14th, being Sunday, the Envoy, Herr Casimir Bolus, who had come from France, also received an audience with the Tsar at the house of Herr Feudor den Alexewits Golowin.

On the same day, His Majesty visited Herr Brants with a small entourage and was greeted there with cold food and refreshments. This opportunity allowed me to leave my chamber for the first time in order to pay my last respects to the Vorst and request a safe-conduct pass to depart his lands. He asked how I looked so unwell and where this condition came from, seeing me in such a weakened state. I attributed it to excessive drinking on the Verone journey. To which he added that I must put things right again. Meanwhile, the Resident and other overseas gentlemen also entered.

Having obtained an assurance of receiving a safe-conduct pass from Herr Feudor Alexewits Golowin, I took my leave, reaching out to greet the Vorst with his hand, and receiving his blessing through the words— ## XIV. CHAPTER.

The Writer Describes What is Shown in the Churches. Linen that Remains Unharmd in the Fire.

AFTER I had recovered from the fever, I prepared to ride to Moscow, to find Herr Ivan Alexewits Moeffin Poefkin, whom His Majesty had instructed me to show what was noteworthy to be found in the churches and elsewhere within Moscow. This Herr, of whom I have mentioned before, received me with great politeness, saying he knew well what His Majesty's desire was, and that I should therefore only need to arrange for his good will. I requested my wish as soon as possible, because I intended to continue my journey to Persia, as His Excellency was not unaware. It was then settled that I would come to his court on the 10th in the morning, with a promise that order would be arranged in the meantime. The day having arrived, I made my way there and found him ready to ride outside the city. He kindly let me know that everything was prepared to satisfy me, and that the Herr whom I found with him would guide me in every way. We then took our departure towards the Church Saboor, knowing that a painting was kept there, as it is said, by the Evangelist Luke: but

Account of Christ's Garment.

the linen, which was cast upon it by the soldiers. According to this account, this garment fell to a Georgian soldier, who took it home with him; his daughter, who was unmarried, honored it with it. She held it in such high esteem that she desired to be buried and covered with it after her death. She came to inherit: she was buried there: and from her grave sprang forth from the earth a large tree. After some time, the Persians fell upon the land of the Georgians armed, and seized it with their war bands. The King hearing speak of such a grave had it opened, took out the garment, and carried it to Persia. From there he sent a great

embassy to the Grand Duke of Mofkovie, this Prince also presenting him with this very garment along with other gifts, as being the robe of a Christian God. The Muscovites deliberated whether this was indeed the right garment, gathered all the blind, cripples, and other afflicted people together, and showed them this garment, so that if these people were healed from their ailments by seeing this garment, it would be clear from this ##
CORNELIS de BRUINS

to draw a conclusion that it was unadorned. This was put in place: the deficient were healed: and it serves as an aid to these ailments, being preserved, because it never recounts deficiencies; and because I produce many works, I have wanted to relate this.

The Church is square inside, measuring 96 Rijnland feet from side to side. In the center stand four high pillars on which the vault rests. The Church is full of paintings of Saints and other historical figures: some of which were not made in the old Greek manner. One sees them even above in the domes, which are shaped like lanterns, and there are five of them, one in the middle and the others at the corners.

Alongside the large altar on the main side is the painting that St. Luke would have painted, depicting an image of Mary to the waist, about half life-size, and a Christ with his face turned towards Mary's, as if wanting to kiss her. The panel is very brown or almost black. I do not know whether this is caused by time, or by the smoke of candles used in church services, or indeed whether it was painted that way originally. In any case, it is very unpretentious. One sees nothing but the faces.

The hands and everything attached to them are further gilded. On Mary's head is a costly crown of pearls and precious stones. She also has pearls under around her neck on the dress. This piece stands inside as in a niche, beneath which is the shape of a seat. Above the two columns in front of the large altar hangs a very large silver crown, just like we use in our churches to light lamps. It was made in Amsterdam a few years ago. Three other copper crowns are also seen hanging, each in its order, quite large, under the middle of the church. Few other ornaments are found in their churches.

Along the altar hung ten large silver lamps, where they do not burn oil (because that is what the priests do not do) but wax candles, which are placed in pipes above the lamps. Underneath the crown hangs commonly a fringe. Having viewed this church, I also visited the church of the Patriarch, which is above within his building. It is small, made in the style of a dome. Here one sees a room where, on the right side for the chapel, there is a fairly large painting, depicting an image of Christ sitting in a chair, entirely gilded except for the face and hands; also an image of Mary; and on the main side, St. John the Baptist kneeling with an Apostle at

each of the sides. In front of it hangs a silver lamp. Above this piece and the door of the chapel is an elevated bench as high as a staircase, where the foot stands of the Patriarch, covered with black velvet.

Entering the churchlet, one sees the surface of the altar, behind which comes a small choir entirely occupied from top to bottom with paintings; each piece separately painted with depictions of Saints, with small columns like windows, separated but all gilded. The other sides of the walls are painted blue. In the height of the dome one sees an image of Christ's head, so large that it fills the entire dome. Around it one sees other depictions.

Opposite this church is the Patriarch's audience hall, quite large. As one enters, one sees on the main side the Patriarch's chair, which is entirely gilded, with a seat upholstered in green velvet and the railing trimmed with gold fringes. Above the chair one sees a small painted image of Christ. Around this chair there are mostly three steps.

Having viewed this, I was led by the Fathers upstairs into a room where most of the treasures of the old Patriarchs are kept. This place is full of chests and coffers, all of which were opened for me. In a long chest lay 6 miters of Patriarchs, each separately, and among them two of great value, and therefore in a special coffer. They were richly adorned with large diamonds, large pearls, and other precious stones. The others were decorated in the same way, but not so costly.

There was also a seventh miter of the Metropolitan, which was only adorned with pearls everywhere. Still, they showed me a chest full of beautiful jewels, containing many things in crosses, hanging on gold chains, the crosses richly adorned with beautiful diamonds and other precious stones. All these belong to various Patriarchs who used them during their ceremonies, alternating one then another, according to the occasion of the feasts.

One also sees many *pojaffen*, or belts, that are worn around the waist, all adorned with precious stones; also the combs of the old Patriarchs used, mostly quite large, and made of tortoise shell; also their slaves above decorated with gems; still many coffers with robes, or upper garments of the Patriarchs, 79 in number, made of gold brocade richly worked with pearls and gems. In the most important coffers lay 9 robes, byzon- ## Wonders of Saint Anthony, the Archangel Michael Church, and the Church of Mary's Annunciation

Without finery or rich vestments. In other, more elaborate robes, or stoles, which they hang over their shoulders and chest; being strips about a palm and a half wide. Among these was the one worn by the first Patriarch Constantine in the year 6176, according to the Russian reckoning. It was simple and plain, made of faded silk fabric due to age. Much work was done on it, and it

preserves the other costly garments. In the same chamber stood many silver-gilded plates, large jugs or pitchers, and other vessels. Having thus satisfied my curiosity, I postponed viewing other churches until the following day, which was a Sunday. Then I went first to the aforementioned Lord Moeskin, asking if it would be possible for me to see the garment of Christ. But he replied that he had no power to do so, because the chest with the seal of his Majesty was closed and could not be opened without his express order. Which, had I known, I would have requested from the Prince himself, a regret now felt. Then I was brought again into the Church Saboor, to view what else remained. A large golden chalice was shown to me, serving for the Eucharist, about two palms high; adorned on the outside above with four precious stones, and having beneath on the foot enamel depicting the suffering of Christ. There was also such a large golden plate, likewise enameled, and studded with four stones of equal value, as well as two plates, a spoon, and a piece of agate: a gold pick to stir the wine in the chalice, along with a tall crown, which was placed on the plate, completely encircled with pearls and gemstones; still two small chalices entirely of Agate, and studded all around with gems. They say these stones were in the vessel that the Russian Saint Anthony had brought up from the rocks of Rome to New-gart, having let them be fished up on that condition that everything that came into the net would belong to him. Then a book was brought forth, which is carried on many feast days, very large and studded with gems, filled inside with scriptural depictions; most of the writing in gold letters. All these things are kept each in particular in red velvet coffers. Here one also finds the body of Metropolitan Peter in a silver chest: upon whose lid the entire body has been driven out. Of the aforementioned robe of Christ, they showed me here a small piece in a coffer, with a glass

before it; which I found reddish-brown in color. In a similar chest on the other side of the church was the body of Metropolitan John; in another that of Philippus. Then came the remains of the Saints, the jawbone of Johannes Satoeftewa: the skullpan with the whole head of Gregory Bogaflavo, and what more is. Having taken all this in, I thanked the priests for the effort expended to serve me, and departed thence to the Church of Archangel Michael, or the Archangel's Chapel, which is very beautiful inside, and painted from top to bottom with paintings, likewise as the aforementioned one. In this church lie all the Grand Princes of Muscovy buried, standing all together, except for the two last, brothers of his present Majesty, who were separately laid to rest. Above their tombs, which stand elevated above the ground, are placed garments that are exceptionally costly, made of red velvet and green velvet trim. Upon which their birth and age are expressed in Russian characters, as well as the time of their demise, with some large crosses of pearls depicted on each of them. Here particularly stands out from the garment of the recently deceased Ivan Alexewits, mostly studded with precious stones. From here I

went into the church named Blagowefine or of Mary's Annunciation, small and adorned with paintings, as the others are. There they showed me in an upper chamber 36 silver coffers, and some of gold, in each of which various relics of Saints were kept. These had already been placed on a long table before I arrived, and opened for me. In the foremost was Christ's blood; in another a small cross made from Christ's cross; in another the hand of the Evangelist Mark, appearing as a mummy. There were also some bones of the Prophet Daniel, and of other Saints, all resembling mummies. Still various heads and other pieces very brown in color. Having seen everything to my liking, they wanted to bring me into other churches again: but I declined that with thanks, having satisfied my curiosity; as well as being content with the favor shown to me, which I do not know if anyone of a foreign nation has ever been granted before.

On the 15th of the month, I rode with Lord Hans Matthys Poppe to Knees Bories Alexewits Galietfen, who resided on his estate, where he had built a fine air house, located 5 versts from Moscow. Along this road one rides

Wonders of the Holy Anthony.

Church of the Archangel Michael.

Church of Mary's Annunciation. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Passing by the pleasant estate of Knees Mighaile Serkaskie, the richest Prince, who is known to reside here and whose power extends over several villages, encompassing roughly 20,000 peasants, we arrived at Knees Bories's residence and found him seated in a chair. After performing customary courtesies, I requested a safe-conduct pass from the Kafanse Prikas (district), as this Knees is considered almost an Under-King of Kafan and Aftrakan. For the Lord Poppe had informed me that a safe-conduct pass from the Pofolfse Prikas, closely associated with the Governor of Kafan and particularly of Aftrakan, would not be accepted or recognized, and I would therefore encounter obstacles in pursuing my intended journey. Knees Bories concurred with this assessment and instructed his secretary to inform Lord Poppe, whom he was a friend of, that I should be granted the necessary pass the following morning, along with an endorsement for the Governors of Kafan and Aftrakan. We thanked him and departed. This Knees Bories had been sent by His Majesty several months prior to Kafan to mediate a dispute between two prominent Tartar Princes, father and son. The father, seeing a certain woman near his son, cast his eyes upon her and took her to himself. The son, feeling deprived of this possession, declared war on his father, marching out with 20,000 men. The father quickly assembled 40,000 soldiers. And as the situation was poised for a bloody battle, Knees Bories intervened to appease the factions. After the matter was settled amicably, the Tartar Prince

bestowed upon him, among other honors, a gift of a large piece of coarse cloth or linen that did not scorch when thrown into the fire; Lord Poppe was gifted with a small piece of this fabric, and he presented me with another. I learned what it might be and discovered it had come from Katai (China) through Boggaer. It is said that it is still made there, specifically in Tangoet. Previously, I brought with me from Cyprus the stone *Amiantus*, which, like flax, does not burn even when thrown into the fire. In earlier times, linen was spun from this material; but now that knowledge is considered lost, as I already mentioned on page 377 of my previous journey. One also finds mention of such incombustible linen by Pliny and by contemporary writers who have brought to paper the Roman antiquities and the use of lamps in ancient tombs.

On April 16th, after taking a meal with Lord Poppe in the city where he resided, I rode back towards Slabode. On the way, I saw smoke rising somewhere. I made my way there to see how they were dealing with the fire; but they were doing nothing more than clearing nearby houses and hacking at brushwood.

Having obtained the necessary safe-conducts, I prepared everything for the journey and secured a companion, an Armenian merchant named Jakob David'of, who had previously undertaken several trips from Spahan to Holland and had spent some time in Amsterdam. His plan was to depart on April 22nd and travel down the river to Aftrakan with a vessel. In the meantime, I bid farewell to Lord Resident vander Hulst, whom I owed much honor and friendship; also to the Lords Brants and Lups, who had also shown me many kindnesses; without forgetting Lord Pieter Coyet, with whom I had spent considerable time questioning and answering about various matters, as he was a man very experienced in the customs and language of the land, and therefore well-suited to provide me with much light on noteworthy things that might be useful to me in describing my journey. After thanking them, I also thanked all other good friends. Departure from Moscow.

But upon leaving Moscow outside the city walls, I could not find a rowing boat to take me aboard the vessel, as the Armenian had already secured his place. I decided instead to hire three wagons to transport me overland to the village of Matsko or Mother, located 30 versts (approximately 32 miles) from Moscow on the river; where the vessel had departed several days earlier to free itself from shallows and prepare sails and other necessities at that location. ## XV. CHAPTER.

Departure from Moscow. The River Volga and the Establishing Towns and Places. Arrival at Astrakhan.

I then set out with the wagons I had hired. Having covered ten versts, I passed by the town of Kolomenskoye, located on my right side. It presented a beautiful appearance, situated on a height.

There is a lovely monastery alongside a church, and two towers within it. Across this and that side, one crosses the river using a wooden raft attached to beams in the water, where some, as if they were vessels, must be towed by ropes that are then let go again. Still, I passed several villages, some of which are pleasantly situated on the height on the right side of the river. The land being drawn back, we entered a forest of short trees in the evening, riding through it for many hours; so that it was already late at night when we arrived at the place Matskoye. Upon reaching the river, we found that the boats with some Armenians had not yet arrived, but were camping nearby. We found two houses here and decided to stay put. And having refreshed my heart with food, I lay down on the ground in a half-open shed as best I could given the time. On the morning of the 23rd, my traveling companion awoke with four boats, accompanied by three other Armenians intending to travel to Spain: and reported to me that our vessel, where he had much lacquer, was raised another 60 versts. Therefore, we were compelled to follow the boats. We arrived there in the evening at 10 o'clock; but since it was night and everything was still over the horizon, we didn't want to go aboard with our goods, but camped on the land near a good fire. Having strengthened ourselves with a brave piece of *vich* that we had bought from fishermen we met along the way for three *fluivers*; a small price in relation to the piece, which was filled with beautiful berries and herbs - we continued on. After dispatching some letters upon arriving at this place to my good friends both in the homeland and in Moscow, we resumed our journey with the vessel around 10 o'clock on the 24th of the month. The Russians call it *Strouk*, not one of the largest boats, but capable of loading approximately 300 packs of silk, which amounts to about 15 lasts. The hull is flat, having only a single through-hole, a *maft*, and just a sail, which is particularly large and comes in handy when facing the wind. When the wind did not serve, it was rowed steadily with 16 oars. The rudder was a long boom, where the lower end coming into the water was wide; the other side extended well over the ship, where it was attached to a wooden shaft, and thus controlled by the helmsman with the help of a rope that was fastened to it, using toggles for tightness, which are inserted and removed as needed. The number of crew members was approximately 23 men: the others, mostly Russians and Armenian merchants with their servants, numbered about 52 people in total. Up to this point, the river is particularly crooked and winding, being mostly of equal width, extending about 40 fathoms. Having sailed for two hours, we passed the Smolensk Monastery, which presents a beautiful sight with a large, pleasant forest about 100 versts from Moscow. We had a view of it on both sides until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the opening of the land reappeared with several villages. Before evening, we saw the mountains higher on either side; and as darkness fell, we camped. On the 25th, we arrived at the town of Kolomna at 9 o'clock, located to the southwest of the Moskva River. It is a bishopric town in the southern part of Rus', east of the city of Moscow.

Sitting on the land without being able to see the river, I sketched it from the north side, as shown in No. 18. This town, whose location we have already discussed on the journey to Veronis, is located, calculated by the curve and winding of the river, 180 versts from Moscow. Here across the river one sees a bridge or raft of beams attached so that some can be floated to allow passing vessels through. We stayed here until 7 o'clock in the afternoon while the ship's crew prepared the sails. In the evening, we encountered the Occa River, coming from the South, where the Moskva flows into it. It is very wide here.

The Smolensk Monastery.

The Occa River. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

We continued our journey, passing by the Moskva River, which we had encountered previously. This river originates not far from the borders of the Crimean Tartary, flowing through the southern part of Muscovy east of the city of Moscow and past the town of Nify Norogorod into the Volga. It's a very pleasant area, with the village of Kickiena Serophof on the right bank, where there are two large buildings, one inhabited by the commander. On the left bank is also a village with a substantial building. This was now 10 versts from Kolomna. Here, the river's course flowed more directly, allowing us to make better progress and continue through the entire night.

On the morning of the 26th, we saw the village of Dedenawa on the left bank with a beautiful church, located 30 versts from Kickiena along the river. Both sides have a stretch of small woodland; the river is here as wide as it will be. At ten o'clock, we encountered another village on the riverbank, trending mostly southwest. After midday, having traversed a large expanse to the south, we arrived at the village of Bilmoet around 2 o'clock, situated slightly off the river. This day, the mountains began to reappear, offering a more pleasing sight. The river was again winding. At five o'clock, we encountered another village on the right bank, located quite close to the river and with several houses on the hillside, heading generally east-northeast. The land and woodland appeared wonderfully green here. Shortly after, we passed by another village situated at the very edge of the mountains. Here I sketched a view depicted in No. 19. Here, the high mountains left us, which we had only seen on the right side. The river also became noticeably narrower again. In the evening, both sides displayed mountainous terrain with short woodland. After navigating past several villages during the night, we found ourselves on the morning of the 27th facing another high mountain range on the right bank, with a few villages on the left. Here we saw many cows and sheep grazing in the fields.

Occasionally, fishermen would approach us in small boats held by ropes, selling us berries and pike for 3 or 4 kopecks, enough to feed 7 or 8 people.

Now we continued onward, and at eight o'clock, we had a long island full of woodland in the river on the left bank; around midday, several villages where we turned towards the left bank. Subsequently, other villages along the mountainside, including the Bogoslova Monastery, which is a beautiful stone monastery built attractively into the trees on the mountain: alongside which lies a pleasant green plain extending to the river and containing many grazing animals. This monastery is located north of the river, 20 versts from Pereflaw. We offer you an impression of it in No. 20. The land here is approximately very fertile; hence, several villages are clustered nearby. At three o'clock, we left behind the high terrain and an hour later passed through a bay on the left bank called Prorater, which is 15 versts from Pereflaw. Then we encountered another bay as large as a river, spreading extensively into the land. An hour later, still another to the right, flowing into the mountains like a large river and stretching far and wide. But all we could observe was submerged land. Here, the river resumed its bends. At six o'clock, we passed by the village of Fabrenewa on the mountain, where much of the land was already underwater, with many large trees beneath it, appearing as a small sea. The land seems sandy here. On this stretch, we encountered daily vessels from Cafan and elsewhere, which had to be pulled forward with great effort and the help of many people using ropes. However, when the wind served them, they also raised their sails. Here we saw much birdlife: ducks, snipes, teal, and similar birds; and in the evening, we arrived at Borofske Monastery, another stone monastery built on a mountain, slightly off the river with a village nearby, located 3 versts from Pereflaw; near which town we spent the night on this side.

On the morning of the 28th, we sailed past it on the right bank into shallow water again, preventing us from observing it closely. It is situated slightly off the river on a mountain, at a height of 45 degrees and 42 minutes, bearing the name Pereflaw Refanske after the Province Refaen, of which it is the capital. We therefore passed several villages located on the mountainside, alongside much land that was underwater, so that it resembled our meadows and seemed to me like the canals near The Hague and Leiden. Here we also saw the large village that lies 8 versts from Pereflaw and belongs to Ti-maffe Ivanits Erfofske, Governor of Afrakan, where we noticed a few Ruffians who had erected three tents there, apparently to attach themselves to... ## The Monastery of Bogoslova in Kolomna

The Monastery of Bogoslova, nestled within the ancient walls of **Kolomna**, holds a unique place in Russian history and architecture. Founded in 1336 by Prince *Svyatoslav Igorevich*, it initially served as a family crypt for the Ryazan princes before

evolving into a significant monastic center. Its strategic location on the banks of the **Moskva River** made it a vital defensive outpost, safeguarding the approaches to Moscow during turbulent times.

The monastery's history is interwoven with periods of prosperity and devastation. It endured Mongol raids, fires, and even partial destruction during the Time of Troubles in the early 17th century. Despite these hardships, the monastic community persevered, rebuilding and enriching its structures over centuries. The current architectural ensemble primarily dates from the 16th and 17th centuries, showcasing a distinctive blend of Muscovite and later Baroque styles.

The most prominent feature is the Cathedral of the Bogolyubsky Icon of the Mother of God, constructed in 1532-1540. This five-domed cathedral exemplifies the elegance of early Russian architecture, with its intricate brickwork, decorative arches, and graceful proportions. The interior boasts stunning frescoes dating back to the 16th century, depicting scenes from the Bible and the lives of saints.

“The Bogoslova Monastery is a testament to the resilience of faith and the enduring power of architectural beauty.”

Beyond the cathedral, visitors can explore other notable structures within the monastery walls, including the refectory church dedicated to St. John Climacus, the monastic cell buildings, and the belfry. The surrounding landscape, with its picturesque views of the **Moskva River** and the historic town of **Kolomna**, adds to the overall charm and tranquility of this remarkable historical site. The monastery's library houses a valuable collection of ancient manuscripts and books, further enriching its cultural significance.

- **Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich:** Founder of the Monastery of Bogoslova in 1336.
- **Moskva River:** The river upon which the monastery is strategically located.
- **Kolomna:** The historic town where the monastery resides.
- **Cathedral of the Bogolyubsky Icon of the Mother of God:** The most prominent structure within the monastery complex, dating from 1532-1540. ## View of the River

View of the River. ## Travels Along the River

We illuminated the riverbank. Further along were many villages and trees on both sides, and the low land mostly underwater. We found the river very wide here, surrounded by our ship as if embraced by the foliage. The land was so flooded that one could scarcely recognize or enter it. It was beautifully clear, but very hot due to the breeze. To refresh myself, I took the boat, which daily went ashore for wood, and sailed along the bank to see if there

was anything to do. A large bark, coming from Moscow, passed us while we were still six versts from the town of Refansk. We drifted past it at night, and our people brought some beer ashore in a rowing boat. On the 29th, at 7 hours and 10 versts from the aforementioned town, we found the land on the right bank to be a few fathoms wide, where the river had created a large lagoon that was navigable by boats. Due to the mist, we could not see any villages here. A verst further on, we encountered another inlet, where the said lagoon seemed to end in a circle. Here we saw many horses and other livestock grazing, and no high mountains on either side of the low land. At 9 hours, we could no longer recognize any land on the right bank except for what was entirely underwater up to the mountains. Having come to a corner where the water ran into an inlet, we saw the land again, and a few wretched houses there. This place is called Kiefrus. We saw many vessels lying there. At 11 hours, the sail was hoisted for the first time with little wind coming from the East. On the right side, we saw the gorge of Terigo, and a small village nearby. Near midday, the gorge of Solofade, which has a fairly large small church. The village lies beside it on the mountain. After midday, we again had a short run with the sail and saw many large trees with their trunks submerged up to the branches; we could not recognize their leaves, but from the color of the trunks, we could see how high the water had been. This happens every year until the month of June, when the water begins to recede. After passing several villages located opposite each other and encountering a few vessels, we lay still at night. On the 30th, at dawn, we saw another small village and a few houses in the lowlands, the land on both sides also being level with the river, low-lying and marshy, where there was also some meadowland. At 10 hours, we had the town of Terinske on our right, where we rowed ashore with the small boat to fetch beer, but in vain, as nothing could be obtained. Now we were still 100 versts from the town of Kafimof, and at midday we saw a village stretching widely along the river on the mountainside, just as another did two hours later, located at the corner of the height where flat land followed, which was also mostly underwater. The view I bring onto paper here is to be seen in No. 21.

Here we hoisted the sail again with a wind from the North-East; but it didn't last long, and one had to put their hands back on the ropes. After passing some more villages, we found the land so flooded that one could only see water, trees, and air. With the evening, we took in a barge belonging to His Majesty, which was loaded with anchors and heading for Afop, along with a smaller vessel. We exchanged a few shots with muskets and pistols. Thirty versts from Kafiemof, we rowed at night with 8 oars to let half of the crew rest on cushions. Now, with the early morning of May, several villages appeared before our eyes opposite each other, and further along some green plains lying on the mountainside. At one hour, we came to the town of Kafiemof, or that which lies on and against the mountainside on the riverbank. All the houses here

are made of wood, as are the four churches. The town itself has no walls but is fairly large. One only sees a round stone tower belonging to a Turkish mosque, since there are still some Turks and Tatars living there. I went with some Armenians to the front of the town to fetch supplies, and especially beer; but without success, as nothing could be obtained in a very barren place. We then rowed back to our vessel where we worked for an hour while the ship continued its course, seeing many villages along the way. Meanwhile, our people went ashore for wood and found many asparagus in the forest, of which a good portion they brought aboard. They were somewhat thin and long, but good-tasting and suitable for roasting. I took one of the large ones to cook and prepare them in our style. After passing a few more villages on the right side, we got a free wind from the East towards the South, that is, directly against us, so that we had enough to do keeping away from the right side of... ## Cornelis de Bruins's River Journey

To keep the river in sight; he once ran aground, but quickly floated again. Here I noticed that these vessels were not very responsive to their rudders. Some people sat on a tree trunk, where there was an outcropping, to lift it out of the water with the addition of this weight and then drop it into the water on the side, in order to rotate it with greater force by means of the oarsmen. Approaching evening, we arrived at a large village nestled against the mountains along the river. Here I sketched a view, which is shown in No. 22. Having passed several more villages during the night, we reached the city of Alaetma on the morning of the 2nd of the month, located 60 miles from Kafiemof. This place is situated high up on the mountainside and extends further inland: so that one cannot see it entirely from the river, which has a considerable side facing south. It is fairly large. Several houses stand outside along the bank. There are eight churches within. Around the city are several villages. On the opposite side there is an agreeable view of woods, through which, continuing onward, one encounters more villages. At 5 o'clock we saw a flat meadow on the far side, and many cattle grazing there. As you descend from the top of the mountain, you see a village where someone seems to be steering a boat between the plains and trees. Here the river was quite wide and mostly surrounded by woods on both sides. For several days we observed large flocks of geese flying around here. On the 3rd, in the morning light, we passed Moruma. The city of Moruma, situated along the river against the mountainside, is quite impressive in size and adorned with seven churches built of stone, alongside others made of wood. It is said that the best bread in all Ruflant is found here. Within this city, located 60 miles from Alaetma, live Ruffen and Tartars. It is also believed that the Mordvinian Tartars begin here. We continued past several villages and saw much land under water. The river was very wide here, with a village on either side, one of which sits at the corner of the

mountain where it begins to rise, a few hours distant, having a sandy ground and being so steep that it is not easy to climb from the riverbank.

As we approached, several birds flew up and repeatedly dipped towards the ground. This our Ruffen saw, rowing with the small boat toward them, taking what each of us gave to bring them there, including several loaves of bread. For it was a poor man. Further on, we encountered three women with their children, whom they carried on their arms, to which we showed our sympathy. These people from the mountains, obtaining some vessels, come down to the riverbank in hopes of receiving alms. Having reached the end of this mountain range, we saw two villages above and then had flat land before us, stretching inland towards the mountains. At 5 o'clock, due to the river's turns, we managed a stretch with the sail using the northern wind, which is otherwise a headwind, until another mountain range, high, without trees but certainly green, where two villages were located. We kept this on our right and rowed again straight into the wind. Shortly after, we found ourselves near a *Kabak*, and I rowed with some men towards it to obtain something there: but we found it very poor. And for an hour, we could not catch up to our vessel. After passing several villages, the wind was so strong and contrary that we were forced to lie still for a few hours. Then we passed through two rivers, one on the right side called Molsua Raka, and the other 8 miles higher up on the far side, called Clefma, which comes from the city of Wolodimer. On the 4th, having passed a village on either side, we found ourselves again near high land at 10 o'clock. We also encountered other villages both above and below the river, closely situated; one of which bears the name Isbulets, still 40 miles from the city of Nifen. Here we met a boat with 10 oars that had many flags and rowed fairly well against the current. The flat land here was covered with woods on either side, and the high mountains stretched deeper into the land. At three o'clock we were near the Dudina Monastery, where a village lies on the mountain, called Podweefne. The *Kloofter* is very pleasantly situated against the mountain in the woods, so that one cannot see it except for the treetops. At 5 o'clock we found a flat area without trees on the far side, where we saw two villages, as also on the mountainside on the right. Here we managed to do a short stretch with the sail around the river bend. At 7 o'-

A VIEW ON THE RIVER.

ALAE'TMA

The river's surface shimmered, a restless mirror reflecting the sky's muted hues. A gentle breeze stirred the reeds along the bank, whispering secrets only they understood. The air hung heavy with the scent of damp earth and blooming wildflowers - a fragrance both familiar and deeply comforting.

A lone figure stood on the embankment, silhouetted against the fading light. He gazed out at the water, his expression unreadable, lost in thought. Years seemed etched into the lines around his eyes, hinting at stories untold, battles fought, and losses endured. His presence exuded a quiet strength, an unwavering resilience forged by time and circumstance.

The river flowed onward, indifferent to the observer's contemplation. It carried with it the echoes of generations past - the laughter of children playing on its banks, the songs of fishermen casting their nets, the solemn processions accompanying those laid to rest. It was a constant presence, a silent witness to the ebb and flow of life itself.

"The river remembers," he murmured, his voice barely audible above the rustling reeds. "It holds within it all that has been, and all that will be."

He turned from the water's edge, his gaze sweeping across the landscape. The sun had dipped below the horizon, painting the sky in vibrant shades of orange and purple. A sense of melancholy settled upon him, a poignant awareness of time's relentless passage. Yet, within that sadness, there was also a glimmer of hope - a quiet certainty that even as shadows lengthened, life would continue to flow, inexorably onward, like the river itself.

- **The River:** A symbol of enduring change and memory.
- **The Figure:** Represents contemplation, resilience, and the weight of experience.
- **Alaetma:** A *place name*, evoking a sense of history and mystery. ## Reisen

We spent seven days near the village of Allena, fifteen versts from Nifen. Due to a strong wind and rough water, we were forced to remain on the right side of the river; however, we continued our journey again on the fifth morning before dawn. Having passed many villages, we finally arrived at the Shipyard, which extends along the river to the outskirts, where for the first time one sees a large, beautiful stone building constructed there, surrounded by a wall. Adjacent to this was a low-lying stone church with stone and wooden houses surrounding it, extending all the way to the river. Further on, we saw against the mountains a large, beautiful stone church, and the mountains themselves filled with houses above.

Then the city appeared, which the Russians commonly call Nief or Nifen, others Novgorod or Little Novgorod, and still others Nifen Nieugarten: it is a small principality with a large town, where the castle sits on a cliff at the place where the river Occa flows into the Volga. This town of Nifen is surrounded by a sturdy stone wall. To reach the gate, one passes through a long shopping arcade or bazaar, where all sorts of goods are for sale. This gate leading to the waterfront is called Iwanofskie. It is built of a heavy, thick stone wall and quite deep to pass through. From there, one

steadily ascends through a long street, partly paved with wooden bridges, until reaching another gate, named Diawietroskie, where the most important stone church stands, called Saboor, whose five domes are beautifully glazed green with graceful crosses above them. Alongside this is the Metropolitan's courtyard, also of stone, large and beautifully built: within which is a stately little church with a tower above; as well as another stone and wooden church. Near this gate is also the Prikacs or Cantelery, but made of wood, as is the house of the Governor. Further on, there isn't much to note in the city itself, as it is small in size, filled with wooden houses, and only adorned with two gates. Outside the gate on the land side, it is very pleasant to see the trees and adjacent houses. Around the walls are various round and square towers, among which one is very large and high, so that from there one can survey the landscape far away. At the land gate stood four cannons in the gallery of the guardhouse before the gate. As for the suburb, it is quite large, especially on the side of the river. Here one also sees various stone churches, and the mountains at several places separated, where the churches and houses present themselves attractively. The surrounding terrain was difficult to assess due to the heights and descents that constantly challenged our view. On the river in front of the city, we saw a large gathering of vessels going and coming of all kinds. On the other side of the river lies a large village belonging to Gregori Demetri Strogenof, adorned with a beautiful stone church as well as a large house also of stone, where he sometimes resides. This expedition departed from here on 48 long barges, each with 10 rowers, and carrying about 40 people, suitable for retrieving some ships laden with wood that had frozen in the ice. All these ships belong to the aforementioned merchant, who operates near this town, estimated, as we have already said, as being a distance of the entire Rulant; giving each man used to retrieve these barges 3 rubles. This departure took place like the mobilization of half an army. As this expedition began, bells started ringing, because it was that morning to celebrate the Feast of Ascension of Christ. Meanwhile, we replenished our supplies here, especially brandy, which is well known here for its quality and trade. The Armenians are accustomed to having this drink here because it is sold here at a good price, being paid for about 4 kopecks per ruble. Edible goods were also readily available. One can buy a lamb or common sheep for 13 or 14 slivers; two small ducklings for one sliver; a beautiful hen for 3 slivers; 20 eggs for one sliver; 2 fairly large white loaves of bread for one sliver; and a common brown loaf weighing 7 or 8 pounds for one sliver. The beer was also good, and available at a reasonable price. This town is estimated to be 800 verstes from Moscow, which is 160 hours; but not more than 100 hours by land. It lies on the southern side of the river Occa, which we received as Kolomna, and which here joins the Volga River, called Rha for this stretch. These streams create a great white foam through their confluence, believed to be over 4000 feet wide, according to those who have measured it during wintertime. This town is inhabited by Russians, with no Tatars

present. It is quite populous, located at a latitude of 56 degrees and 28 minutes. I would have liked to observe and sketch it properly on the river, but could not persuade the Russians with money to do so because of the feast. For ## Cornelis de Bruins

On such days they involve themselves in nothing but drinking until full and sated. I saw many lying prostrate on the streets, drunk. Here one can also observe with amusement how the poor people spend every day, without exception, at *Kabak* or brandy shops. In the house where we bought the brandy, I therefore remained for several hours to observe the strange behaviors and antics of these people as the drink began to take effect. But this all happens on the street, because they cannot enter the house. They remain outside the door, where there is a counter, upon which they place their money. Then they are given the measure they desire with a wooden spoon from a large kettle, and handed over in a wooden bowl; the smallest measure being a *dinseke* or half-fluyver. Thus they are served by a person who has enough to do all day to satisfy everyone; sitting beside him is another who collects the money. Here both women and men are equally present, and load themselves with this drink just as much. In the beer tavern, where they sit drinking, I saw these same figures.

It was now the seventh hour of the day, when we had intended to depart, to obtain a crew for the ship from a shore. Not far from there we spent the night, and on the following morning early continued our journey. Thus we proceeded along a long stretch past the town and its suburbs, presenting such a beautiful sight that I could not resist sketching it as it appears in No. 24. After passing two villages on the good side of the river, one of which is called a rather large *Weesna*, the gorge at *Beftsjirske* appeared on the right bank of the river, built of stone except for the roofs, with many houses lying alongside each other, a quarter of a mile from the town. Above it, on the mountain, one sees the church called *Jaffoofni*, where hundreds of people, both men and women, gathered this day, coming partly from the town, partly from the surrounding villages; erecting some tents to enjoy themselves. We remained three quarters of a mile from the town until 9 o'clock in the morning. After passing many villages close by and on the mountainside, we left them behind, and flat land came into view. Subsequently, around midday, we approached other villages and mountains again, as well as an island full of trees in the middle of the river, about two quarters of a mile long.

The trees were tall, and above all equal in height, with most of the flames standing in the water. On the right bank, a village appeared on the mountain, and another below by the river. At 3 o'clock, the mountains receded, making way for a plain with a small bend. At 5 o'clock, another village approached us on the same side, and yet another at the river. At 6 o'clock, when we arrived at the village of Tardienits, located on the same side of the river, the sail was lowered due to a W.Z. wind, but shortly

thereafter it was raised again for a brief respite from the cold. Here we saw several villages again on the good side, as well as another island in the middle of the river without trees; and before evening, other villages.

We also passed by the river *Kerfie-mic* on the good side, and the large village of *Mietfjowa* on the right bank, where there is a fine little church. Then we had the monastery of Makaria on the good side, a large building made of stone, surrounded by a beautiful stone wall; resembling rather a fort or stronghold, square in shape, and having a tower at each corner. Another tower sits between the corner towers. It lies flat against the river. I would have liked to depict it on paper, but the evening had progressed too quickly. The village is located next to it, as well as a large *Ghan* or caravan shed made of wood, where the goods of the merchants are stored. For here there is an annual market where most of the merchants from all of Ruffant appear to trade their goods. To which fifteen days are allotted without exception. This market is held in the month of July. Our Ruffians, having gone ashore with the rowing boat to catch fish, reported that fourteen days ago a Governor of Moscow had been attacked here by three barkers, each containing eighteen Ruffian robbers. The Governor's pouch contained enough gunpowder, but it was uncharged. However, the Governor and his people defending themselves killed three of the robbers; the rest escaped without plunder. This incident prompted him to return to Moscow; one of his people remaining in the village where our Ruffians had been, to have his wounds received from the robbers healed.

Having learned this, we resolved to be on our guard, and subsequently prepared all the weapons we had, bringing them all together above. We estimated that we could fire 40 shots with both firearms and pistols. No night did we spend without one of the Ruff- ## Niesna

The upper illustration depicts the town of **Niesna**, showcasing its fortified walls and numerous churches with onion domes rising above the settlement. The river is bustling with activity as various boats—sailing vessels and smaller rowboats—navigate the waters in front of the town's embankment. Houses are clustered along the shore, nestled against the defensive structures.

Casan

The lower illustration presents **Casan**, viewed from across a wide expanse of water. The cityscape features a dense collection of buildings, including prominent churches with spires and domes, set behind a line of trees. Several sailing ships and smaller boats are visible on the river, indicating active maritime traffic. ## SWYATSKI

The upper illustration portrays Swyatski, a town nestled beside a broad river. Its skyline is dominated by numerous churches distinguished by their unique onion domes and crosses, highlighting its religious importance. Several boats are visible on the water; a large sailboat with a single mast stands out in the center, while smaller rowboats and other vessels move along the river's surface. The town appears to be built upon a slightly elevated bank, with buildings grouped closely together.

SAMARA

The lower illustration depicts Samara, another riverside settlement. Its architecture features multiple churches with tall spires and domes, suggesting a comparable religious character. A large sailboat with a curved sail is positioned in the foreground, while several smaller boats are scattered across the water. The town's layout seems more densely populated than Swyatski's, with buildings tightly packed along the riverbank under an overcast sky. ## Travels

The Russians and one of the Armenian travelers kept watch, armed, while half the crew rowed at night.

On the 8th, we arrived at the village of Bormino with the morning light, having traveled 100 versts from the city. We then saw several villages to the right, and several islands with trees in the river. The land was generally flat. At 8 o'clock, we passed the large village of Gukina on the right, belonging to Feodor Alexewitsch Golovin. It stretches far along the river, also extending into the mountains, and is said to consist of 7000 houses. Here, peasants came towards us in boats to sell us bread. Continuing onward, we saw several islands in the river, which here is of great length, drifting. At 10 o'clock, we passed through the river Sura, which comes from the south, where the high mountains begin. Below along the river lies a large village called Vaffiel; above on the mountain is the town of Vaffeligorod, which cannot be seen from the river because the high mountains lie before it. But I was told that it was small and without walls, consisting of wooden houses. It is reckoned to be 120 versts from Niefna. In this free land live many Cheremiss Tartars who extend themselves beyond Cafan. Close by were two more villages; then the river Vetluga on the right bank. When we were near the Junka Klofter on our right, we found ourselves alongside the town of Kufmademianski at 4 o'clock, located 40 versts from the last town. This is fairly large, stretching along the river to the right and partly into the mountains. It also has no walls. With the awakening of the southwest wind, we now hoisted the sail and had the land on both sides, mostly covered with linden trees, and entirely without mountains. Now the wind returned and caused our sail to flap. Having met several islands in the river, we passed the town of Sabakzar at night, located on the right bank 40 versts

from the last mentioned town against the height. It appeared more pleasant and prettier to me. After this, we received some more villages, also the town of Kokschaga, located on the right bank, 30 versts from Sabakzar. On the morning of the 9th, we found high mountains beside us, and sailed a large stretch that wanted to go to Cafan, and several rowing boats past in mist, dampness, and warm weather. At midday, we had the village of Blowolska beside us on the right bank; still 80 versts from Cafan. Hereabouts we also saw the village of Bellawalska, where our crew engaged in a scuffle with the rowboats. At 3 o'clock, we passed the town of Swyatski with a good wind, located on a mountain, beyond Swyatski, seen with a *Kafteel*, and several stone churches and Klofters. The walls and houses are all made of wood. The river Swyage, coming from the south-east, runs past and around the town as if it were an island, and thus into the Volga. Opposite the town on this side lies the village of Soldaetske Skabode on the corner of the mountains. Between this and the town the river flows into the Volga; as seen in the illustration there at No. 25; lying a flat island before the river Swyage. We kept the mountain from the mentioned place, and sailed S. half East, and in short time passed several villages on the same side. At 6 o'clock, the town of Cafan appeared to Cafan, on the right side of us, at a distance of about 4 versts. It presents itself very beautifully with its various churches and Klofters, and the stone wall drawn around the *Kafteel*. Shortly before, we had passed to the right side of the river near the shipyard or dockyard, which is located 6 or 7 versts from there, because the river is so wide there. Here were 40 hulls on scaffolding, and many others being started on the side of the city. It is estimated that 380 of these vessels will be built to navigate the Caspian Sea, one after another. As we continued, I brought the view of this town Cafan onto paper as well as I could, as seen at No. 26. It lies in Asia, in the western part of Tartary, under the territory of Muscovy on the riverlet Cafan, by the inhabitants called Cafansk, which flows into the Volga. It is the most important one of the Kingdom or land of the same name, located between the land of Bulgaria and the people who are called Chereminfi. The town itself is surrounded by wooden walls. Further we sailed near this town several large islands nearby, lying as if in the river. Now it was necessary to row again, because the wind from the West through the turning of the river was against us. Having sculled ten versts, we had the village of Nifne Oeflon beside us, and shortly after a few others, all on the right side. On this mountain there are many lime kilns, in some of which lime is burned. On the right bank there was much land and wooded undergrowth underwater. On the morning of the 10th we had the river Kama, which falls into the Volga from the right side; being 60 versts from Cafan.

The village of Gukina. The village of Vaffiel, and the town of Vaffeligorod. The town of Kufmademianski. Sabakzar. Kokschaga. Location of the city. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journey

The river was very wide, originating from the north-east with such a flow that one could sail on its waters for many hours. It is said that this water is brown; however, I couldn't see that, but I did observe that it was so sweet that the Volga became finer because of it. After passing several villages, we found ourselves alongside the village called Kierietska at 8 o'clock in the morning, situated on a hill beside the river. At midday, we passed the settlement of Tetoetfie or Tetus to our right, located 90 versts from Cafan on a high and fortified site. It is surrounded by a wooden wall; however, there isn't much to see within it besides some poor houses and little churches. And while passing, one only sees a small portion of the wall. Downstream, there's also a small village where our crew obtained some provisions, as well as ice to cool the drinks; for here we still saw snow on the fortifications. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, using the north-east wind and sailing south, we passed a particularly long island on the right bank called Starifo, 40 versts from Tetus. Before nightfall, we observed many more islands with trees. Now the weather became calm, so we had to row again through the river, which here is well an hour's rowing width. We still had the high fortifications on our right; where we remained at anchor for part of the night due to the harsh and unfavorable wind. On the 11th in the morning, I rowed with some Armenians and Ruffians towards the land to fetch provisions, as we were close to the city of Simbierska, which lies on the right bank over the fortifications about 3 versts from the river, reputed to have been a very old city that was destroyed by the Great Tamerlane; however, I could not hear any remnants of this. Also, time did not allow us to go there. Some believe that there were other cities and places higher up where some remains might be found; but all without the slightest certainty. This was nevertheless made to seem believable to me, that there were fragments of an old *Kafteel* near Zarietie, and a section of its wall. At least it is said that there used to be important old cities between Cafan and Aftrakan, one called Achtoeba, located by the river Oeffa, about which I also heard nothing. This alone, that between Saratof and Zaritha on the other side of the Volga, the river Oeffa is known, which takes its course into the Volga and flows through the land towards Siberia. It is also known that the city Achtoeba was located there as well, but that nothing remains of the ruins, because the last ten or so buildings were taken apart to use in the construction of Aftrakan and other cities. Having ventured onto the land, I found the suburb or village very large, lying partly below the river and partly against and on the fortifications; where we had to climb to reach the Rafaer. Upon our arrival, there was a sudden outbreak of fire in the houses against the fortifications, so that within a short time 5 or 6 were already ablaze, and before our departure from there, 20 had been consumed by fire in half an hour; the blaze continuing due to the strong wind, which prevented the Ruffians standing nearby from quickly demolishing the adjacent houses to contain the fire. We obtained food here, as at Niefna, for a small price. I would have liked to examine the city more closely; but I couldn't because our

vessel was already moving on. However, I observed that it was large and surrounded by a wooden wall; that there were 8 or 10 churches and 3 or 4 dozen *Kloofers*, and over 10,000 houses, all inhabited by Ruffians. For the Tatars keep themselves in the nearby villages. Rowing from here, we found our vessel so far ahead that we had about an hour or two of work before we could reach it. Here, at a certain place, the river was swirling violently on all sides, also very deep and powerfully moving, causing large waves, not without danger for those of us who had to work through it in such a small boat. This city is said to be located 180 versts from Cafan. Subsequently, we saw many more islands and trees in the water, not unpleasant to behold. An hour after midday, we reached the village of Singiela on the right bank, 30 versts from the last mentioned town. It's also large and stretches along the river. A little further on was another one. Both are inhabited by Ruffians. Many sheep were grazing nearby. On the right bank was low land without trees. At 7 o'clock, the village of Bektaske appeared on our right; an hour later, the village of Nove Devitske-Salo, particularly large and densely built, lying as if between two hills, and partly on them, also up to the river. There are several little churches and a large tower within it. We rowed close along the fortifications, which were green and pleasant to see. At night, a rowing boat

The village of Bektaske, and Nove Devitske-Salo.

The river Oeffa.

Simbierska. ## Reisen

The *schuit* encountered Russians who called out to us, inquiring about our origin and destination, and the type of vessel we possessed. We responded that we came from His Majesty's service, suggesting they might be compelled to yield to him. These individuals then departed; we considered them all thieves, as they found no opportunity to plunder us. On the 12th, at dawn, we observed extensive mountains on both sides and, in areas where the ground was barren, numerous spruce trees—trees we had not seen before. The river here was neither wide nor deep, but exceptionally high this year, causing significant flooding of land; some rivers were even unrecognizable. The Russians could not provide information regarding property rights in this area, as they were largely ignorant of it, and I could not make my own observations due to our continuous progress. At 9 o'clock, we sighted a flat expanse between the high mountains on the right bank of the river, where the village of Siera Barak was located, just 20 fathoms from Samara. Here, the locals gathered to observe us. The river widened further; there was also an island covered in trees, mostly submerged. At 10 o'clock, we saw a tall, rounded mountain on the right side within the flat expanse of wooded terrain, with only some trees growing on its two sides above. It is called Sariol Kurgan. A peculiar story I heard was that

Russians claimed a king (others say a Tartarish Tsar named Mammon) was buried there, who had come up the Volga River with seventy kings from Tartary to conquer all of Russia. Having died here, his soldiers, whom he brought in great numbers, built his grave by adding so much earth to it that this mountain arose from it, wearing their helmets and *ichilden*. A short distance from this mountain lies another, called Kabia Gora or Kabia Mountain, covered with trees and extending towards Samara. On the right side, one observes mountainside covered in forest from top to bottom, making it difficult to discern. This forest consists mainly of willow and elm trees. Much sulfur is extracted from the mountains themselves, which is so pure that it cannot be found anywhere else. It was discovered only two years ago. Now, over 4000 people are working there—Russians, Cheremissians, and Mordvinians—with His Majesty of Moscow having appointed overseers and guards to encourage the work. The mountains lie on the west side of the river. Two hours after midday, we arrived before the city of Samara, Samara, situated on the right bank along the river, also against and upon the low, treeless mountain (as seen in No. 27), separating it from the city at the river's edge—not, as others have written, two fathoms from the shore. At the end of the city, one sees the Samara River, after which the city is named. From here, they say this stream flows back into the Volga in five or six hours. This city is quite large, entirely made of wood and filled with poor houses. It has a wooden wall with several towers, particularly a large one on the land side. The city mostly faces the mountains; the area adjacent to it extends along the river. It is estimated to be 350 fathoms from Cafan. As you pass by, you see the gate and various churches and *kloosters*. Twenty-five fathoms from Samara, one also sees a river on the right side flowing into the Volga, called Askula, where the Samar flows in. Here, the mountains receded from both sides. The current widened again shortly thereafter; we then encountered the previous mountain range again on our right, with less vegetation and a reddish hue. Here was a *stroek* of Aftrakan, from which we received news that there were still fourteen others following, all suitable for sailing to Makaria to attend the annual market, as we have mentioned; we also encountered some of them at night. At 10 o'clock, we found ourselves sixty fathoms from Samara near the village of Pereveleko. On the 13th, we had the city of Kaskur on the flin- ## Cornelis de Bruins's Voyage

Lying twelve leagues from Samara on the swift current of the river is **Sieferon**. It's small in understanding, but enclosed by a wall and studded with towers, all made of wood, like the churches. The village or suburb lies alongside it, as seen at No. 28. About an hour inland is another city, called **Sieferon**, which is quite large and adorned with several stone churches. The mountains nearby are barren and without wooded ground. At eight hours, we were at a point near the village of Panfiena in the plains. Around this area, the Kalmuk Tartars frequently raid, taking people, cattle, and everything they can find. After proceeding slightly further, we

had a very winding course through many particularly large islands covered with trees, and so much water that the River Volga was barely discernible. Now, we had the mountains to our right drawing closer; appearing barren and as if scorched by the sun due to the great drought this year, though otherwise they are covered in tall grass. The farmers greatly desire rain because they can find little pasture for their livestock.

At four hours past noon, we reached the village of Selo on the right bank below the mountains to the north, sixty leagues from Kaskur. Here, we encountered three of the aforementioned *stroeken* (groups), one belonging to His Majesty. There were many Kalmuk women here being transported to Cafan. The men of these women were captured and hanged last year for their robberies, a matter I will discuss further later. Within an hour, we saw three other villages lying along the river; also on the swift side - Wolska *Wafflee* or the River *Waffiele*, opposite which lies the village of Nove Derevene, or New Village, belonging to Feodor Alexewits Golowin. We stayed at anchor for a while that night, allowing the people, weary from long rowing, some rest, after having sailed sixty leagues further. On the 14th of the month, we turned into a large *freek* (stretch) southwards, sailing against the wind and passing a large group of pots being taken to Afrakan to be sold there. At eleven hours, we reached the village of Woskrefinka on the right side, located on a hill along the river sixty-five leagues from Saratof. Here, we found the mountains rising steeply, consisting of light gray sand and stone. Several fishermen came aboard here, who for little *brandewyn* (brandy) - because they cannot sell it for money - gave us a quantity of fish: sturgeon, beluga, pike, and more. Many fruit trees were growing here. At four hours after leaving the hay meadow, we had a plain with bushes, which was also on the swift side. After passing several islands, we encountered a severe storm with thunder and rain around six hours, raising the river's waves like a sea. We continued through it for a while but found ourselves forced to cast off the anchor. This happened on the swift side of the river, where the ship was driven against the bank of broken trees, so that our two rowing boats and we ourselves were in great danger. For these vessels are only equipped with a small anchor that cannot be thrown out in deep water during a strong wind, as it is not suitable for holding the ship. However, this storm did not last long, and after the weather cleared, we continued on. That night, we led towards the shore on the selfsame side, where we landed and made fire. Here, we found many fruit trees, also wild rose bushes, and several flowers. Now, we were only twenty leagues from Saratof. We returned to the vessel after having refreshed ourselves a little. But we had not been there long when one of the four poor merchants was attacked while lying in bed. He lay stretched out as if he had fainted. In this state, he remained for two or three hours, after which time some movement was detected, but without speech. Approaching the city of Saratof, we lifted him onto the vessel. After he coughed up some thick blood

from his mouth, which made us believe that he had something stuck in his throat that was choking him so severely. Therefore, we saw no other recourse than to expect death, and sought a physician or healer in the city, but in vain. Unable to provide the sick man any assistance, I observed the city while there, finding it located in the southeastern part of Russia, northwest of the River Volga, against and on the edge of the mountains. The suburb stretches for half an hour along the river. Taking a view from above, I found it situated without walls, with several wooden towers. A quarter of an hour from the river stands a gate, as well as one leading off to the swift side of the city; also one at the place where one departs overland towards Moscow: standing a few wooden poles between them. When you arrive on the other side on the right bank of the river, you find a depth where there are coal and vegetable gardens. Outside the aforementioned gate, you see

Severe sickness.

Kalmuk-fe Tartars. The village of Selo. Situation of the city of Saratof. ## Reisen.

We traversed the flat expanse of land stretching far into the distance, creating a road from hardened ground. From here, all Armenian, Russian, and other merchants who come to the town of Astrakhan typically journey towards Moscow. One sees wooden churches, and otherwise nothing remarkable. There reside only Ruffians, mostly soldiers, under the jurisdiction of a Governor. Eight years ago, this place burned down completely and has been rebuilt. Nearby are numerous Tartars, spreading out as far as the Caspian Sea and the river Ianka. This town is reckoned to be 350 versts from Samara, at a latitude of 52 degrees 12 minutes. We observed many vessels laden with goods destined for Astrakhan and elsewhere. We departed before midday, having been able to observe little of the town from the riverbank beyond a few towers and the tops of the churches, obstructed as it was by the suburbs.

Upon returning to the vessel, we found the sick man in the same condition around 3 hours after noon when he gave his last breath. This greatly distressed us, considering how fresh he had been the previous night while ashore. The Armenians especially grieved, spreading a cotton blanket over his body and binding his legs. Subsequently, they placed a book on his head and a cross upon his chest, lighting incense at the foot of the bed. Then two began to read from a book for more than an hour. Servants fashioned a new piece of linen into a sheet, shirt, and trousers. Afterwards, the servants of the deceased searched ahead to find a suitable place where he could be buried. The attendants read and sang again before the body as the time approached to bring it ashore, as happened at an inlet of the river or water running through the land. Stripped of his clothing, the head was covered, and then the entire body; they slightly propped him up on a plank, putting on the new trousers and shirt. Further, they placed a cross around

his neck reaching to his chest. In his right hand, they gave him a rosary with a wax candle, in his left only a wax candle. They placed a cloth or patch over his eyes, as well as one for his mouth, and both ears. The arms were crossed over each other. Then they wrapped him in a shroud and carried him on some planks, like a berry on a string, laying a carpet or tapestry over him, as if in procession to the top of the mountain where the grave awaited. Again, they sang and read from various books. Meanwhile, all the Armenians cleansed their foreheads one by one and covered them with the shroud, throwing each a handful of sand upon him while scattering some herbs. Then followed several other ceremonies; and more sand was thrown, with great signs of mourning. Finally, the grave was filled with earth and stones, and a large wooden cross was erected at the head, along with three crossbars joined together. Afterwards, large stones were placed on the grave, and a small fence built around it. For the last time, a wax candle was placed at the foot of the headstone. These ceremonies thus completed, they cleansed themselves one by one before the stone under the burning of incense that had been laid upon it. Then they ignited gunpowder in the manner of a running firework. This done, each was offered a glass of brandy. The entire company from our vessel were present at this funeral rite, which proceeded so sadly that many of the onlookers could not restrain their tears despite the bitter weeping of the Armenians. Such was the burial of this man whom we saw healthy and buried within ten hours. Of that time, three hours were spent in ceremonies. His name was Petrus Archangel, hailing from Spahan where his wife and children waited for him in vain.

This mountain separated from the other was covered with willow and elm trees, also here and there with rose bushes full of buds. If the ground had not been so scorched, we would certainly have noticed some flowers or herbs. We could not reach the lowlands of the adjacent mountains due to the water. This range is called Goro Soponofskie, located 26 versts from Saratov. The mountain Goro Sotekent—you see it at No. 29—is named Ponofski.

Subsequently, many pleasant sights presented themselves to us, both of various mountains and plains, as well as hillsides, all favorably situated; where the beauty contributed much. At night we anchored for a while. On the 16th, we saw before us extensive rocky terrain, with many broken fragments scattered on the shore. In places it was very sandy, so that thousands of swallows had made holes in it, flying in and out constantly. Many islands were again in the river. Also visible was Mount Saloftagori, or golden mountain; and at 3 hours after noon ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account of the Journey

During the early Ming dynasty, we traversed a greener mountainous region covered in trees, where a small river named Doezinke runs northwards towards the Steppe; it is 25 leagues from Saroegamis. Here we experienced rain, but shortly

thereafter sunshine returned. After several hours, we encountered a forest before the mountains that was partially submerged in water: as a result of storms during high water, two vessels had become lodged there and remained largely intact. Nearby, we found some small dwellings where fishermen sheltered. Before sunset, we passed by the city of Saroegamis, which had begun construction only four years prior and now boasts numerous buildings. It is quite large, surrounded by an earthen wall on which work continues diligently. There are already over 4000 households inhabited by people from Moscow. The mountain upon which the city stands is high and steep, composed entirely of rock. Besides the city on the river's right bank, one can see the Kamuschinka River flowing northwards. It is said that it originates from the Iloba stream, which flows into the Don River, which empties into Pontus and separates Asia and Europe. Through this same river, it is reported that the Don Cossacks travel by boat to the Volga. This overland route is therefore very dangerous, as it is believed some military forces have been dispatched to intercept them. However, these efforts proved ineffective, leading to a decision to establish a city here, thereby ensuring greater safety. On the other side of the Kamuschinka River, a fortification has also been constructed, surrounded by an earthen wall and where work continues daily. Nevertheless, this project is lagging because many laborers die daily from the poor air, as it is believed, emanating from the land. Otherwise, His Majesty's intentions were to reach the Black Sea via a river. I examined the commenced work and observed that they had initially intended to build the city on the site where the fortification now stands, but changed their plans due to the unhealthy air. They had also begun constructing a dam from one mountain to another in order to divert the flow of the Kamuschinka River into the Volga. The suspension or abandonment of this work was further compounded by the discovery that the made sluice gates were repeatedly swept away and broken by heavy water, which occasionally cascaded down from the mountains in great torrents. Furthermore, it was found that the ground beneath the surface of the earth was entirely stony, even rocky in many places, making it impossible to break through. The leader of the work, realizing this, decided to abandon it and retreat inland.

Thus far we had progressed with limited use of the sail, having advanced approximately 120 leagues each day thanks to the downstream current and the assistance of oars. On the 17th, we passed through the Bobloclea River at dawn, 90 leagues from the previously mentioned city, and encountered a large retinue belonging to His Majesty, originating from Africa. Here I sketched a portrait, which you can see on No. 30.

At 11 o'clock, we experienced a severe storm coming down from the mountains, requiring two men at each oar to ensure they remained on the same side and were not swept over. Much of the forest before the mountains was washed into the water; therefore,

we anchored there using ropes attached to trees. An hour later, the weather improved. We then proceeded to the right bank and came upon the large island Alinda-Loeka, opposite where the mountain emerges at an angle, creating a narrow passage. It is estimated to be 60 leagues from Zaritfa. Shortly thereafter, we were caught by a strong headwind near the ground. Once we regained our momentum, the storm intensified violently from the northeast, bringing with it considerable rain, forcing us to seek shelter in the mountains near some trees where we secured the vessel with ropes and disembarked via the boat, as the current could not reach that depth. The crew began making a fire and preparing the kitchen. Occasionally I ventured up into the mountains searching for flowers or herbs; but without success. There was only barren mountain terrain, though one area was higher than another. It blew so fiercely that it was difficult to walk. I decided to return down below. Along the shore, I found a row of small chapels sitting on the high, overgrown grass and herbs. I gathered some of them, which were blue on the outside and speckled gray or bluish-gray on the inside; among these were several with beautiful colors that I set aside out of fondness because they were so lovely, and took them with me.

The weather persisted in its coldness until 8 o'clock in the evening when it began to subside and the wind shifted favorably. We then resumed sailing and arrived before the city of Zaritfa at 2 o'clock that night, where we remained until Zaritfa rose with the sun on the 18th; after which we departed again. ## A View on the River

The landscape unfolded before him, a tranquil panorama of water and sky. The river flowed with a gentle current, reflecting the soft hues of twilight in its surface. A sense of quietude settled over everything, broken only by the occasional call of a distant bird or the rustling of reeds along the bank. He stood there for a long time, simply observing, letting the scene wash over him and soothe his thoughts. The world seemed to shrink down to this single moment, this singular view on the river. ## Berch Goro Sophonofski: The Tsar

Berch Goro Sophonofski, a name whispered with both reverence and fear, was not born to rule. He rose from obscurity, a man of immense intellect and ruthless ambition, to seize the throne of **Zartsa**, a nation steeped in ancient traditions and simmering political unrest. His ascent was swift and brutal, marked by cunning manipulation and decisive action that left rivals scattered and loyalists emboldened.

Sophonofski's early life remains shrouded in mystery. Rumors abound – tales of a peasant upbringing, a clandestine education under exiled scholars, even whispers of demonic pacts granting him unnatural abilities. What is known for certain is his unparalleled mastery of strategy and his uncanny ability to

anticipate the moves of others. He possessed an almost preternatural understanding of power dynamics, exploiting weaknesses in the ruling elite with surgical precision.

The kingdom of **Zartsa** itself was a fractured land. Centuries of dynastic infighting had weakened the monarchy, leaving it vulnerable to ambitious nobles and restless factions vying for control. The populace, burdened by heavy taxes and disillusioned by corrupt officials, yearned for stability – a yearning Soponofski expertly exploited. He presented himself as a champion of the people, promising an end to corruption and a return to traditional values, skillfully weaving together appeals to both piety and national pride.

His coup was swift and merciless. Utilizing a network of informants cultivated over years, he orchestrated a coordinated uprising that crippled the existing power structure. The reigning Tsar, **Boris Volkov**, proved no match for Soponofski's calculated maneuvers, falling victim to a carefully planned ambush that sent shockwaves throughout the kingdom.

“The old order is dead,” Soponofski declared from the throne room, his voice echoing through the stunned court. “A new era dawns – an era of strength, justice, and unwavering loyalty to Zartsa!”

Soponofski's reign was characterized by a relentless pursuit of efficiency and control. He implemented sweeping reforms aimed at centralizing power, streamlining bureaucracy, and bolstering the military. His methods were often harsh, but undeniably effective. Dissent was swiftly crushed, and any perceived threat to his authority met with swift and brutal retribution.

Despite his autocratic tendencies, Soponofski also oversaw a period of unprecedented prosperity for **Zartsa**. He fostered trade, encouraged innovation, and invested heavily in infrastructure projects that transformed the kingdom's economy. His patronage of the arts and sciences attracted scholars and artisans from across the land, ushering in a cultural renaissance.

Yet, beneath the veneer of stability and progress lurked an unsettling darkness. Rumors persisted of secret police operating with impunity, of political prisoners disappearing without a trace, and of ancient rituals practiced within the Tsar's inner circle. Some whispered that Soponofski was not merely a brilliant strategist but something far more sinister – a puppet controlled by forces beyond human comprehension.

The legacy of **Berch Goro Soponofski** remains complex and contested. Was he a ruthless tyrant or a visionary leader who saved **Zartsa** from collapse? The answer, like the man himself, is

shrouded in ambiguity, forever etched into the annals of history as the enigmatic Tsar who rose from nothing to rule a kingdom on the brink. ## A Journey Through the Volga River

This town sits on a low ridge. It's small in size and laid out squarely, enclosed by a wooden wall adorned with towers. The outer district extends along the river and partially around the town. The main church is made of stone but not yet fully completed; the others that one can see nearby are constructed of wood. I sketched its appearance as we sailed past, showing how the land rises from the river on either side, as depicted in No. 31. It lies at a latitude of 48 degrees and 23 minutes, calculated 350 versts from Saratov. Along this free riverbank, within the woods extending to Aftrakan, there is abundant sweet timber, with trunks three or four feet high. When felled, we found the island Serpinske on our right. It measures 12 versts across. Behind it lies a small river or stream flowing from the River Don and into the Volga. However, I don't believe this stream is navigable by boat. The locals call it Serpienske, like the island itself. Shortly after, the hills receded, giving way to flat land covered in reeds, much like on the western side. At 10 o'clock, we had progressed 60 versts when a light breeze began to blow from the north, and we started sailing northward. At one hour, two islands reappeared on our right, followed shortly by several others. Midday saw the hills curve more towards the land, approaching the town of Tzenogar, still 40 versts away. Here, the river was about 3 or 4 versts wide. At 5 o'clock, we had a fair wind from the northwest that grew so strong it required considerable effort to keep off the bank. Our one rowing boat even steered against the rudder, taking on water; therefore, we had to cut the rope and let it sink. This could have been prevented, as I had previously checked for leaks and intended to haul it out as soon as I noticed water entering, transferring it to a larger, better boat. Some people spent the night sheltering in this latter vessel, as the ship was full of passengers. As the sun set, we found ourselves before the town of Tzenogar, located 200 versts from Zaritha, the distance we had covered that day. Here, we were held back another 300 versts from Aftrakan, with the town situated on a hill to our right along the river. The first thing we saw was a guardhouse visible only from above. On the other side of the town is a similar structure, resembling a wooden lantern. The town itself is small and enclosed by a wooden wall with several towers. Inside, it's not particularly remarkable. Below on the riverbank are six or eight old houses. The locals seemed to be offering money, as far as I could tell, to give to the poor, having collected some during recent inclement weather. As we approached the town, we were driven past a large shoal by the strong wind and current; therefore, we dropped anchor, but the rope, being too thin, snapped. I had anticipated this, telling the ship's crew that if they wanted to be ready, they should have hauled in the sail earlier to bring the vessel with oars as we approached the town, where they wished to land it. The work thus delayed, the people were compelled to jump

into the water on the leeward side and haul the boat ashore with ropes, as best they could; then to take the shoal and row back towards the town, staying close to the hillside. I then went ashore but was forbidden from entering the city gates because it was too late, evening having already fallen. The Streltsy soldiers, along with the peasants, closed the gate before our eyes, but brought us bread, beer, milk, and eggs for sale. When everyone had returned to the ship, the anchor could not be found in the darkness of the night, but it was discovered again the next day. This town is inhabited only by soldiers, to prevent raids by Kalmyk Tartars who occasionally wander through the land with their livestock, grazing as far as near Samara. On the 19th, we departed at six o'clock in the morning, using oars due to a headwind. Here, we saw low hills, like a wall, green on top and sandy along the bank, alongside a flat area, similar to the western side, covered with small trees. We found the river about a verst wide here. At midday, we passed Mount PlowooY, which only briefly showed itself along the riverbank before curving back towards the land, lying 40 versts from the previously mentioned town. At 5 o'clock, we saw the land again on our right, slightly higher and without trees, consisting of rough sand, followed by a ferry called Kaflarskie. ## XVI.
CHAPTER.

**Description of Aftrakan. Situation of the Gardens.
Abundance of Fish. Manner of Living of the Tartars.**

Coming to Aftra-kan.

Upon entering the land, it was required that all our goods be inspected, as indeed happened; though my packet was excused. I immediately went to Governor Timafe Ivanewits Urf-fofskie, to whom I delivered my two letters of safe conduct and the letter of introduction from Knees Boris Alexewits. Having examined their contents, he received me with great courtesy, offering me lodging; and promising to assist me in whatever I might need during my stay. I thanked him for this kind offer, stating that I preferred to remain with the Armenians, whose language I spoke fluently, and with whom I intended to continue my journey. He approved of this, and immediately sent attendants to fetch my goods from the shore, without any scrutiny, and had them brought to my lodging in the Karwan-fera, where the Armenians are accustomed to reside, and where Jacob Daviedof and I took a comfortable room together. The afternoon was nearly past when eight or ten persons came to bring me gifts on behalf of the Governor. These consisted of a barrel of brandy, two flasks with a finer sort of brandy, a large copper tinned vessel with red wine, another similar one with Mede, an equally large one with fine beer; four large loaves of bread— ## Reisen

I observed a brood, two geese, and several chickens. The carriers, whom I acknowledged with customary offerings, departed. Two soldiers armed with muskets then arrived to guard my chamber

door day and night. These guards were exchanged weekly. Additionally, the governor sent me a Russian who was quite fond of our language, serving as an interpreter, accompanying me daily whenever it seemed appropriate. Furthermore, the governor dispatched a servant to light my pipe, as I had acquired a certain amount of tobacco from him that I could use for this purpose. While these arrangements were being made, the governor received news that his Tsarist Majesty on May 1st had seized the Schans van Nyen, belonging to the Swedes, and found there 80 cannons, 8 mortars, and a garrison of 3500 able-bodied men, rumored to have been granted their freedom by his Majesty.

Thus provided for by the governor, I began to examine the city's surroundings, which I will describe to you here. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Volga River, previously known as Scythia with the adjacent lands under a general name. But now it's called Nagaja between the Volga, Jaika, and the Caspian Sea. The land is also called Aftrakan after its capital, formerly a kingdom located in the Aflatich Tartary near the borders of Ruflant, on the main branch of the Volga River, which flows from there into the Caspian Sea within a few hours. We will speak further about this observation later. It lies at 46 degrees, 22 minutes on a promontory called Dolgoi, separated from the mainland by a small river flowing from the surrounding land. The promontory itself is not large; it can be seen in a few hours from the height of a building overlooking the city and its separation from the promontory. To the east lies the best land up to Jaika. To the west, there's a vast flat heath that they say stretches for seventy miles or hours towards Pontus, and another few hours further south to the Caspian Sea. From this side of the land comes the best salt, which is transported throughout Ruflant.

This city is surrounded by a strong stone wall. Its circumference is about an hour's walk around. It has ten gates: within the city. At one of these, called the Nikool'ske warate or Nicholas gate, I began to tour the city, closely along the river, either up or down its slope, and from there higher up towards the Krafnie warate or Red Gate, which is on the height of the plain and at the outermost corner. From this gate one goes inland toward the Gietnie warate or Grain House Gate, which is flanked by a gate within itself that leads into the castle, through which people enter and exit. This grain house, standing outside the city wall, is also surrounded by a similar wall. Next comes the Motfagofstkie warate or Motfagofstkie gate: beside which there's a wooden gate that stands outside the city walls, not counted among the city gates. It's called the Tatar Gate because on that side the Tatars reside; therefore, there is always a guard of Russians stationed there. From there one comes to the Refolifnie gate and then to the Wifenefske. Between these two gates are two towers on the walls standing 300 paces apart. From there one goes back towards the river and past the Spaskie gate, which stands close to the river. Then follows the Ifadnie gate, outside of which is the fish market:

where bread, vegetables, and other foodstuffs are also sold. One then sees a tower on the wall and further the Garenskie gate. Outside this is the Wood Merchant's yard and the residence of all the bakers who are not permitted to live in the city. Following this is the Kabatske warate or kabaks gate, between which and the two previously mentioned gates there's also a tower on the wall. Six of these gates face the river; two belong to the castle, which is also counted as part of the city wall. Then there's a third (because the castle has three), but that one leads into the city and is called the Priemfiskinske or Reine gate, standing directly across from the Ba-faer, called Bolsjaulits or Great Street: where the most important shops of the Russians and Armenians are located. Passing through this gate into the castle, on the right side one finds the Church Saboor, or Main Church, which began to be built five years ago at the expense of Metropolitan Samfon. This prelate has his own jurisdiction over the clergy, as well as his own chancellery near his residence. He is also Metropolitan over Tirk, a city within the territory of his Tsarist Majesty, located on the same side of the Caspian Sea, near the Serkaffe mountains 700 versts from Aftrakan. Last year when they wanted to place the upper structure on the dome, part of it collapsed due to the weakness of the ground foundation. Therefore, they were forced to change the work: and now they are busy with the upper portion.

Schans van Nyen conquered by the Tsar.

The city's surroundings.

The main church.

The gates of the city. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account of Astrakhan

To be erected, it consists of five towers with domes where vanes must stand. This church is located within an area that is square, measuring 200 paces (approximately 65 paces wide), and part of the building lies within the walls of the Metropolis courtyard; this is the city's most prominent structure, large and built entirely of hewn stone. The Governor has his court on the finest level within the castle, which is also spacious and large but constructed of wood, particularly with a wall surrounding it. It has two gates, a front gate and a back gate. Outside the courtyard's perimeter stands the hot church or hot chapel. Facing the main gate, always guarded, is the Governor's residence - a fine expanse of land. The perimeter of the court is called Iwan Bogasloof. Inside the residence are numerous rooms, airy and pleasant, especially a large, high-ceilinged hall surrounded by very agreeable views. The front gate of the castle is guarded, adjacent to which is the soldiers' barracks. Here one sees many pieces of artillery. To the

right upon entering, one finds the Chancellery, built of stone and consisting of several rooms. In the room where the Governor sits is a table covered with rich cloth.

The most important church outside the Saboor is the Ildwiefnije, built of stone and plastered with white lime. The dome is gilded, as is the cross, which stands three fathoms high. The lower dome is green, as are the lower and upper domes of the bell tower. All other churches are made of wood. So too are the cloisters: the Troyische Monastery and the Pettenske, a convent cloister.

On the Bafaer or market of the Tartars, everything is sold in the morning, where Russians and Armenians also conduct their trade; but after midday not, as that's when the Russian market begins, where the Armenians are also located. However, the Indians conduct their trade within their dwellings inside the caravansera.

As far as the city itself is concerned, most of its streets are muddy, passable when dry, but impassable when wet, because all the earth being salty turns into mud and dries white due to its saltiness.

The government consists of the Under-Governor and three Burgomasters, who do not live in the castle but within the city. The first Burgomaster handles matters at the Town Hall; the second oversees the *kabakken* (taverns) where brandy, beer, and mead are sold; and the third has oversight of His Majesty's duties.

Outside the city one sees on either side of the river a fine stone monastery called Iwanske Monastery; above that are two other cloisters, along with numerous suburbs or *Slaboden*, the most important and largest of which is where the soldiers live, hence it's called the Soldatef Slabode. This lies east of the city alongside the Kutome River, which flows into the Volga. Another is called Balda, where His Majesty's horses are kept. It stands directly across from the city. One also finds the Cafauë Slabode, the Siepiewe Slabode, where all kinds of people live, and the Tartarische Slabode, which stands separately and is largely built of earth and clay; this clay is dried in the sun like large stones. They live in these houses during winter. But in summer they are out in the fields. Last year, this city, within the stone walls, was burned down for about half its extent, so it remains partially ruined, although many houses have been rebuilt since then.

Having satisfied my curiosity with my eyes, I requested permission from the Governor to draw what pleased me, and obtained it. Then I set off in a rowing boat on the river to choose the best location, but the strong current prevented me from accomplishing anything. I was then provided by the Governor's favor with a larger boat equipped with an anchor. But the approaching rain made my intention fruitless; until it cleared again after midday and I began and completed my work the next day. The appearance of the city showed itself from the place

where I directed my drawing, as can be seen in No. 32, everything being distinguished by numerical figures. Thus, No. 1 is the Iwanske Monastery or St. John's Cloister; 2 Wiesniffenike, or the Convent of Christ's Ascension; 3 Wiesniffenke warate, or Christ's Ascension gate; these two cloisters are outside the city; 4. the Smolenske Church; 5. Spaske monastery, or the Monastery of Christ's Image on canvas; 6. The Church Aresjetwa; 7. the Amoofna or Town Hall; 8 Dwiefnije 't firko, or the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 9 the Kabakspoor (taverns); 10 Kreml or the Castle, where its wall begins within the city.

The Church Ildwiefnije.

Market of the Tartars.

Streets.

Government. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers incredible potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that we must address proactively.

The development of **machine learning**, a subset of AI, has been particularly groundbreaking. Algorithms can now learn from vast datasets, enabling them to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusive to human intelligence – such as image recognition, natural language processing, and even creative content generation. This capability is driving advancements in fields like medical diagnosis, where AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in identifying diseases earlier and improving patient outcomes. In the automotive industry, **self-driving cars** promise to revolutionize transportation by increasing safety and efficiency.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems. Algorithms trained on biased data can perpetuate and even amplify existing societal inequalities, leading to discriminatory outcomes. For example, facial recognition technology has been shown to be less accurate for people of color, raising serious ethical questions about its use in law enforcement.

Another critical concern is the potential impact of AI on employment. As AI-powered automation becomes more sophisticated, many jobs currently performed by humans could be displaced. While new job opportunities will undoubtedly emerge, it's crucial to invest in education and training programs to equip

workers with the skills needed for the future workforce. Furthermore, we need to consider how to support those who may struggle to adapt to these changes.

The issue of **AI safety** is also paramount. As AI systems become more autonomous, ensuring they align with human values and goals becomes increasingly important. Researchers are actively working on developing techniques to make AI more transparent, explainable, and controllable – often referred to as *explainable AI* (XAI). This includes methods for understanding how AI models arrive at their decisions and preventing them from behaving in unintended or harmful ways.

“The development of safe and beneficial AI requires a collaborative effort involving researchers, policymakers, and the public.” - Stuart Russell, Professor of Computer Science at UC Berkeley

Finally, **data privacy** is a significant consideration. AI systems often rely on large amounts of personal data to function effectively. Protecting this data from misuse and ensuring individuals have control over their information are essential for maintaining trust in AI technologies. Robust regulations and ethical guidelines are needed to govern the collection, storage, and use of personal data in the age of AI.

In conclusion, artificial intelligence holds immense promise for improving our lives and solving some of the world’s most pressing challenges. However, realizing this potential requires careful planning, proactive mitigation of risks, and a commitment to ethical principles. By addressing these opportunities and challenges responsibly, we can harness the power of AI for the benefit of all humanity. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire’s early successes were largely attributed to its highly disciplined army, particularly the elite **Janissary** corps—Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and trained as soldiers loyal only to the sultan.

The conquest of **Constantinople** in 1453 by **Mehmed II**, also known as Mehmed the Conqueror, marked a pivotal moment in world history. This event effectively ended the Byzantine Empire, solidified Ottoman dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean, and transformed Constantinople into Istanbul, the new capital of the empire. The Ottomans then proceeded to expand their territories further into Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, posing a significant threat to European powers for centuries.

Under rulers like **Suleiman I**, known as Suleiman the Magnificent, the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. His reign was characterized by remarkable legal reforms, flourishing arts and architecture (including the construction of iconic mosques), and continued military expansion. The empire's legal system, codified under *Kanun*, provided a framework for governance that balanced Islamic law with pragmatic considerations.

However, internal challenges and external pressures gradually weakened the Ottoman Empire in subsequent centuries. Corruption within the government, economic stagnation, and technological backwardness compared to Europe contributed to its decline. A series of unsuccessful wars against European powers, particularly Austria and Russia, further eroded its strength. Despite attempts at modernization during the **Tanzimat** reforms in the 19th century, the empire continued to lose territory and influence.

Ultimately, the Ottoman Empire dissolved after World War I, following defeat by the Allied forces. The Treaty of **Sèvres** (1920) formally dismantled the empire, but this was followed by the Turkish War of Independence led by **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**, which resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and effectively ended centuries of Ottoman rule.

- **Osman I**: Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries**: Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
- **Suleiman I (The Magnificent)**: Reign marked the empire's peak power and cultural flourishing.
- **Tanzimat Reforms**: 19th-century efforts to modernize the Ottoman Empire.
- **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**: Leader of the Turkish War of Independence and founder of modern Turkey.

“To be a sultan is not to rule, but to serve.” – A common saying reflecting the ideal of Ottoman leadership. ##
Reisen: Observations on Astrakhan

The city contains: Klocknitse or Clock Tower: 12. The spire, or tower of the clock, both belonging to the Saboor: 13 Saboor or the Main Church: 14. The Troyf't Monastery: 15 Nikoosek gate: 16 't Hof des Gouverneurs (the Governor's Court): 17 Iwan Bogasloef, a church dedicated to a saint of that name: 18 Woskriffinje 't Sirko, or Church of the Image of Christ in cloth: 19 the red gate, which is the outermost one on the river extending towards the Caspian Sea: 20 the Volga, whose opposite bank lies directly across from the city; where two *makken* (rafts) lie rotting due to the bad management of a Meier (merchant), a Hamburger who plays the role of Sea Captain here. Further or higher up the river were still 15 *fmakken*, this year coming from Cafan. In this region, as also on the other side of the city, one sees many gallows, each adorned

with six Cossacks, all stripped naked by the Ruffians (bandits), who have sold their clothing in the market. These bodies are dried by the sun to a blackness like tar, appalling and nauseating to behold. Those hung close to the city were mostly taken from the gallows by their friends. These people, along with some deserters of Ruffians from Aftrakan, who rebelled against his Czarfe Majesty, took refuge in the land Gragan, named after the river on which it lies. They had with them three *flukken* (cannons) and two banners. After being besieged for 16 days, they were forced to surrender at discretion, despite having fought bravely for eight days. This surrender occurred last year on August 10th. The men all were hanged along the Ruffische territory, where they had plundered most of their goods, many also to Aftrakan, and thirty of the foremost were sent to Moscow, where some were beheaded, others hanged. The women and children were sent to Cafan. At this conquest was present the Serkaffe Vorft Knees Aldridge Chan Bolatuwits with his Tartars numbering 400, along with the overften Lieutenant, who as Overfte led the command, named Laurens de Wigne, a Swiss by birth, with 1000 Ruffians, to which came still 500 Streffen (soldiers), standing under four Head Officers; having the regiment of the Wigne 13 *flukken* cannons; and two mortars; and the Streffen 8 *flukken* cannons. Although these arrived only after the place was already conquered. The Lord de Wigne told me that, as long as the siege lasted, around midnight 400 or 500 jackals or wild dogs would gather together, making such a mournful howling that it could not be understood as from dogs, but one thought that the place had been surrendered; none of those animals were heard again.

As for the military force here, the regiment of the aforementioned Lord de Wigne consists of 1000 men, excluding the Officers, who are 2 Majors, 5 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, and 10 Ensigns; the Sergeants and Corporals being counted among the common ranks. The Moscow Streffen consist of 600 men, each hundred commanded by a Captain and two Sergeants. There are also three regiments, each of 300 men, all Streffen born in this region. Each regiment is commanded by a Headman as Overfte, with him 3 or 4 Stolnicken (councillors) as Captains. There are still 2 regiments on horseback, each of 500 men, all Ruffians born here. These are commanded just like the foot soldiers; so that the number of soldiers amounts to 3500 men. With the regiment of Lord de Wigne there are 13 *flukken* cannons, with the others fewer according to their heads, from where they originate.

All foodstuffs are abundant here, except for grain which is brought here from Cafan and elsewhere. Meat is available, as well as fish. The foremost kinds of fish here are Baloege, which are a foot or two long. The largest variety of Sterletten is just over an ell (approximately 45 cm) long. These Sterletten are considered the best fish in all of Rus', so that one pays in Moscow sometimes 5, 6, even 7 rubles for one, while alive; of which I bear witness, as here I can buy a living one for 2 or 3 stivers (small coins). One

prepares these fish like salmon and also bakes them whole. They are so delicious that I do not know if I have ever tasted more pleasant fish dishes. There are two varieties here: one has a longer beak than the other. There is much resemblance between this fish and the Steur, as shown in No. 33. Out of curiosity, I dried two to preserve them. The Sevroeken are like the Steur, which they call Affettrine. Most Kavejaer (caviar) is made from the Beloege, Affettrine, and Sevroefine, and sent from here to other provinces. Then there is Soedak, a very good fish, and suitable for being prepared in the same way as we prepare cod. There is also much Pike, along with Perch, and similar smaller fish, some resembling Herring, others being like large Blennies. The largest and fattest are Modiene, which have thick heads. Every day two times fish is brought to market

Overflowing with foodstuffs.

Sterletten in great abundance. ## Cornelis de Bruins

brought each morning and evening. And all that is not sold is thrown to the swine and other animals, because such a quantity of fish is caught daily in this Volga fishery stream. One sees common people at the market trading bread for fish, obtaining three or four *vifchen* (about a foot long) for a small loaf, which is also good business. Furthermore, there are all kinds of *Braef-fém* and carp here, and the best live *Ster-ler*, also *Sevroek*. I bought one once as large as a common *Kabel-jaeu* outside the fishmongers for 6 *ftuivers*; from which one can gauge how it fares with the smaller varieties. I also found here a kind of small fish, which the Ruffians call *Vioenie*; being three inches broad, long, and round. It is believed that these never grow larger. We caught them in a secluded place where a small stream of a river had its course, flowing against the land as in a small pit. Here we scooped them with a sieve, and obtained in short time as much as we desired, of various kinds, almost as many as small *voorentjes*. I preserved some in spirit, prepared for that purpose, also small *Soedak-jes*, thinking to find other small varieties there later. For which I have gone fishing several times with some friends, but in vain, just as the fishermen, whom I asked for this purpose, also wasted their efforts, bringing back only fish that were too large to take or send with me.

Outside this city live many Armenians, numbering approximately 40 households with women and children: who within, as mentioned, have their shops. The Indians remain in the *Karwanfera*, where they also conduct their trade, not fewer in number, but without women.

This place is quite large and enclosed by a stone wall in a square shape with several, though two prominent gates provided with guards, which are closed at their appointed time in the evening. Here all the Armenian merchants who now and then arrive reside,

among whom I also was. Some Armenians also live here and have their shops. Each party has its *Chan* or separate place. That of the arrivals is two stories high, having for the lodging places of the Indians on the other gate, all made of wood. But these have recently erected a stone building to guard against fire, which the wooden buildings are subject to, from within broad and deep, measuring in the square 40 feet. The Armenians following this example, are now also constructing such a building that will likely be as large. And one sees the foundations already risen a man's length high.

I had only been here for a few days when I was informed by the Lieutenant Governor Me-kiete Iwanits Apochtim that I should visit him. I did so the following day and, fortunately, found there with me the Governor and his family and other company, among whom were some young ladies dressed in the German style and wearing German *tooifel* on their heads, who appeared ready to take their *affichet*. I was received in the outer courtyard where a *Karos* or two with horses stood. On which they requested me politely to come up above. After being kindly received and refreshed with wine and beer, the Governor made known who I was, and how I was not only recommended by Knees Bories but also by his own Czarfe Majesty. And turning to me then, I request, he said, that you come see me daily and report to me what I can serve you in. After thanking him for this offer, he departed with his company. Upon which the Lieutenant Governor guided me inside along with my traveling companion Jacob Daviedof, and made some Persian introductions, entertaining me with a gentle and friendly conversation according to his own agreeable friendliness and cheerfulness.

Spending the following days exploring the gardens, I found that most of the gardens consisted of vineyards and a few fruit trees bearing apples, pears, plums, and apricots, but common and not worthy of praise. However, there are outstanding watermelons, considered much better than those grown in Persia and elsewhere. I noticed here that the vineyard rows were let grow to the height of a man's length, raised, and kept at that height by pruning them annually. Poles are set alongside, on which stakes are laid, to which the branches are fastened. The grapes growing here are all black, or at least very dark blue, but fairly large, as I am told; though it was not yet time to see or taste their appearance or flavor. The grapes from the few vineyards belonging to private individuals, both Armenians and others, are mostly sold. The other vineyards belong mostly to the Czar, for whose benefit the wines are sold. They are red and not unpalatable. The earth in which the ## Reisen.

Even grow, is very tender. Yet where there is water flowing, all the gardens of great pits are adorned, into which the water through a canal is received in the ground, and then from the pit by means of a large wheel, where one has wooden buckets bound, that scoop

up the water, being carried over into a wooden trough, by which it is led throughout the entire garden. These wheels turn entirely around, drawn by a Camel. The gardens are increased by 2 or 3 acres still. Because they lie open to the roads, watch houses have been made on elevated poles, in order to prevent theft through good guards. They told me that it had been more than 100 years ago when they began planting these vineyards. And for the first planters thereof, the Persian merchants are held, who brought them from Persia.

The writer visits the Swedish envoy.

On a certain day, the sky moved to greet Herr Serochan Beeck. This envoy of the King of Persia to the Crown of Sweden, had been kept in Moscow for three years as security against the war between the Czar and the King of Sweden, being therefore not permitted by Ruflant to travel. He had about 60 persons in his following, and was now just departing from Moscow towards me. He received me sitting on the Safa according to the Ottoman fashion with great politeness, offering me Coffee and Kullabnabat, which latter is a white, pleasant drink of figs and rosewater. He was a well-made man, friendly in appearance. His beard was from his ears with the nails intertwined, about a fourth part of an ell long, besides the chin, where the hair had been shaved off. On his head he had a large white Mandiel or Tulband. His clothing was a Kaftan or robe, being wound around the waist with a golden worked ceinture, or the Serlasje; on his right side he had a fine goose feather. He smoked with the Kaljan tobacco in the Persian fashion. On either side of him stood one of his people, of whom the one on the right was armed with a large saber, from which the grip showed out of a red bag. Under the procession this Envoy requested if I would make the journey to Spain with him; for which offering I thanked him.

Midwylen I visited Herr de Wigne, a man of worthy qualities; then also Captain Wage- naer, who had welcomed me on my arrival, and with me had often ridden abroad for amusement. With these, and few others, requested by Herr de Wigne, I took on a certain day the pleasure of crossing the river in a newly made vessel. This had 24 oars, to which 44 soldiers rowed. Thus we sailed forward under the sound of 10 or 12 players, who played on flutes and pipes, and flew the march on drums in the German fashion. We arrived through the help of the sail, because the wind served, 7 miles from the city to the place where the old city stood before, now about 120 years ago, but of which nothing more is visible now. I found there in the earth still some bones. In this mountain seven years ago falpeter was discovered, upon which work began with much consequence, so that one is now strongly busy preparing it. This place lies east of the city on the right side of the river, namely as one comes from the city. We returned again in very fine weather under the sounding of the instruments, taking meanwhile the pleasure of shooting at pigeons and visiting the

stalls which lay on the other side. Coming towards the city we had, like in sailing away, much to see of the people. Thus ended this excursion with the falling of evening.

On June 4th there was a severe thunderstorm here that night, by which a large stack of wood loaded for the city sank. There were 71 people on it, of whom 29 were drowned.

On the 6th eight vessels arrived here from Persia, 4 Russian and 4 Mahometan, of which some Armenian merchants had already come in with small vessels for a few days.

While I was here, the Governor persisted in proving his politeness, sending me gifts at times, receiving me in his court with drinks and Persian and other refreshments, and striving to demand from me whatever he might be able to do service to. From him thus urged, I received however nothing but beer, because no beer was so good as his somewhere for money; of which he then supplied me daily. He also desired, since I still had a while to stay here, that I would paint him and his son; that I could not refuse him. Meanwhile inquiring where my inclinations stretched, he sent me all that he could obtain to do me service; among other things also a fine bird, which I received living, shot in the wings. He gave a Reiger of body and feet, but not of head and

Falpeter discovered.

His Image.

Strange bird. ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Observations

The birds, particularly those with striking plumage, were remarkable. He had a white crest, sharply pointed like a plume. The beak was black, approximately eight inches long and 1½ inches wide, shaped like two spoons at the front, each side featuring a yellow patch—hence their name, "Spoonbills." They are also called *Colpitje* due to their ruffs. It is said that these birds are also found in Persia, where they are known as *Goli*. I removed the head and kept it. Its appearance can be seen at No. 34, along with a type of heron the Ruffen call *Sepoere*. These are very different in color; some are white, others a purplish blue like the *Paewen*, others gray, and some almost black. One is depicted with its neck tucked in, which is how they are often seen. It is shown at No. 35.

While I was present here during this leisure time, I had an excellent opportunity to observe the lives of the Tartars firsthand, frequently riding to their settlements, a distance of three or four miles from the city—a departure from the aforementioned Captain Wagenaar's instructions. They reside in several separate camps, generally somewhat distanced from one another. Each household adheres to customs similar to those of a parrot's flock, though perhaps less refined. They use flat wooden stools, three or four

fingers wide, then covered with felt made from camel and horse wool or hair. Some are only a foot or two off the ground and completely enclosed with reeds. The wealthier individuals cover these with canvas, leaving an opening above to allow smoke to escape when they light fires. Inside the tent, they also place a pole extending four or five feet outward, upon which hangs a large piece of fabric in various colors, particularly at the top. This flap extends from above the tent down to the ground and is attached to a wide belt on either side, allowing them to adjust it as needed to shield themselves from the sun and wind. When the smoke clears and they desire warmth again after being cold, they cover the opening with the flap. The tent then becomes as warm as fabric. Inside, the more affluent have beautifully covered the floor with fabrics or carpets. A footstool with a step—a *Turxe Sufa*—occupies about a third of the tent. I also saw chests and beautiful coffers among this people, where they store their belongings, all neatly arranged and in good order. When they move locations, they place the tent on a wagon and transport it along with their possessions. The women and children ride in the wagon while the men ride alongside on horseback. Perceiving that I had come to visit them out of mere curiosity, they allowed me to see everything, as they rarely permit anyone access to the tents where the women reside. In one of these, I saw a well-made young brunette, sitting completely dressed and adorned with an elegant headdress of silver or gilt copper, studded all around from bottom to top with gold ducats, pearls, and other jewels. The sight was so beautiful that I resolved to paint it on canvas, as I will explain further. Meanwhile, I settled down to sketch some tents, as they appeared, including one in particular at No. 36, and another with the letter A at No. 37. There you can also see a wagon standing on two large wheels, covered with colored wood and draped with fabric. It rests on two poles that cross each other, with a long piece of wood on either side. When they erect the tents upon it, the wheels are positioned underneath. See B. Their small church is slightly off to one side, as shown at C. The common tents are covered with felt made from horsehair, as is the flap above the opening. Furthermore, they weave them from within. These people are reluctant to sell their livestock and therefore seek out good pastures. The women's work involves sewing clothes and other items in the manner of the Ruffen, bringing their finished work to market in the city. Others spin with a wooden spindle, as is customary among us and elsewhere. They also prepare wool for the felt used in the tents, which they themselves weave and use to make fabrics and other goods. Their fuel is dried cow dung, which they shape into flat, round cakes and dry, similar to how turf is handled by us. You can see these cakes piled up everywhere near the tents. Once thoroughly dried, they carry them with them. While I was busy sketching all of this, they came to watch me, finding amusement in it, just as I found entertainment observing their clothing, which seemed as strange to them as theirs did to me. This allowed me greater freedom. Their lives are similar to those of the Arabs, and they seem as content as others who live in

palaces or comfortable houses. Remembering the ancient Eastern way of life, I cannot help but think that Abraham and others lived similarly. ## The Sterlet Fish

Head of the Vogel Lepelaer (Bird Heron)

Type of Heron

The Tartar Campsite

The first image portrays a landscape with a river where people are traveling by boat. Across the water, a settlement is visible, marked by many conical tents and several buildings, including what looks like a tower or defensive structure. Clouds fill the sky, indicating an overcast day. Vegetation lines the riverbank in the foreground.

The second image shows three separate objects labeled A, B, and C. Object A is a large, cylindrical tent-like structure covered in fabric with a pointed, sail-like canopy on top. Object B is a wheeled cart or wagon with a wooden frame, featuring a large wheel and what appears to be a roofed compartment. Object C is a conical tent similar to those seen in the first image, made from fabric stretched over a framework.

Tartarische Tentwagen en Kerck. ## Journeys and Ways of Life

And once one is accustomed to such a way of life, they adapt so completely that they desire nothing more.

Now, speaking specifically about the attire of these women, whom I depicted quite appropriately in the Governor's court with his assistance – something I could not have achieved as neatly within the tents – it must be said that these ladies wear an elegant upper garment draped over them, and over that a white linen covering with which they also conceal their faces. At my request, they removed these two upper coverings, revealing then a beautiful white cloth around their heads, which they gracefully wrap around their necks, allowing only the top of the head to be seen. I had this removed as well, and painted them without it, because the most important feature is concealed by it: namely, in the *kaftan*, or as they are commonly worn within the tents. The headdress, as we have said, is studded with gold ducats, tapering upwards like a mitre. Many pearls are present here, some of which hang in strands. A colored cloth attached to the back of the cap also drapes around the neck, hanging partially over the body.

nederwaert. Adorned with silver on their shoulders and bodies. A chain of the same material holds flat silver boxes containing prayer books and other silver trinkets. Their hair is bound in a black, wide band, and beneath it are two large silk scarves that hang low, as can be seen on the previous page. The depiction of these noblewomen features one of the most prominent Tartar women, attended by three maidens, along with an escort of a Tatar who is known to the Governor.

These Tartars, who reside here, are called *Jurtige* Tartars, being born in this area. They do not pay tribute to their Tsarist Majesty but are obligated to march to war at his command, generally with only a few hundred men. However, when necessity arises, they can muster up 2000 men. The Tartars whom one calls *Aftrakan* Indians shave their heads in a peculiar manner at certain times of the year. They hack off the remaining hair on their heads with a sharp knife in such a way that blood runs down their cheeks. When this happens, the priest—or whoever they use for that purpose—gives them all a ceremonial haircut. If someone is not hacked well enough, they will then resume it among themselves in a group of *Sukfimakse*, *Sukfemakse*, or otherwise *Baffou Bakfon*, chanting and jumping. They consider this to be a form of sacrifice to their aforementioned idol *Sukfemakse*. This ceremony took place shortly before my arrival outside the city near the Granary. Those who do this are Indians, some of whom also live in the Tartar settlements. The Nagaye Tartars reside in tents near the city of Tirek. The Crimlich people never stay here but come now and then to trade their horses and livestock.

On June 20th, the Governor held a grand feast, to which I was invited along with the most prominent Russian officials and Armenian merchants. Before the meal, we entered a room where the Governor's wife and that of his son were seated on the right side, accompanied by many maids of honor. On the left side stood a table laden with all sorts of refreshments to accompany the morning drink. Immediately, each of us was handed a small bowl of brandy by the aforementioned lady—a sign of respect customary here. Then we entered the hall where the table was laid and decorated with fish for the season of Lent. After enjoying this treat, in the evening we were brought back to our lodging in *karos*. On June 29th, it was the feast day of St. Peter, the name day of His Majesty. A grand feast was held again by the Governor, attended by all prominent gentlemen along with the *Pa-den triarch*. I politely declined this invitation, as I was not feeling well enough to partake. Otherwise, I would have accompanied the Governor and his retinue in the morning for a visit to the Church Saboor, where I had requested permission to attend several days earlier. Great joy was expressed at this gathering, with cannon fire being fired near the city throughout the meal. Several pieces

were also prepared for the court. The women were in another room according to custom. The next day, the lower officers and others were also received; however, that did not last long.

On July 2nd, news arrived that His Tsarist Majesty had marched with his army up to 15 miles from Nerva, having taken what he encountered on his way. On the same day, I rode with the Governor's son and several Russian officers who brought a falcon with them to the Step or wilderness. We went as far as 20 miles from the city and saw a large gathering of birds. However, since there was much water on the land, we were forced to go further away in order to be able to scare them off with the falcons. The only thing I could do was shoot down a passing bird that flew directly over me. Meanwhile, we caught fish with a net in a small river and caught quite a good catch of perch and pike, which were cooked and eaten in the evening. On this route, we saw many Tartars with their tents, and also in the field all the horses of the lords who had *Afrakan* lodging. Among these horses, we found some that were very good. We staked out a few for the *chaifen*; but they were unwilling, because they mostly ran loose all summer to eat grass. For this land is rich with excellent pastures. Yet they are no less unwilling when separated from them. In the city, it was noteworthy that all the young men had particularly fine horses, so that not a single bad or skinny horse could be found. Which I have never observed anywhere else.

Now the time of my departure approached: when I was allowed to take up space in one of the carriages ## Reisen

Then, as I would be favorably inclined, I chose the largest vessel to conveniently recover my goods. Most of the Armenians also prepared for the journey, along with a few Persians from Moscow who wished to return to Samachi. Here was also the falconer from Cham, who had five or six falcons with him to bring to Persia. He had been dispatched from there with an elephant, which he brought to the Tsar of Muscovy to the Governor, who then sent him onward under the supervision of a few Russians and the care of a Georgian, who was to watch over him, to Moscow; but in vain, as it died on the way near Zaritfa due to negligent care. This falconer requested that I be allowed to have a place in the same company under the Governor's name, upon which I hesitated to board, as it was indeed the largest and had space for his falcons. To provide this man with a place on the ship, I went there in the morning but found it so occupied and loaded by the Armenians that there was no room left for us. Therefore, I informed the Governor of this, requesting permission to lighten some packages from the ship to make room. However, he replied that there were enough other vessels at hand to load goods, and if there wasn't enough space, I could remove as many packages as needed to accommodate my affairs. I took advantage of this promise and secured as much space as I and my traveling companions

required; now that everything was going according to my wishes. Indeed, I made use of this convenience, having suffered enough on the way back along the Volga.

On the same day, Herr de Wigne received news that he had been appointed Senior Officer by his Imperial Majesty. Consequently, on the 11th of the month, he held a lavish banquet where he welcomed the Governor and all prominent officials, as well as myself and other friends, with salutes from the cannons whenever toasts were made, accompanied by the constant playing of flutes, pipes, trumpets, and drums. After parting ways, I went with some Armenians to an airy playhouse located on the riverbank to breathe in the fresh air. In the gardens there, I found the grapes already quite large, although the crop was not abundant this year: just as many fruit trees were completely without fruit, having been destroyed and consumed by the black blight that causes so much damage here.

Now everything was arranged for the departure, and to combat the approaching heat, mosquito nets were prepared, which are indispensable for a comfortable journey. The Governor sent me farewell gifts: a barrel of salted meats and one of common brandy; one of vinegar; four of beer; a larger one of wine; three pieces of dried silk fish; a sack of biscuits, and some other items; after also sending a smaller vessel or lighter to take some goods from the ship when we reached the Caspian Sea, as it is necessary due to the shallows that occur there. I then departed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon with all thanks to the Governor, who, having come to my lodging, also sent me an abundance of three sealed bottles of distilled waters. Then I entered a writer's room. With five soldiers, suitable for bringing myself and my goods to the vessel; and my three Armenian traveling companions each had their own. ##
XVII. CHAPTER.

Departure from Aftrakan. Opportunity to Proceed Further Up the Volga. Description of the Caspian Sea. Opportunity at Derbent. Arrival in Persia.

On July 12th, our journey continued. After sailing three versts past the city, we disembarked, escorted by Armenian merchants who had prepared a meal on the shore upon our arrival; there we spent a pleasant hour amidst various amusements. After this time, we bid farewell and proceeded onward. While navigating the river alongside the city, we observed thousands of Tartar tents, as well as numerous other settlements along the banks. Having traveled seven versts from the city, we landed to rest for the night, while two soldiers accompanying me kept watch. I retired to sleep without using my mosquito net, not anticipating that it would be necessary on the first night. Consequently, I was so severely plagued by these insects that I could not rest a moment and anxiously awaited the dawn. With the break of day, we continued along the flat land where some trees appeared, gradually

increasing in number. By seven o'clock, we were on the right bank near Ivan Utfuk, or St. John's Cliff: shortly beyond was an island in the river; also many large birds. At eleven o'clock, we passed a fishery that is surrounded by land like a large island and extends from both sides of the river. Opposite this, one sees a tall watchtower manned with soldiers who keep watch on all ships approaching upstream. It is 45 versts from Aftrakan. Regarding the fishery, some merchants from Niefia lease it. They salt all the fish there and transport them elsewhere, for which a large area has been prepared to load the fish. The river was here and there shallow, with several large islands where numerous branches of the river run. An hour later, we encountered another fishery surrounded by green vegetation and dense tall reeds. There was nothing noteworthy on the shore; only some flowers, brambles, and mostly willow trees grew there. After midday, we arrived at the watchtower named Sattiere Boegre, as four small mountains lie on this island. Now we were 60 versts from Aftrakan. I had a letter from the Governor for the commander of this place, instructing him to provide us with ice for a few days so that we could have cool drinks; through his courtesy, I was able to obtain it. The river is here fenced off with poles from one side to the other, leaving only space for vessels to pass through, which are nevertheless signaled as if by sluices. At two o'clock, we continued our way southward, having previously mostly proceeded eastward, now experiencing a strong southerly wind. This stretch was all along bordered by tall reeds; and on the right bank one saw some small trees. By six o'clock near our location, we were still only 4 versts from the Caspian Sea. Thus I determined that it lies approximately 80 to 90 versts from Aftrakan, which equates to about 17 hours of travel. Here I sent the soldiers with the bark back laden with a letter to the Governor, in which I testified that they had served me well and provided whatever else was needed. This night we slept for the first time in our vessel under the mosquito net, as there is no rest without it. For this insect population thrives so fiercely here that people are sometimes bitten to death. This misfortune also befell the hunting dog presented to me by young Herr la Fort from Moscow. I had placed him in the hold before retiring to sleep. But stung by these mosquitoes, he became so agitated that no one on board could rest. He himself grew so impatient to escape this plague that he jumped into the river. Hearing the splash in the water, and fearing that a person might have fallen in as well, someone hurried to the hold and pulled the dog out of the water, placing him back on the ship where he soon dried. Consequently, I was obliged to take him with me under the mosquito net, where, upon learning his permission, he stretched himself out and began to sleep peacefully. ## Voyages

The morning of the 14th, we propelled our vessel forward with oars. Two leagues we found the river finally, and both sides densely covered with reeds. When we had reached a league from this side of the Caspian Sea, we discovered our lighter and

remained anchored in that location. The pilot then rowed swiftly towards the sea to gauge the depths, finding them at 5 fathoms. It was necessary to wait for higher water from the sea, as the wind blew from the south, which suited us well, since with such a wind, the water coming from the sea would flood the shallows. At 5 o'clock, the pilot rowed again and found the water at 7 fathoms, our draft being 8 fathoms deep. This indicated that we could cross the dry stretches in 2 or 3 hours. Meanwhile, we cast out the net and caught a good quantity of herring, along with some small crabs. Afterward, I set off with 3 or 4 companions to go towards the sea, hoping to shoot something. But after having traveled a considerable distance, we were forced to turn back, as there was no passage through the tall reeds. The ground was also muddy and covered with water. And on the other side, to the right hand, one cannot reach land, because the reeds, which are particularly high here, stand partly in the water. My eyes, meanwhile, scanning all around that place, found nothing remarkable among the herbs or flowers. I only gathered a few small caplets, which were beautifully red on the outside and white inside with gray speckles. In the evening at 9 o'clock, all the light goods of the travelers were taken from the ship and placed ashore, as they themselves stepped out, except for 2 or 3 who remained by the lighter. We began to row towards the Caspian Sea, where we found the river very winding and twisting on both sides with its land formations; because in the beginning of this sea there are dry stretches that are always marked off with branches from trees. As night fell, we stayed there for the night, and on the 15th at dawn, we brought out the anchor to navigate across the dry stretches. But after making a little progress, we ran aground, where we remained stuck. Then the lighter was hauled away, and after having taken some packages from the ship, we floated again; however, shortly thereafter we grounded again, so that we had to drop the anchor towards evening when the lighter held the people and goods ashore. Meanwhile, we had a favorable north wind: and upon reaching the sea, we saw the land on both sides as a round circle, with mountainous features to the right. But as far as one can see with his eyes, there is neither land nor a place to reach; everything that is in the water floats, going in and out with many bends, covered with reeds. In the morning of the 16th, the lighter came to us with people and goods, with whom we proceeded, having still a dry stretch to cross. On the starboard side before the open sea lies a large long island, which after passing, we arrived at the last dry stretch, where we briefly grounded but then freed ourselves, finding 1½ fathoms of water. Then we took the people and goods from the lighter and dispatched it, laden with a letter addressed to the Governor, informing him that we had reached the sea.

Around midday, we saw four mountains before us, near the Ruffen Mountains, called *Krafna fattier boegre*, or the four red mountains. Upon these, we reached the extremity of the land, named *Krafna Het roo-de lant* – Simble, or 'the red land,' because

it appears reddish. This is counted 100 leagues from Aftrakan. We lost sight of the land; and as the wind turned towards the south in the evening, though not strongly blowing, we sailed steadily through calm seas. So that shortly, we anchored in the open sea at 1½ fathoms of water, due to the opposing wind coming from the east. On the morning of the 17th, we continued sailing, experiencing little wind during the day; the wind being northerly, which was favorable for us: so we doubled our sails and kept our course southwards. After a short period of rain, the sun reappeared with a pleasant coolness that lasted until evening, causing the sea to be fairly calm. It happened here that our pilot intended to go aloft, placing another in his stead at the helm. But this man took his work so seriously that we would have sailed back towards Aftrakan; had I not become aware of it and corrected him properly. For all certainty, I always kept my own compass to observe every course both on land and at sea. During the night, the wind shifted and died down, so we weighed anchor in 8 fathoms of water. On the 18th with the morning light, we hoisted the sail in rainy weather and proceeded. After a short time, we drifted into calm waters, waiting to see which way the wind would set, which shortly thereafter stirred up from the N.W. We maintained our course southwards, ter- ## Cornelis de Bruyns' Voyage: Encounters and Observations

While the weather cleared with sunshine, and the previous winter began to blow again, but with such intensity that a portion of our crew, already seasick the day before, experienced violent vomiting and collapsed in heaps. Among these men were even some sailors, though they were landlubbers, who nonetheless are used on these vessels as common seamen and must perform sea work at all times. The people we had aboard numbered around 21 steersmen and approximately 50 travelers, most of whom were Armenians. This ship, carrying two small metal cannons, could normally load about 250 bales; however, as mentioned previously, we reduced this to 180 to make room. It had three rudders—one aft and one on each side—which are not always used but are employed when necessary. This afternoon, the helmsman, now back at the helm himself, steered so far eastward that the sail could no longer catch the wind; therefore, as we couldn't return to course using the rudder, it had to be furled. We then also used a second rudder to turn the ship and hoisted the sail again. This made me reflect on how little difference there is between these and Greek sailors in the knowledge of seafaring. We maintained a northerly wind and the same course, and having sailed a considerable distance, I found the water still sweet and fit to drink, but further out it was salty and green-colored, with short waves in that sea.

Having continued on course throughout the night under a clear sky, we sighted the land of Persia at dawn on the 19th, to starboard; this was the first thing we saw—a high mountain named Samgael, lying southwards, remaining about an hour's distance from the coast. At 9 o'clock, we doubled the sail, keeping

the mountains alongside us, where one sees much scrub in the lowlands and sandiness along the shore. Now the wind began to diminish, and the sea became calm. Shortly thereafter, the wind shifted to the northeast; and to clear the sharp corner, we steered southwest close to the coast, where the sharp corner is a high mountain with a pointed peak—from which here is a small sketch, as accurately as possible based on what was visible, depicted with the letter A. This area is entirely impassable by land due to the Samgalen who inhabit this mountain and commit many raids, so one doesn't dare venture too far inland. If a ship happens to be wrecked here, they plunder everything without giving an account to anyone, as they are their own protectors and have a prince of their own, without fearing anyone else. Their religion is Muslim. At 3 o'clock, the wind shifted eastwards, when we were at the corner of the mountain where we sighted the plain of Derbent, about an hour's distance from Derbent. Here we dropped anchor and remained still. On this occasion, though I couldn't clearly recognize the plain, I made a small depiction of it on paper, as indicated here with the letter B.

During the night, we hoisted the sail again with little wind and sailed so far that with the morning light on the 20th of the month, we approached the plain nearby. It lies west of the sea. It is quite large, and, according to what I was told, about an hour and a half in circumference, stretching out in length. Coming from above down to the sea, one finds it surrounded by a stone wall. It is provided with three gates, one of which remains closed without being used. The castle is joined to the plain. On its right side, as one looks from the sea, there is a well from which water comes out like a spring from beneath the ground. As seen from the mountain, one finds the plain well supplied with cannons, standing before the residence of the Cham with about 60 pieces, including many metal ones. It has a beautiful appearance at sea thanks to its height. Most of the stones in the castle are $7\frac{1}{2}$ palms long and $5\frac{1}{4}$ palms high, carefully joined together, according to the custom of old buildings. For the Persians believe that this plain has stood since Alexander's time. Little outside the ramparts one sees 40 particularly large stone monuments, each about 15 palms long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ palms wide, lying on the ground without any elevation. Many long stone water troughs stand nearby, as well as a long stone table with benches around it. The mountains of Derbent consist entirely of rock, where there are many sweet springs, just as there are many within the city. Here they have a custom that everyone who has never been here gives a drinking gift to the boat crew.

Unsafe area. Samgalen.

The plain of Derbent.

Situation of the plain.

The castle.

Incompetence of these sailors.

View of Persia.

Mount Samgael. West. ## The Mountainous Region of Samgael

By refusing to threaten people with a rope and plunge them into the water—a practice seen in some places—they are called *verganzen*. The city lies in the Northwestern part of Asia, within the realm of Persia, on the borders of Georgia and Shirvan, between the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus Mountains, where a new passage exists.

However, one day's journey from Derbent reside brigands known as Kuralluk. These unite with the Russian Kofkaks after abandoning their land, plundering on the Caspian Sea.

Dagheftan. Here lies Dagheftan, a small territory within the lands of Georgia and Shirvan by the Caspian Sea, extending approximately 40 miles. The inhabitants are Tartars who stand under their own Prince, between the territories of Mofvie and Persia. The most important city is Tarku, followed by another called Andree. This territory isn't depicted on any maps; yet it's known to have four separate Princes, the foremost of whom, as we already mentioned, is named Samgael. The second is Krim Samgael; the third, Beki; and the fourth, Caraboodagh Bek or Prince Caraboodagh. This city of Tarku also bears the name Tirck or Tarki, by way of the town's designation.

Tarku. Andree.

At midday, the wind began to increase from the Northeast. Setting our course Southeast, we lost sight of the city of Derbent. Along this road, we saw much vegetation behind which the high mountains appeared. An hour after midday, the wind blew from the South-East, against us; so we were forced to furl the sail and anchor about half an hour off the road, entirely covered with groves, all the vegetation being short and of equal height. The wind at night came from the North. ## XVIII. CHAPTER.

Arrival at Nifawaey. Severe Storm and Frightful Sandstorm.
Journey to Samachi, and Arrival.

At Nifawaey, one finds no village or houses, only flat shoreline where arriving people pitch their tents, both for themselves and for their goods. Others go further from the shore, according to their preference or how long they intend to stay. The Arabs arrive with their camels and horses to transport the goods of those found here to Samachi. And since many vessels had arrived, this created considerable commotion. On the morning of the 22nd, we cast our nets in a river running near this place, which branches out into

the sea for about half an hour's distance from each other. However, we caught only a few small crabs; although fish are sometimes caught here. ## Travels

We fished with the rod as much as with the net. This river has the name of Nifawaeys, from which this land derives its name. It springs from the mountains; but how far from here, I could not learn.

On the 23rd, the wind blew from S.O., so that before evening five vessels set sail for Africaan, where several Armenian merchants inscribed themselves with their goods, on which occasion I dispatched letters to my good friends whom I had left in Afrakan and Moscow.

The people around this coast, who, as said, load and unload the goods, are Arabs, Moors, or Turks, who spend the summer in tents and the winter in villages that lie far inland.

On the 24th, many camels with goods set off, along with several Russian merchants who had arrived from Moscow to Afrakan with us. This Arab himself came to us one day, whose horse and rice, which he brought for sale, were taken from him by three others near the river. Which was not much lamented, or ten or twelve people took up that path to pursue the robbers. But they returned fruitlessly. So the poor man had to lose his horse and wares.

Around midday, a black storm arose from S.O., causing the sand to begin blowing up terribly between the sea and the sand dune, so that one hardly knew how to take shelter. Our tent was well sized and supported by two poles, also covered with some ropes and firmly tied in the ground: but fearing that it might be overturned, I preferred the seaward side, where little dry sand was found to dam up the water's surge. However, it helped so little that our tent tore away and fell over; therefore we bound it as well as possible over the goods and raised the two strips lying there as much as possible on the frame. The sand certainly flew no less than clouds across the ground along the sea: where all people came to take shelter close by a broken boat standing on the shore, others inside.

A strange and terrible sight to see; most of the people half blind from the flying dust. This lasted until evening, when the wind subsided, and we raised our tent again, pulling the goods whole from under the sand where they lay buried. On the morning of the 25th, some merchants departed who had been lying here for twelve days.

The day before, with calm and beautiful weather, to Samachi. As far as concerns us, we had to wait for the Tollmefer, not being able to move until the toll on the goods was paid, which was now 400 pounds per package; a sum commonly reckoned to be the

usual load of a horse. This day the same wind rose again with such force that almost no one could hold onto the frame. Therefore we went inland over the hill, about 300 paces from the sea, and spent the night there. Here I also found a vessel of His Majesty of Moscow, whose people also withdrew somewhat to the side into the land in some dilapidated huts. Among these people were two Germans, a Boatman, and a Swedish prisoner. From these people I received two birds that they had shot, resembling a small heron, but black or dark blue in color, called *Karawaeyke* by the Russians; of which I preserved one of the heads out of respect. They came to visit me daily, bringing me also a white Crane bird, which was particularly large and beautiful.

The bad weather lasted all night and finally worsened on the 26th: when the Tollenauer arrived, who, after inspecting our goods, gave us permission to go. To which we prepared ourselves on the following day. The journey then continued; on which we used over a hundred camels, but only eight or ten horses, and two or three donkeys. Our initial progress was along the shore, as it had been where we lay. We headed south past four rivers, Samoetfia, Balballa, Bulboelaetsja, and Mordowa. Here I found several large beasts on the frame, terribly thick and small-headed, which are considered Sea Lions. One finds them in places as large as a horse, with five hairs firmly attached, of which the skin is particularly useful for covering coffers. When these animals mate at their time, one sees them close to the frame by thousands near Niefawaei. After we had traveled four hours, we flew down from the sand dune into the flat field, half an hour from the village Mordouw, inhabited by Arabs, who spend themselves in poor earthen houses, as we have been told of the Tartars. Mordow means swamp; hence this land is named, because it has much swampy water that is said to flow from the mountains. Here a lot of rice grows.

Second storm.

Storm and sand-blowing.

Sea lions. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

growth, where there is much poultry and wood.

On the 28th, we traveled along the coast again until two hours before midday, when, having ridden for six hours, we halted in the field. Here we left the sea, with the high **Persian Mountains** before us at a short distance. We found here a well or spring that flowed from the ground, and also some desolate villages consisting of a few earthen houses inhabited by Moors or Turks, as they are called here. This plain and mountain range appeared very pleasant in the beautiful weather. We learned what the *freek*

from the **Caspian Sea** produces: but little of importance. There are some carp there, but thin; also a kind like herring, and even larger fish, but not good.

We traveled again on the night of the 29th, and after a large hour reached the mountains, which are very high and desolate, rocky, and sparsely wooded. In the plains we also found in many places *Keifteenen* (stones). Now having crossed the high mountain **Barma**, we flew down to a flat mountain at nine hours in the morning, surrounded by high mountains. We found here a stream of fairly good water in a deep valley. Upon my arrival, I shot here a very large bird, black, gray, and white in color, with wings outstretched, measuring a fathom in length. It was a bird of prey resembling an eagle, called *Tjallagan* here. The wings provided me with good writing quills.

We had beautiful weather still, but a hard N. East wind. We went mostly to the south, and past many huts of Arabs, both below and on and against the mountain where they kept their livestock. Several came towards us in large numbers with women and children, and livestock. This road is very unsafe due to the multitude of thieves who were clearly keeping watch for us, daring no one from our company to lie down out of fear of harm. To show that we were on our guard, we fired several shots. Occasionally, one of these thieves approached us, apparently to spy how many we were. But we paid him his curiosity with stick blows.

At midnight we left again and found ourselves after an hour or so in a mountain range covered with forest. As the day broke, we had to travel through a very dangerous path that was low and inclined downwards, so that we had to lead our horses. Having reached the lower part, we crossed the river twice by them called *Atat-haei*, which means as much as "Fathers River." This stream flows into the **Caspian Sea** and irrigates many lands for fruitfulness. In the height of the mountains, we found a marshy pool full of water where there was plenty of large and small birds. Here we found the first good water that we tasted with pleasure. It flows from the mountain as a small canal, covered above with stone and earth: being part of the same river which we had crossed twice the day before. We also passed through it again this morning because it was mostly dry, since little rain had fallen this year and last. At 8 hours we met on the clear side a large and mostly dilapidated **stone caravanserai**, and next to it a cemetery: where we saw many graves of Arabs and Turks. We stayed there for a short while in a plain near running water, enjoying still beautiful weather but holding a hard wind. Now we had come so far that we were only four hours from the place **Rafarat**, which is located in a few Arab tents. The place where we refreshed ourselves was an hour away.

About two hours after midnight, we set out again and found the mountains now descending rather than rising. After four hours, we reached a rocky mountain range on both sides. Here we mostly rode through the river, which the Turks call *Ocroeifa* or the dry river. We also found the crossing dry and full of stones where the cattle passed slowly. This dryness is as much in winter as it is in summer. Why this name has its own characteristic. With the morning light, we heard some fawns or grouse here in the mountains. There are also hares there, one of which I saw for the first time on this road, where various wells are dug. On the last day of the month, we led it down to a large plain at 8 hours, mostly covered with stones and surrounded by rocky mountains. Next to us, we found 10 tents of Arabs who provided us with milk, fermented butter, and eggs. The water was also fairly good here. Upon our arrival, we slaughtered a sheep, also brought from *Afrakan*, which while being felted and chopped into pieces, the pot was too full, so that in half an hour's time we enjoyed it deliciously. During this slaughtering, a ball came to ## XIX. CHAPTER.

Signs of Joy over the Receiving of an Honor. Description of Samachi. Remains of a Notable Fortress on Mount Kata-kulustaban.

The first news we heard here was that this very envoy had been sent an Honor from the King: over which joy was celebrated for four days long.

It was very bad weather these days: so great was the drought, and consequently there was unusual scarcity in food. For one loaf cost 10 silver coins, which had been bought for 2 silver coins just three years ago, or even a hundred years past. And it was similarly with other provisions; where a hen that used to be bought for 1½ silver coins, or for one silver coin, now costs 5 or 6 silver coins. With windy weather, one is plagued here by very much dust, which otherwise is not much needed: so there is great longing for rain.

The goods that come here must all be unloaded, to examine everything thoroughly. To this purpose several persons from the Toll come into the Karwanfera. They have their particular lodging in the Karwanfera. But one pays them nothing for it, nor to anyone outside those who belong to the Tollhouse for the service of the city. These take 50 silver coins for each fodder or loaded camel; where one could only satisfy with 20 silver coins not long ago: namely as far as the merchant goods are concerned that are brought from Persia. Which import is mostly accomplished by means of horses. Therefore, the packages are often reduced to half; carrying each horse about 400 pounds, and the camels 800 or 900.

On the 5th of the month, around 8 hours in the morning, the Chan rode out to a garden, located a quarter of an hour east of the city, to put on the garment, of which we have spoken. A great display was prepared for this procession; therefore I desired to see it and went there as well. The procession proceeded thus. First came a few persons. Behind them came 10 camels, each carrying 2 red silk flags on either side. Six of these carried two kettle drums, which the Persians call *Tambulpaes*. Four of these were very large, wide in the round, and tapering downwards at the top in the manner of a vase or flowerpot. The one sitting on one of the camels played clearly on the pouch. Along the side of the road stood by turns 4 blowers. ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Account

Zers stilstaen, blazende op grote lange trompetten, which at the end were very wide, called by them *Karuma*, from which they made a great roar that made my ears ache. A piece away from this, four others played on a sort of shawm, called by them *Karana* nafier. Behind the camels went 20 Musketeers, dressed in various ways, some in green, others in purple, and still others in grey. Following these were six servants of the Khan, walking ahead of the horse upon which the Khan sat—a beautiful animal, kaftan-brown in color, and elegantly harnessed. He himself was dressed in a short upper garment, with a headband and a large Persian cap or turban. Behind him rode four eunuchs, brown and black, elegantly dressed, and seated on fine horses. Following these were the most important lords and others in great numbers, all seated on fine horses. Here were nine packhorses of the Khan, all elegantly adorned and hung with a small drum attached to their right side, called *Tambelpaes*. This musical instrument is customary among people of importance, who play along with it using their fingers. It was mostly made of silver, even that of the Khan. In front of the garden stood, on the right side toward the mountains, many soldiers, each carrying a single plume on their caps. Among these were two horses ridden by a man from head to toe dressed in a garment of all sorts of colors, skillfully joined together so as to represent an ape and make gestures like an ape, now sitting on horseback and then standing again. These two men were skilled in imitating apes, which earned them much applause. They stood about 20 paces apart, with some players by their side. When we arrived at the garden, all the lords dismounted from their horses, as did the Khan at the main gate, which was large and finely constructed. Having entered the courtyard, he put on ceremonial robes and reappeared half an hour later, riding; while in the meantime, several lords rode ahead to restore order and rank. This garment was a kaftan or long robe of red gold fabric or brocade. Beside him was a golden cap in the style of a crown, which he wore on his head. Beneath this, a large number of servants rode around on horseback, each carrying a *kaljan* or Persian tobacco pipe, intended for his lord's use in his right hand. These are made of glass, with silver at the top, sometimes also gold, finely worked.

Other servants carried a copper kettle along with their horse, inside which burning coals were kept to be able to offer the *kaljan* to his master as he desired. However, no tobacco was smoked by these people; but for show, such a kettle is always taken along. In this courtyard, several lords chased each other, throwing sprigs or sticks at one another, called *ayner* by them, for amusement and practice. A large crowd of people had come out to view this spectacle, both on foot and on horseback. It was not unentertaining to watch, especially because the view here was enhanced by the variety of villages, Arab tents, and many gardens. Before putting on this ceremonial robe, he placed the golden cap on his head, which had been carried a few paces ahead of him on horseback. It was adorned with precious stones and bordered with fringe. The custom regarding this Khan's cap is that it is considered to be the emblem of the Prophet Ali, who would have worn such a cap. Having donned this robe, the Khan took the cap from his head again and had it carried ahead of him as we said. All of this was accomplished within two hours.

Before the adventure befell us, it began to rain and continued until midday the following day. As a result, the roads became so muddy that one could scarcely ride through them with horses. However, from the 7th to the 10th of the month, the weather was fair again. Nevertheless, an earthquake occurred at night, which did not cause any damage. Many, however, feared for misfortune and fled into the open air to be free from the roofs of houses.

On the 11th of the month, I sketched this city on the southern side on a hill from which it appears in its finest form, as can be seen at No. 38. It lies mostly lengthwise. However, since there are no prominent churches, towers, or buildings, I could only indicate with the letter A the Khan's court; the *Ser-kaffe Karwanfera*, located to the right on the east outside the city; and with B the mountain where an old ruined structure can be seen, indicated by C. It lies north of the west of the city. However, I will speak more broadly about this later, as well as another higher mountain next to it. The city itself lies against the mountains. It covers an hour's walk in circumference. It has no mu- ## Samaria: A Valley Town

The town of Samaria is situated in a valley between two hills, its buildings closely grouped on the slopes and plains below. In the foreground, people move across the landscape; some walk along a path beside a dry riverbed, while others stand on a small hill, seemingly talking or observing their surroundings. A large bull stands nearby, with smaller livestock grazing or resting in the lower areas.

The hills rise impressively behind the town, depicted with detailed cross-hatching to create texture and suggest height. On the left hill, a structure is visible near the top, possibly an ancient ruin or watchtower. The right hill has a more rounded shape, topped by what looks like a small building or natural feature.

The town itself comprises many low buildings, most with flat roofs, interspersed with trees and open spaces. A winding path or road runs through the settlement, connecting different parts of it. The scene as a whole evokes a feeling of peaceful rural life in balance with the surrounding landscape. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small Turkish principality known as *beylik*, it rapidly expanded under the leadership of **Osman I**, laying the foundation for an empire that would eventually challenge both Europe and Asia.

The early successes of the Ottomans were largely due to their skilled military organization, particularly the elite **Janissary** corps—Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and rigorously trained as soldiers loyal only to the Sultan. Their use of gunpowder weaponry also provided a significant advantage over many contemporary armies.

Under **Mehmed II**, known as “the Conqueror,” the Ottomans achieved their most celebrated victory in 1453 with the capture of **Constantinople**, the Byzantine capital. This pivotal event marked the end of the Byzantine Empire and transformed the Ottoman state into a major power, controlling vital trade routes between East and West.

The subsequent reigns of sultans like **Bayezid II** and **Selim I** saw further territorial expansion, encompassing much of the Balkans, North Africa, and the Middle East. **Selim’s** conquest of Egypt in 1517 brought the holy cities of Mecca and Medina under Ottoman control, establishing the Sultan as a prominent figure within the Islamic world.

The empire reached its zenith during the reign of **Suleiman I**, often called “the Magnificent.” He oversaw significant legal reforms, patronized the arts and architecture—resulting in iconic structures like the **Şehzade Mosque** in Istanbul—and led successful military campaigns against European powers. His long rule (1520-1566) is considered a golden age of Ottoman culture and power.

However, by the 17th century, signs of decline began to appear. Internal corruption, succession disputes, and increasingly powerful European rivals gradually eroded Ottoman strength.

Attempts at reform in the 19th century, known as the **Tanzimat** reforms, aimed to modernize the empire along Western lines but ultimately proved insufficient to halt its disintegration.

The final blow came with World War I, during which the Ottomans allied with the Central Powers and suffered a decisive defeat. The empire was formally dissolved in 1922, paving the way for the establishment of modern **Turkey** under the leadership of **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries:** Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
- **Constantinople:** Formerly the capital of the Byzantine Empire; renamed Istanbul after its conquest by the Ottomans.
- **Suleiman I (the Magnificent):** Reigning Sultan during the empire's golden age.
- **Tanzimat Reforms:** 19th-century efforts to modernize the Ottoman Empire. ## Reisen: Murun and Samachi

Murun, devastated by an earthquake thirty-five years prior. There is nothing remarkable left of the buildings. Churches, which they call Mu-zjit or Mu-zjit, are numerous but all small, low in construction without any towers; one cannot see them from outside the walls. Two have small domes. One enters through a courtyard and finds little decoration inside, but a raised platform in the round. The houses are entirely made of earth and a mixture of clay, and so low that one can reach the roofs with their hand. Above they are flat and strikingly ugly to behold. The most important ones, however, are reasonably well furnished inside with carpets and similar furnishings. The walls are plastered white, and some colors have been applied to them. The most prominent have two stories and are not flat on top but raised. The Chan's residence is on a hill, appearing from the outside as if woven and partially crumbling. I found here still a ruin and a fairly large remnant of a Church, to which 2 or 3 turrets extended in the manner of domes, which must have been beautiful. This ruined building was constructed with well-fitted stone and was the finest I had seen there. Through the city also lay many ruins. At the foot of the hill where the Chan's court is located, there is a large long market where everything that can be imagined is for sale, especially fruits. Here are also the residences of all the copper merchants and many kinds of shops, including cooks, where all sorts of food can be prepared. At the far end of this market, the Bazaar begins, where all kinds of shops are located, such as those of gold- and silversmiths, saddlemakers, and more. Some of these bazaars are covered with stone arches from above, others are covered with wood. They stretch a great length along the streets and include tobacco and coffee houses, also all the Chans or *Karwanferae* (caravanserais) that spring inward, where one enters through a large gate. There are about 20 of these, of which the Indians occupy the most beautiful. All are built of stone and approximately 23 or 24 feet high. In ours were, besides the

ground floor, 40 rooms, all square in construction. Here the main goods are sold; why one does not find prominent shops of linens and the like in the bazaars.

Samachi. This flat Samachi is also called Suma-chia, or Summachia by the Persians. It lies at 40 degrees 50 minutes. It is the capital flat of this land, currently named Shirwan or Servan, formerly bearing the name of Media, a very renowned kingdom in Asia located in the northern and northwestern part of the Persian kingdom, where now lies the landscape Servan, the western part of the landscape Gilan, and the northern part of the landscape Ay-rack, where for the still by the inhabitants known flat extends to the borders of Hirkania. It is said that this flat was built by the Persian King Shirwan Shae. It is reckoned to lie 24 hours from the Caspian Sea. The road through the mountains is very winding and bumpy. We rode over it for 23 or 24 hours, having been on the road for 6 days with the camels. But one can conveniently cover it in 3 days by horse. From Derbent, the journey is 40 hours long, if one goes over the mountains to Lahati.

The Chan ruled here as a King. Besides him, there is only a Kalantaer or regent of the Chan's government; a Burgermeister: but he has neither money nor anything in his hands. He makes the levies of what is to be brought from the land: but the funds are brought to the Chan. This one has a Chancery, and therein his advisors. The treasury is in his court, where there are also some cannon marks: two small ones stand before the court, which are fired when the Chan holds any joyous celebration. He has 2500 soldiers, all on horseback, except for 300 who serve as foot guards, and with them or some of them he goes forward whenever he rides out hunting or elsewhere. This Chan, now in his seventh year of reign, was a well-made man, though somewhat thin, wearing large long black turbans. He is called Allerswerdichan. He bears the title of Beglererbegi, which means as much as Chan over the other Chans. He is a Georgian Christian born, formerly a *Kamerjonker* (chamberlain) to the King of Persia, whose father, an nobleman from a noble house, had given him young, according to the common custom of the Georgians. It is said that he descends from the house of Borgodion, which is known and dates back before Christ's birth, originally from the Jewish tribe, and having come from Jerusalem into the Georgian land.

This stewardship over Samachi is one of the most important in the Persian territory, as officials can enrich themselves within a few years through the great revenues they draw from these districts. For much silk comes from Gilan. ## The Land of Cotton and Saffron

The land is also fertile with fine wines, both white and red. However, the white is strong and not drinkable unless mixed with water. All kinds of good fruits are found here as well, such as apples, pears, walnuts, all deliciously flavorful, especially those

that grow in areas near the land of the Georgians. Thus, this land is very fertile, although it lacks people to cultivate it. One also finds a great abundance of horses and animals that provide sustenance for humans, including sheep, chickens, much fowl, elephants, peacocks, hares, quails, lizards, and other wild game. All of this can be obtained here at a small price, particularly in the winter. Moreover, the bread here is exceptionally good.

A Beautiful Harbor

The city of Bachu has a beautiful harbor, where the Persians have now erected a common fortress. For Captain Meier, whom we spoke about, requesting free use of his Majesty's ships brought them to suspicion; because the Muscovites had enough freedom to come and go here, so this request, which was also disapproved of, was not made by him. This area, as far as it extends to the rivers Kur and Aras, where it is separated from the rest, was easy to take possession of with little people, and could be maintained by erecting some fortresses, because this population is powerless to resist. And for no one was this more advantageous than the Tsar.

Bachu

The old city of Bachu, located in the western part of Persia, in the region of Servan, on the west coast south of the Caspian Sea, still has the old Nootoly wall. From here comes most of the Nootoly, both white and brown; the latter being sent throughout Gilan and well into 100 hours of Persia inland. The white is distributed everywhere. I was told that two or three hours from the city, the land constantly burns due to the saline ground. I also recall that

the city of Ganfie, located about 50 hours from Samachi, is almost four times as large, with many stone buildings, mostly two stories high, wide and spacious streets, brave Bavarians, beautiful caravanserais, and a dignified market. The governor's building is spacious and grand; there's a great river running through the city; there are many gardens, and an abundance of good wine and fruit. There were also many Zenaer trees, cypresses, and pine trees. Thus, that

city could be considered one of the best in all of Persia. I learned this from reliable information from one of the French Ecclesiastics here, as well as from some Georgians who testified that in the region of Georgia, now called Gurgistan, there are several rivers we do not know, such as Allafan, which runs through the province of Ghaget and takes its course into the river Kur; Legwie, which runs alongside the city of Gorri, noted by us as Cori, and also flows into the Kur; Kifanni, which runs close to a large church called Schetta, and also ends in the Kur; Simma, which also flows

into the Kur, beginning in Turcomania near the city of Angheitska; Jorri, which begins at the Serikjes mountain range, and also flows into the Kur. These are well-named. Because the others are not so named by name.

Now, to satisfy my desire to know things that concern Antiquity, since I was not unaware that in this so-called ancient Media, particularly in this region, some relics might be worth noting, I set out on August 13th of the month towards Mount Kalakuluftahan, half an hour northwest of this city. Before ascending it, I sat down in the lowlands where I could observe a portion of the wall and towers of an old ruined fortress on the mountain. Then I saw some round towers, partly still standing, remnants of a wall, and other foundations separated from them, as well as large remains of walls towards the lowland on the right side of the mountain, with the large stones of the foundations barely showing through the ground where the mountain descends. Large chunks were also found on the steep side, near the tower, especially on the surface of the mountain. Having observed all this, I brought it to paper as indicated by No. 39. Then I went northwards, where it was difficult and dangerous to climb, so that I repeatedly had to pause due to the great height of fatigue. When I reached the top, the most notable thing I found was a vault beneath the earth, an underground vault. ## De Bergh: Echoes of the Past

The upper image portrays a vast, rounded hill topped by weathered stone ruins and imposing fortified walls. Below, a more uneven landscape slopes downward, scattered with fragments of buildings and winding paths—both views highlighting the profound historical importance of this location. ## Reisen: Heights and Depths of a Mountain Fortress

The heights and depths, descending into the plains, nestled between the other adjacent mountains. Why no wall existed on this side of the mountain to prevent access to the reliable depths remains unclear. These two arches mentioned mark the beginning of the entrance, standing 44 paces apart. Having descended further, one sees here on the right a short, narrow passage with a vault, but it is pressed against the rock of the mountainside. Next to this there's another entrance, small and somewhat hidden, since that side faces east and is nearly at the end of the upper mountain range. Directly opposite, on the left side towards the West, one passes through an arch which serves as a gate, but now only a man's height high, requiring one to stoop to pass through into a small chamber. From this chamber, one proceeds through a short passage into another similar chamber, also in the same manner into a third, all having brave vaulted arches and vaults. The masonry, upon which everything rests, I found thick at the original entrance, partly 5, partly 8 feet, and subsequently also so: with short passages between each, as if they were of one piece. Because the dove-colored stone could not be seen further, since I saw many broken stones and fallen rocks lying there, making the

ground unrecognizable, and because I did not dare venture further in this solitude, accompanied only by a single person going forward, I stopped. But considering all these things, I concluded that the greater part extends beneath the mountain towards 't Weften and N. Weften, as this mountain lies in length. I also found that the stones of the lower vaults of the passages, which are flat rather than arched, had the length of the width of the passages, meeting at their ends within the walls. All that one sees here, both above and below, is joined with stone and lime, using a reasonably thick cement around it. However, the joints are not as close or neat as those used by the ancients, particularly the Romans, who excelled in this technique; they described this jointing themselves in the stonework of the roads, of which there remain few vestiges of the old Neapolitan road, called Via Appia by them. In particular, the builders of the only wonder of the world that remains of the seven have demonstrated their ingenuity here on the way one ascends from within the Pyramid of Egypt, whose depiction I mentioned in my first travel description as having given for the first time. Those remarkably large stones are fitted together so tightly that one can scarcely notice the joints, and moreover they are polished as smooth as a mirror. However, I must say that this work, of which we speak, is made of rougher stones, in which they apparently did not seek to bring such neatness.

From these subterranean chambers, I took measurements of the width above from the mountain, finding it at its final point to be 50 paces wide. But towards the West or N. Weften it becomes considerably wider, measuring 80 paces there. Here, approximately in the middle of the mountain, is a large pit, whose mouth or top edge was so dangerous all around that I did not dare approach it to look inside, because if I were to fall in, I would certainly never see my homeland again. Without doubt, it was once a water well. I could not find any further openings. From this upper work down to the lower walls and towers, where they came together, the distance was 70 or 80 paces. Then the same wall runs much lower around the mountain towards the East, covering about half an hour if one could measure it by walking. We had more ease in descending the mountain because we found the straight path that we had to take when ascending. Descending, we encountered several vestiges of large chambers between the lower wall and the upper ruined fortifications, some of which still had their outer flat stones, not far from the ground. We could only observe the size of the arches, showing that place a great deal of what once was a building. From above then subsequently coming to the original wall, I recognized the view by a tower, which still has its exterior stones in part, along with some other ruined vestiges, as we depict them at N°. 40. Others have noted that these ruins would have been joined together with wood and stone. But I found nothing of the sort, much less could I detect any sign of wood, but rather whole stones, joined together with cement.

The common belief is that these remarkable fortifications were destroyed by Tamerlane, which I was unable to investigate for myself.

Now returning again towards the city, I saw a little outside it in the open field a Turk dancing on a rope, stretched between the houses standing there. Although he performed skillfully, I felt...

A suitable pit.

The accuracy of the old Romans tried this jointing themselves in the stonework of the roads; of which there remain few vestiges of the old Neapolitan road, called Via Appia by them. In particular, the builders of the only wonder of the world that remains of the seven have demonstrated their ingenuity here on the way one ascends from within the Pyramid of Egypt, whose depiction I mentioned in my first travel description as having given for the first time

Similar neatness in Egypt. ## XX. CHAPTER.

Memorable old tombs at Jediekombet, on the mountain Pjedrakoes, and at Pyrmaraes. Gruesome murder committed on four Armenians. Muster of the Persian Cavalry.

Meanwhile, I had learned that outside this city there were some old tombs. Therefore, on the 14th of the month, I had three horses made, to go the following day to the place where they were, named Jediekombet, or Seven Towers, which is three good hours from Samachi inland. I then set off thither in the morning, taking two people with me, besides the footmen who accompanied the horses. We mostly went along the slopes towards the mountains, where many villages are seen, mostly inhabited by Armenians. At one of these we arrived at 9 o'clock. This village, named Kirkins, lies on a fertile mountain, entirely covered with vine plantings, through which these people mainly earn their living, having built a chapel there of large stones, in which one of their saints is buried, named Sabaech Wartapeet. They claim that he was first Muslims who came to them and were instructed so far in their religion that he finally became a priest. But when his former fellow believers came after him at Samachi and burned him, but he was raised from the dead and returned to them. On the road, half an hour from this mountain, they have dug a large tombstone on which some characters stand, which I saw. I asked them about the meaning of it, but they said that it meant nothing and only stood on the stone for decoration. Then they brought the saint to this mountain, where he is buried, his grave being held in high esteem. For on feast days they come there to offer sacrifices and hold their meals by the tombstone. I also found there, as it was Sunday, some families who kindly invited me to eat, while women were busy preparing a meal. But I declined this with thanks, as I had only come to pursue my purpose. This village consists of about 200 households. The chapel that is there has a small altar in

the middle and a large tombstone on one side, where they place wax candles. The chapel is surrounded by a small wall, and next to it stands a fig tree, under whose shade they sit. Here was also a church that was destroyed by an earthquake 35 years ago, in whose place this chapel was built.

At half-past ten we rode back from there over mountains of beautiful land until Jediekombet, where we arrived after about an hour. Here I found the old tombsteads, of which I have spoken, which are beautifully constructed and reasonably well suited to a lively rock stone. These were still mostly intact and pointed upwards. The first that I examined was the highest, and located next to the mountain. The wall of the tower was 5 palms thick, the entrance 6 palms high and 3 wide. Inside it was round. ## The Graf: A Chronicle of Stone and Lineage

The *Graf*, a hereditary title, signifies dominion over lands and peoples—a legacy etched in stone and passed down through generations. This lineage, deeply intertwined with the **Bergh Piedraköes**, traces back to an era shrouded in myth and legend, when the first Graf claimed sovereignty amidst the rugged peaks of the northern territories.

“The mountains themselves chose him,” the ancient ballads proclaim. “He who could scale their heights and understand their secrets would rule over all below.”

The **Bergh Piedraköes**, meaning “Stone Mountain Clan,” are not merely a family but an institution, bound by oaths and traditions that predate written history. Their power rests not solely on military might—though they have proven formidable warriors—but on the intricate network of alliances forged with neighboring tribes and their mastery of *Jediekombet*, the ancient art of stone carving.

Jediekombet is more than mere craftsmanship; it’s a form of storytelling, prophecy, and law. Each Graf commissions a monumental sculpture—the **Graf Stone**—upon ascending to power. These stones, meticulously carved with symbolic imagery and cryptic inscriptions, serve as both declarations of intent and records of their reign. Scholars dedicate lifetimes attempting to decipher the *Jediekombet* embedded within these works, believing they hold the key to understanding the Graf’s past, present, and future.

The current **Graf, Kaelen Bergh Piedraköes**, inherited a realm beset by internal strife and external threats. His father’s reign ended abruptly, leaving behind a legacy of fractured alliances and simmering resentment among the clans. Kaelen’s challenge lies not only in restoring order but also in proving himself worthy of

his ancestors—a task that demands both strength and wisdom, as well as a profound understanding of *Jediekombet*. ## The Stone of the Grave, on the Mountain of the Berg

The grave's inscription, carved into the stone on the mountain of the Berg, speaks of a lineage lost to time and shrouded in legend. It tells of **Graven**, son of **Jediekombet**, a figure whispered about in hushed tones among those who still remember the old ways.

“Here lies Graven, son of Jediekombet, guardian of the Silent Pass. His strength was as the mountain, his wisdom as deep as the earth. He defended our people against the shadow that crept from beyond, and now he sleeps, awaiting the dawn.”

The inscription itself is a marvel – intricate carvings depicting scenes of ancient battles and forgotten rituals. Scholars have long debated its meaning, some believing it to be a historical record, others dismissing it as mere folklore. Yet, the sheer age of the stone—estimated to be over **two thousand years**—suggests a significance that transcends simple myth.

The mountain itself, known locally as **Piedrakoes**, is said to hold secrets of its own. Locals claim that strange lights flicker in the valleys at night and that the wind carries whispers of forgotten languages. Some even believe that **Jediekombet** himself still watches over the land, a spectral guardian protecting his son's legacy.

- The inscription's language is unlike any known dialect, hinting at a civilization predating all others in the region.
- The “Silent Pass” mentioned in the text remains unidentified, fueling speculation about its location and purpose.
- The “shadow that crept from beyond” suggests a conflict with an unknown enemy, possibly originating from another realm or dimension. ## Reisen

... having 12 feet in diameter. This tower is surrounded by a beautiful wall, with a fine gateway that measures 14 Rijnland feet wide and 10 feet deep to the small gate through which one passes. The thickness of this wall is five palms; and its width from corner to corner is 16 paces square. Thus, the circumference contains 64 paces. The thickness of the wall is three palms, with the top being a crenelated or half-oval shape. On the side of the tower within the perimeter stand two on one side and three on the other beautiful sarcophagi or gravestones above the ground, painted with foliage and various depictions that differ from each other, especially at the top. These gravestones I found 3 palms high, 2 wide, and just over 7 long, one slightly larger than the other. Then I examined the second tower. Inside the wall of the same, I found a staircase of 3 palm height at the gateway, on the ground under the arch 8½ feet wide and 11½ deep, being 7 feet high to the vault. Within its wall it is long 44 feet, wide 33. The height is as

the aforementioned, and in the same manner. The last building in the lower level (for the ground slopes downwards) was surrounded by a wall 71 feet wide, 66 long, and 9 high. The gateway comes 14½ feet from the ground—or projecting—one arrives at a building that is 38 feet wide and 18 deep, behind which on the solid side is a building that extends 6 feet further, and of the same width, upon which also stands a tower. One passes through this building straight over the gateway into a small gate of 4 feet high and 4 inches, and 2½ in width. The thickness of this wall is 3 feet with two steps downwards into a square room that is all around covered with beautiful benches of just over 1½ feet high, and about as much in width. The size of this room is 10 feet deep and 11 wide, with a vault two men's length high. On the right side at the middle of the wall, the bench rising one goes up again through the same gate into a dark room with a vault that is lower and arched, 13 feet deep and 10 wide. Having come out here again, one passes straight over the first small gate entered, through another which is slightly smaller, with two steps up into a room that is 10 feet deep and just as much wide. Here stands the aforementioned tower, which is hollow to the top. On the right side one sees four window openings, two above the other. Here I found some candles set against the wall, and on the ground a portion of broken stone, around which no grave could be noticed. In this building we had our midday meal, and cooled the wine with the water that flows from a beautiful fountain standing just in front of this building, and only a few paces away. This spring comes upward from the mountains, and gives water that is very good tasting. The wall at this fountain is also old, and of the same workmanship. Outside the perimeter of these gravestones, where the ancients always made great work, as everyone knows, one sees thousands of gravestones in the round, some like those mentioned above, others of common size stones. But on none of them could I notice any characters of writing: there was only some carved work and some depictions on top, to which I know no name. Only some had the depiction of a tall narrow flag, and similar figures. All this work, in my opinion, seems to have been done to set the gravestones somewhat more beautifully; as I have often found such things around the burial places of the Kings just outside Jerusalem.

To better display these gravestones, I drew one of them in particular, namely that which stands next to the aforementioned building, or that which is the first in the lower level, where a large tree is seen, and also some young trees grown outside the tower by time, although all those hard stones were still standing whole, without noticing any small breaks anywhere. The appearance of the gateway, and some graves nearby, along with the melon garden located there, I depicted on No. 41. Then I brought the entire view onto paper, being the building about which we spoke, the following from the right depicted, and thus also the others, with the mountains behind, where one generally means seven towers. However, the straight shape is to be seen on No. 42. In the

inner walls I found many young fig trees that covered some gravestones so much with tree foliage that they could scarcely be recognized. These gravestones are considered very old, and indeed to be so. ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Account

Having been before the time of the celebrated Tamerlane, by whom it is rumored, as we have said, that this fortress was rejected; yet these nobles remained unpunished through his respect for them.

After viewing these ancient monuments, I departed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Taking another road toward the plain, I saw near these places to the North a collection of stones. Because the entire mountain has a beautiful soil and is not barren, I surmised that there must have once been a fortress or strong place here, although no foundations or carefully cut stones were visible. Expressing my feeling about this, I concluded that 'there had been a small fortress near these tombs.' It could not be otherwise. For what insight would such tombs have in a mountain so far from a plain? Near these stone heaps we also saw a beautiful fountain and further on another cemetery where many tombstones stood. One of them was unusually large, though partly broken. Shortly thereafter, we ascended again into the mountains and rode through the large village of Kirkins, half an hour south of the plain. It is inhabited by both Armenians and Turks and lies against the ascent of the mountain. We returned there an hour before evening with a very strong wind that we had experienced three hours earlier. This caused the sand to be so appalling that one could not restrain their eyes; it lasted throughout most of the night. Afterwards, rain fell with heavy thunderclaps. After which the weather cleared up again.

The Mountain Pjendra-koes. On the 18th of the month I ascended Mount Pjendra-koes, which lies somewhat closer to the plain than Mount Kala-kultahan and is higher. Atop it one finds an open tomb, encircled with large stones, measuring about 16 feet in width and 18½ feet in length. Common tombstones stand here. One also finds a *Noteboom* (a type of tree) alongside another large tree with small leaves. Somewhat lower is still a smaller tree, and 27 paces from there a tomb that is located in a round temple. It is externally 33 paces around and internally 10 feet in diameter. The wall is 2 feet and 10 inches thick, on which are some stones measuring 2 feet and 2 inches in width and 4 feet and 4 inches in length. The entrance is reached by a step of 1 foot, 1 inch, with a width of 1 foot, 10 inches, and a height of 5 feet, 4 inches.

The height of this tomb is 10½ feet above the top edge. Several common tombstones stand in front of it. Around the tomb are many spikes laid in the wall with patches of various colors. One also finds tassels tied to the first-mentioned tomb. This is done by those who visit these tombs to be healed from their ailments, tearing off patches from their clothing as an offering to the saint

buried there. An Armenian servant who was with me recounted that he had also made such an offering and had found relief from his ailment because of it. But I gave as little credence to his story as to the history of the Saint who first burned and then reappeared.

I found this temple completely broken on the east side, namely only the large outer stones. It is overgrown with small trees at the top. Its shape can be seen in No. 43 with Mount Kala-kultahan in the distance. I also sketched it from the other side, where it is broken, as I said. Where to the right of the first-mentioned open tomb appears, and in the lowlands the plain is visible, along with the mountains behind it, indicated in No. 44. Inside the temple or tomb stands a large tombstone painted with foliage, and nearby one sees the entrance and the large foundation stones that are broken, as shown here. Forty paces from there are two places under the earth. The first is found at the entrance, made of large stones, which are still whole on the inside. The depth is 6½ feet, the width 4 feet and 2 inches, and the height 5 feet and 5 inches. The ground is paved with stones. Seventeen paces from there is another like a cave, some have a small entrance where one must crawl to get in; it is merely a small cavity in the rock of the mountain. Directly above this cavity stands a tree on whose trunk many names are carved. There lie many tombstones. Beyond these and the tomb on the hill is a ruined wall of a room. This mountain is full of tombs, except on the southwestern side, where it is steep. Others have recorded that here would be one of the deep vaults under the earth with feathers, some stairs, where the daughter of a King would be buried. But I found this to be untrue. And I cannot think otherwise than that they were told this about that small cave, which...

Illustration of an old Church.

The village Kirkins. Sand-blowing.

Misprint of the writing- ## GRAFSTEEN.

Even those who might have been expected to investigate the truth did not bother to do so. The opening is also quite small, requiring me to remove my outer garments to squeeze through. Once inside, I discovered its construction. I believe that the main burial chamber will be located in the upper tomb or shrine. Inquiries yielded no further information. It can only be said that there are burials of individuals who have earned a reputation for holiness; for this reason, a few people – though not many – occasionally appear there. Down below on the same mountain lies a village. To the northeast, one sees a very beautiful plain of lush vegetation, surrounded by mountains. To the northwest, the mountain Kala-kultahan is visible with several villages. The city presents itself beautifully from here, as does the entire landscape beneath the mountain. Near the side of the city there is a beautiful, clear

fountain constructed from large stones fitted together. A little further from the city is another, without walls, simply a canal that runs entirely underground towards the mountains and then turns back to the city through another channel.

On October 19th, I prepared my belongings to be sent off with the caravan the following day, as we were expected to depart in just a few days. Having done this, I readied the horses again to go and inspect two notable tombs in the village of Pyrmæræs. I set off on horseback at seven o'clock and rode for an hour through low-lying land and past Pirhaet, which consists of only two or three houses. I found a lot of vegetation here, and there a clear stream flowing from a fountain. I also encountered several waterways while riding over small stone bridges. Two hours from the city, I found one that I considered old, constructed from heavy stones but completely broken into three separate pieces, some of which had already sunk into the ground. It had once had three arches. In addition to

Old watercourses. ## The Village of Pyrmæræs and the Tomb of Seid Ibrahim

The stream flowed with remarkably clear water. Several bridges were present here as well, though none now carry water. Upon entering the mountains, the city of Samachi appeared strikingly beautiful amidst the surrounding landscape and peaks; one observes numerous cemeteries there, and in some, large stone slabs. It was around midday when I arrived at the village of Pyrmæræs. It is reasonably large, built with houses of stone and earth, approximately four hours east of the city, situated within a vast plain. As you approach the mountains on the right side, it comes into view. In this village, I first encountered the tomb of Seid Ibrahim, a revered figure among this people; constructed in the manner of a fortress or stronghold, surrounded by an outer wall. Passing through here, I found a stable to my right where we left our horses. Then, as I was passing, a servant requested that I visit the quarters of his master, the caretaker of this tomb, adding that he had briefly stepped out but would soon return. He returned while I was enjoying some refreshments, politely inquired about my origins and the reason for my journey here. After hearing my explanation, he offered me his services with great courtesy, ready to guide me wherever something noteworthy could be observed.

Regarding this structure, there is a large open space in front of it; on the right side of the main gate, the caretaker has a beautiful room that is spacious and richly adorned with carpets. From this room, one ascends several steps through the main gate of the building, which is grand and ornate, to an outer courtyard. Then, passing through another such gate, you reach a second courtyard where numerous tombstones are visible, carved with Turkish characters and decorated with ornamentation. You then approach

the tomb itself, sealed by a wooden door. From there, one enters a small vault containing a *kift* (a type of funerary structure). From this vault, you proceed to a beautiful room illuminated from above through three openings; all the floors are covered with carpets, quilted fabrics, or mats; shoes or slippers must be removed before entering. To the right of the main gate in front of the first vault is a doorway leading to three rooms; the first contains three *kifts*. In the second, located to the right, there are five. In the last, on the left side, one finds the remains of the aforementioned Seid Ibrahim, placed in the center. His *kift* is covered with a green cloth. The main gates are approximately six feet tall and about a foot thick. One ascends twelve steps to reach them, all made of stone. The top surface is level. The outer wall forms a separate, continuous structure resembling a fortress. At each corner are small recesses like watchtowers. To the right, it extends forty paces in length and thirty-one in width. Above the tomb is a small opening where a stone rests. Above the gate of the tomb, one sees numerous Arabic characters carved into the stone; similarly, within the walls, which are white, some characters are drawn in black. Approximately twenty paces beyond the perimeter of this structure, one passes under an archway descending fifteen steps; then another ten, all joined together. However, the last ten have no archway. One then reaches the bottom of a cellar that is thirty-three paces long and nine paces wide. The vault above it has an arched ceiling spanning from end to end, approximately six feet high; constructed of beautiful, pure stone and covered with plaster, much of which has fallen away over time. I believe it served as a water cistern. During heavy rains, water still flows through an underground channel connected to the nearby mountains. There is an opening in the second step above where the water flows through. Above are two openings that provide light for the cellar. At the entrance is a raised stone wall. Ten paces from there stand twenty troughs where cattle drink. Each trough is joined together, and each is made of a stone three and a half feet long and two and a half feet wide. Above these are numerous wells with openings, which I observed both here and within the village; however, many of the upper openings were blocked. All of these must have served as watering troughs. As has been noted in previous times in many cities and places, a portion is hollowed out beneath the earth to preserve water in these underground vaults. I saw this in the city of Alexandria, as well as near the city of Naples. The ancient Medes thus utilized the practice of storing water. Therefore, this place must have been very significant from antiquity. The Persians observed with amusement that I took and recorded all these details so meticulously. I thanked the caretaker of the tomb politely and requested that he provide someone to guide me to another tomb.

The village of Pyrmare.

Tomb of Seid Ibrahim. ## Reisen.

The man requested that I provide him with a detailed account. We then rode uphill and descended on foot along a path so dangerously steep that one often had to cling to the rocks. I discovered this was the tomb of Tiribbaba, built precariously against the rock face. Upon reaching it, one finds a place where three steps lead downwards. The building is 28 feet wide and extends along the side of the mountain, adhering to its slope. The facade is constructed from large, smooth stones. It has two entrances that extend 3 palms deep into the wall. On the main side, one finds a large window with stone tracery, seemingly cut out to let in light. Here, numerous colored cloths are tied. The vault on the right side consists of large stones, each measuring approximately 4 ½ palms wide and 8 palms high. One ascends three steps through the gate, which is secured with a wooden door. From there, one enters a small square room with decorative niches on all four sides and a dome above. There is no space less than 5 feet from one side to the other. Upon entering, the wall faces the rock of the mountain on the right-hand side. On the main side, one ascends a high and two low steps into a chamber that is 14 feet deep and 10 feet wide. The vault has an arched shape, approximately 6 men's lengths in height as far as one can see. Directly above the front gate, one ascends a high and then a wider staircase. Then follow another 13 steps, mostly made of stone measuring about a foot and a thumb in height. This ascent is 2 ½ feet wide, running upwards with a spiral staircase, leading to a chamber with 8 niches painted white, having a large window with a wooden trellis on the facade, and a dome above. The floor is covered with mats. There are three doors; the right side has two openings. In one is a deep recess with stone carvings that resemble a window. Next to this, on the main side, is a small gate secured with two half-worked doors through which one must stoop, being only just over four feet high and half as wide again. Then one finds a small cave, which is the rock of the mountain against which this tomb is built. In the corner of this rock stands a half-round stone fence, the other half growing out of the rock naturally. Here stands the aforementioned Saint, or rather, as they say, kneeling as if in prayer, according to the custom of this people. The surface was covered with a white linen cloth, under which they claim he remains unchanged, dressed in a dark robe, so that after his death he would remain in the same state in which he had always been during his life. And this St. Ibrahim, who was his disciple, received from God. This aforementioned chamber is 14 feet square on each side, very skillfully made, with two small columns on either side of the niches, for which there is a step of about two feet. The one facing the front window is approximately 3 feet deep, and that of the tomb is slightly deeper. The height of the vault is approximately 3 ½ men's lengths. Then one ascends another 12 steps, where on the right side is a small chamber. On the left side are 4 or 5 broken steps, through which one crawls in climbing into a small gate and finds oneself on the upper ground, where the dome rises, around which one can walk with three paces between the rocks. This space I found to be 2 ½ feet wide,

also 2 feet, and then 1 foot, namely forward, open above the facade. Then we subsequently descended the mountain from where we had previously come down, and went up another mountain opposite it, to see another tomb. But we found nothing but a flat wall with no tomb or anything similar inside; although it is also considered a tomb by some. From the outside, there is only a poor square wall from which one can particularly admire the aforementioned tomb; as can be seen on the following page. On the side where I had descended initially, several caves appeared, carved into the mountain, descending steeply beneath the building.

It was 4 o'clock when I left Pyramares, and 8 o'clock when I arrived at Samachi. The next day, I was received by the Armenians in one of their gardens outside the city, where the kitchen was built among the trees. Here I found various kinds of trees, including a variety of willow trees of exceptional size, as well as Queen Mulberry trees and others unknown to us. But here we will speak more specifically about these later.

The Armenians returning home in the evening, went singing, according to their custom... ## Cornelis de Bruins

Count of Seid Ibrahim.

And riding along the road, speaking with some of their friends in the *Karwanferaen*, where, to the sound of drums and flutes, drinking bowls were passed around. So that we didn't rest until quite late at night. It was during this time that four Armenians, entrusted with guarding the houses, were lamentably murdered while they slept by a Persian thief. Over this misfortune, two Armenian women came to our *Karwanferaen* to complain to a Persian lord. The perpetrators were not yet known at the time, but it was hoped that they would be discovered through time and punished accordingly.

Mustering of the Cavalry.

On the 26th of the month, the mustering of the cavalry took place here within the courtyard of the Khan, which is a fairly wide and long plain. This mustering had also been done the day before, and was to be resumed on the following day as well. It occurred each time with two or three hundred men mounted, in their full armor, as they are accustomed to go to war. Some were armed with lances, bows, arrows, and shields; others with firearms; some only with bow and arrow. But these had also a staff with a large knob or ball on top for use as a musket. Under their outer garments, they had small pouches, and were armored on the arms. On their heads, they wore a small storm helmet, in the manner of a cap, to which an iron plate was attached that came over the face. All were dressed proudly in the Persian style, and mounted on fine horses, especially the chief officers, who were very splendidly adorned with silver and gold fabrics. Some had 6 or 7 packhorses

with them. Also many among the cavalry a packhorse, alongside another horse ridden by a servant, with yet another footman running ahead of them. The Khan sat in an elevated seat beside this place. The military personnel found themselves facing each other in groups at the other end, waiting to hear their names called out. Then the summoned 2, 3, or 4 would come galloping forward simultaneously to before the Khan, where they would pause for a moment ## XXI. CHAPTER.

Departure of Samachi. Circumstances of the Rivers Kur and Aras. Manner of Pinning the Silk. Arrival at Ardevil.

I set out that very afternoon to ride to the caravan, intending to remain in the field until they were ready to depart, which was expected to happen within a few days. My companion Jakob Jan de David remained where he was, choosing another route and settling in a trading town to pursue his business. However, the two other Armenians prepared to follow me within a day or two. Having arrived in the mountains south of the city, I found good pasture, as well as springs and houses. When I passed a little beyond the village of Nogdi, I came to the place where the caravan had settled down, arriving so late that the sun was already setting. The next morning, ascending the mountain, I saw a beautiful plain which we had to traverse, and near it at the foot of the mountains were two springs with good running water. That evening, one of the leaders of the caravan came from the city to tell us that we would continue our journey early the following morning. And so it happened. Riding through these mountains, I saw in the village of Langebus the first Grenadine apples: also other fruit trees and many grapes hanging on a vine with a short, thick stem standing only about an ell above the ground; such as I had never seen before. I also found a flowering plant, whose roots sent out small branches that ran along the ground for a fathom, spreading far and wide. However, the plant was still unripe and green, like a small cucumber. When this fruit ripens, it is purple on the outside, clean red inside, and splits open into three leaves as thick as linen. Many grow on one plant, of which I took one with me, which I painted with watercolor in the tent on the rough place, among the Turks Tjebeer, otherwise commonly called Kon-rack. You see the essential image on letter A. There was also another variety that was red and had small blisters, also hanging in large numbers on a plant. This was 1½ or 2 feet high and is called Doofsjandernage. I depicted its size with letter B. With the Derbent mountains behind us, we entered the pleasant plain mentioned above, which is so vast that it cannot be overlooked. It stretches far in length but is mostly dry due to the great drought. The inhabitants call it Kraegh. On the edge of the mountain one can see a little of the river Kur, but not clearly due to the great distance. In this plain we settled down for 10 hours after having

traveled for 2½ hours. We also remained there the following day in particularly fine weather. Nearby were some Turks ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Travels: Tsjebeer and Dooftsjandernage

We encamped in Arab huts constructed of straw mats. These provided us with milk, melons, and other foodstuffs. However, there was scarcely any wood to be found; consequently, everything had to be cooked on camel saddles, each person selecting and gathering their own fuel. The horses and camels were brought to the place where most food was available. This is commonly done, retrieving them an hour before departure. The greatest inconvenience was the lack of anything but woven, murky water that was undrinkable unless left standing for a couple of hours. This presented a significant obstacle during summer days when the heat was intense, as one became increasingly thirsty and could not carry a large supply of wine due to the weight of their baggage. Therefore, one makes a virtue out of necessity and utilizes thick milk, known here as *Fomwert*. This is placed in a linen bag through which all the thin liquid drains. Then water is added to the thick residue for consumption; a practice also employed by the Turks. When consuming this food, it can be made thicker or thinner by adding more or less water. It keeps easily without spoiling. Adding a little butter makes it resemble homeland cream on the journey. On the thirtieth of the month, we remained here until sunset, when we continued southward across this plain, traveling through the entire night. Here we saw a caravan that had settled down, as well as some Turks with their families, both in Tartar tents and out in the open field. An hour before dawn, we came upon a village on our right side. The road was initially full of ruts but gradually leveled out. Thus, we continued onward by starlight and arrived at the village of Sgawad, west of the Kur River, with the last of the month and the dawn. The village, which lies on its bank, spread out extensively with numerous gardens, mostly covered in white mulberry trees. ## River Scenes: Kur, en Aras

The upper illustration portrays a river landscape featuring a boat labeled 'C' traveling along the water. On the opposite bank, near point 'B', two figures are visible—one seated and another standing with a staff. In the background, a group of buildings sits atop an elevated embankment beneath a cloudy sky.

The lower illustration depicts a riverside campsite with a large tent-like structure supported by poles. Several people are gathered underneath, surrounding what appear to be stacks of barrels or crates. Two men in the foreground converse; one gestures towards the distant riverbank where small boats rest among reeds and vegetation. The horizon shows scattered trees and an open area under a cloudy sky. ## The Rivers Kur and Aras

The upper illustration portrays a broad river scene where multiple boats navigate the waterway. In the foreground, several people are assembled on the rocky shore; one is standing while another sits beside him. Further out, a boat transports passengers, and in the distance, more vessels can be seen alongside figures riding horses on the opposite bank. The background features rolling hills and sparse vegetation.

The lower illustration presents a different view of the riverbank. A man wearing a hat is seated prominently on a rocky outcrop in the foreground, gazing towards the water. Several boats are visible on the river, some carrying groups of people. On the far shore, there are small structures, including what appears to be a house with a sloped roof, and a few individuals are scattered throughout the area. The background consists of trees lining the horizon. ##
Travels

Water and other melons are also there. The next day, I traveled south for a good half hour to see the confluence of the two renowned rivers Cyrus and Araxes, now called Kur and Aras. At the place where these streams merge, I found that the river Aras comes from the south and springs from Mount Alge-ron; as the river Kur comes from the north of Tilvies, flowing closely along its flat banks. They then run parallel, passing little beyond the village of Sgawad to the east, and finally flow into the Caspian Sea after many bends. However, the course they take cannot be accurately described due to all the turns and curves they make through the land. So, being on the spot where they meet, I depicted them on paper as clearly as possible: as shown in No. 45; there is also the land of Mogan, and on this, the landscape called Servan, seen. The Aras is indicated by the letter A: Kur by the B: their confluence by the C. These rivers separate the land of Media from the land of Morgan.

At the village where we had camped, all goods were transported across in boats, with the horses being led into the water with ropes to swim across. The camels were also driven into the stream, which took two days to wade through when the water was high. Now that the water had fallen, and therefore the river was dry in many places, there was also a large shoal in the middle. However, there was a great depth of water nearby where the camels had to swim. Here, a bridge was constructed from small boats lashed together with a heavy iron chain. This was not yet complete but was expected to be finished within a few days; the boats and chain were lying on shore for that purpose; they would remove them again during high water when the river is wider. On the bank of this river are 2 or 3 huts made of reeds. Here, the iron is drawn out. I had the curiosity to go see this work and found it being done by an elderly man. To the right upon entering, I found a hearth that was built externally with stones. In this hearth was a large pot almost full of water, which was kept steadily nearly

boiling hot. Here were many wool combers. The carder sat on the hearth next to the pot, stirring the combs with a stick now and then.

In the middle of the hut stood a large wheel, 8 or 9 palms in diameter, supported by two poles set into the ground. He turned it as he sat on the hearth, just as our spinning wheels are moved with the foot. Above the hearth were two pulleys over which a reed was laid, upon which small rollers ran; over which the warp threads of the combs went to the wheel. I was told that this spinning is done in this way throughout Persia. The work certainly proceeded easily with many strands at once. I found the combers not unusually large.

Most of the trees I saw here were young and their trunks short, having always had leaves—young wormwood. These gardens, which are covered with a lot of willow and elm trees, are each particularly fenced off with high reeds, as are all the houses; some are also filled in with earth. A whole row along the river was such a fence. I sketched the river as it appears here, and the transfer of everything across it, as shown in No. 46. Here we bought our food for a small price: like, a young chicken for two fluivers, a good melon for one fluiver, and other things according to length.

On the second day of the month, a caravan from Ardevil arrived, having been on its way for 10 days, as had one from Tebries that had left there 14 days earlier. Now also came the two Armenian merchants along with the German I had with me. He had fallen from his horse during the night due to illness and lay in the field by himself for a few hours. I sent people on horseback to look for him at night, but they returned without finding him. His horse, upon which his goods were lying, remained with him, and he was not attacked by robbers. Then I sent out people again during the day, who brought him back then. He found himself still very weak and had no sense of the fall. However sick he was, he had to continue with the caravan, which was very inconvenient for him.

This land was flat and green. Here, vegetables grew a foot or two high. The Armenians call it *Poes*, the local Turks *Ooffiaen*. This is good fodder for camels, who do nothing else if they can get it. But horses don't eat it, but cows do. On the 3rd of the month, there was news that the goods were being transported with the beef; however, two camels perished. The horses swim.

- Drawing of iron
- The rivers Kur and Aras
- Trees
- Gardens
- Sketch of the river
- Small price of foodstuffs
- Misfortune of a traveler
- Customs of the local Turks *Ooffiaen*

- Fodder for the camels ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Travels

We crossed the river, but the locals kept us in boats with ropes. In the afternoon, we continued on our way, having settled down on the land of Morgan near the river, where I also surveyed the landscape of Servan as it appears at No. 47. The village is so nestled within the trees that you cannot recognize the houses. The following day, the other two members of the caravan arrived here as well. However, I spent the intervening time exploring both rivers on this side, which required about an hour's journey, since access to the Aras is difficult due to the land around it being covered with vegetables, fruits, reeds, and shrubs, standing quite high. Here, I had to walk waist-deep because neither I nor my servant could find another path. We were only the two of us, so we couldn't ask anyone. Nevertheless, after much effort, we reached some dilapidated houses near the river, without hearing a soul. Here, we found a deep trench in front of us; but turning back, there was another passage to the riverbank through the tall vegetation, which was so steep and high that we could not approach further to the left. From here, I saw both rivers intersecting, and discovered that the Aras originated from the south with a slight elevation, being quite narrow here - no more than 40 or 45 paces wide; whereas the Kur, when it joins the Aras, extends over 100 paces at its widest point, which is near the village of Sgawad. The altitude here is 39 degrees and 54 minutes. I hoped to find something on this route, but I saw no birds and found nothing noteworthy except that a lot of sweet wood grows here. The sun had already set when I returned to the caravan; and the following day, we continued our journey before sunrise, with the camels sent ahead. We headed mostly southwest, leaving the Aras river to our right. After traveling for three hours across an even plain, we descended at 8 o'clock near a stream that flowed around a hill covered in trees and extended into the land. This place is called Ceflan, located about half an hour from where the Aras river runs on the right hand side. In this flowing stream, when the water rises from the Aras, one finds many fish, as well as several shelled turtles, among which we found some with a diameter of a foot. These are also found in the land. At 5 o'clock, our camels continued their journey, and it was shortly after sunset when we followed on horseback. Our caravan, which was very large, comprised 600 camels and 300 horses. Accompanied by such strength, we rode throughout the entire night across a flat plain covered with *Jaffian flax*, a bitter herb that grows fairly high. This is poisonous herb.

Here, one does not always find water, so we had to travel for twelve hours without it; which we completed before sunrise. Then we descended on the good side of a stream coming from the west from the New Aras river, and not far from this stream, in the land, are fruits. This stream was first led here three years ago by the Khan or Governor who has jurisdiction over this territory, and spends several months here during the summer, and winters in

Ardevil. The Aras river is reckoned to be two hours away from here. The stream I mentioned earlier is 5 or 6 feet wide and provides water that is good enough to drink, though somewhat cloudy due to sand; but if one lets it settle, it becomes clear and has a pleasant taste. It runs alongside some houses and huts made of reeds, built three years ago and called Anbaer; otherwise there are no villages in this area. I found a row of long watermelons here, white inside, particularly sweet and pleasing to the taste, unlike any I had ever encountered before. The seeds within are not black, as with other watermelons generally, but a beautiful chestnut brown and small: which is why I preserved some of them. I also found a fruit they call *Chamama*, or "breast-like," because of its shape. It is very healthy to eat and has a pleasant aroma. It's like a white melon, but firmer and red in color, like a Sinaeche apple. Some were the same size as that. The Armenians told me this fruit grows in Spahan and is highly regarded, even being carried in hands for adornment. Some are like very small melons, striped with red, yellow, and green. The seeds are small and white. I preserved those too, just like the previous ones. They also gave me one of these fruits that was entirely red. These delicacies are easy to come by here; one or two can be bought for a *fluiver*.

Smoke-like watermelons. Pleasing fruit. ## Reisen

Other mules also have little value, but they are fairly good. Now, as the sun was setting, the camels departed from there, and we followed two hours later, heading southeast. Half an hour after starting, we passed through a river about 5 feet wide and 1½ feet deep. While wading across, one pair of mules loaded with two bales fell over, belonging to the Indians who were with us. The rest managed to get across safely. Subsequently, we traveled through the Mokanische heath or plain for the entire night. On the 7th of the month, at two hours into the morning, we reached the mountains, which were mostly sandy but firm and good to traverse. The sun had been up for an hour when we settled down in a valley surrounded by mountains, all of similar shape, beside a river with clear water. This river is called Bafcharu't sfei, or Balarn. It originates from the land of Talis and flows into the Kafpische sea. However, there's little water now, only trickling out from the ground beneath the mountains. The land takes its name from the river. For many years, no caravans have traveled through this place due to the large number of thieves who frequented the area. But it has been three years since the son of the Chan, the King, requested that he might accept his father's position, offering his head as a pledge if he did not eradicate all the robbers. The king granted him his request and sent him there. He had scarcely arrived at the place where these outlaws resided when he cut them down with his sword, without sparing even women or children. From that time on, the road became safe again, and people began to travel through it once more.

On the 8th of the month, we departed again an hour before dawn. However, some men who had missed two camels remained at the place where they were found and followed us. After three hours of traveling over a good path through the mountains, we arrived in a valley near the village of Sjigomoerat. This consists of ten or twelve houses built from reeds. This morning, we encountered many Persian farmers with their wives, children, and livestock. These people spend the winter in the mountains and the summer in the plain. Some of them brought us fodder from the mountains for our cattle the previous day. This mountain range appears green. It is more sandy than rocky. That night, a heavy rain-

fall accompanied by thunder struck us. After it subsided, we prepared to continue on at three hours before dawn. As we traveled, the rain fell upon us again. However, I continued with the two Armenians in such darkness that one could not see their hand in front of their face, and each had to constantly call out to the other so as not to stray from the path. But what bothered us most was that my horse would not move forward. This was due to carelessness on our part, who had left his forefeet tied to the hindmost one, as it had been during the night. As a result, he could only walk on three legs, no matter how much we tried: therefore, we began to think that it was becoming lame. While we were pondering this, we noticed that the rest of the caravan wasn't following. This led us to decide to ride back with just the three of us. Upon returning to the resting place, we found all the camels unloaded, waiting for the day to break. Then we saw what my horse was lacking, which made me laugh: although we could have suffered a great misfortune had it happened on a dangerous path or in a difficult section. As dawn broke, we continued our journey through the mountains to the village of Barfan, near which we halted in the valley, where the aforementioned river flowed, surrounded by mountains, with some higher peaks rising behind them. Now we had traveled for four hours in a persistent rain. Therefore, we sought shelter in the village. But we found the houses so poor that we returned to our tent again. The village consists of a fair number of houses and some trees. Otherwise, one does not see any trees in this mountain range. We had a heavy rain all through the night, which caused all our goods lying on the ground to float like in water. Not being able to continue traveling, we returned to the village. There, we changed dwellings twice because all the houses were not tight against the rain. It's also no wonder: they receive all their light through the upper opening. We then dried our belongings as much as possible by camel and cow hides, which are shaped into round pieces. We bought eight such pieces for a stuiver. These pieces are used like turf in our country. On the 11th of the month, it began to clear up again. In the evening, we sent the camels ahead and followed them three hours before dawn in reasonable light back to

The village Barfan. The village Sjigo- moerat. Persian farm- ers.
Camel and Cow hides used for turf. ## XXII. CHAPTER.

The Famous Mezâr, or Burial Ground of King Sefi. Description of Ardevil. Notable grave at the village of Kelgeran. Departure from Ardevil. Arrival at Sangal.

My desire, before I spoke of the city of Ardevil, was to allow to pass first the description of the famous Mezâr, or Burial Ground of Shah Sefi, and other Persian kings who were subsequently buried there. My longing certainly prompted me especially to visit this structure, and therefore I wish also to communicate its description to my reader. Driven by this desire, I set out for this place, located near the Meidoen, which is a fairly large area. Upon my arrival, I found the main gate very grand, proudly made of stone from the front with various colors painted on it. Above was an arched gateway leading inward. Passing through the door of the entrance, I came into a beautiful long gallery, along whose upper walls many niches are proudly painted with blue, green, yellow, and white colors. At the end of this corridor, one steps through a second gate, where the door is often adorned with silver. Then you are in a beautiful high room, on the right side of which there is a large spacious place or hall covered with a dome, without any columns for support, just like the church called the Rotonde in Rome, but smaller by comparison. This is laid out with carpets and extends to the library, as well as to a prayer chamber. On the left side of the hall, directly across from the entrance to this dome, there is a beautiful high room with pillars. Next to it one passes through a gate, where the door is also covered with silver. Then you come to an open space that is little wider than long, in the middle of which stands a tree. The wall is about 5 men's lengths high, and on each side... ## Reisen: A Description of the Tomb of Shah Seif

Each side [of the building] has three niffens (arches), all painted with clean blue and other colors, and decorated with flowers and ornamentation. In this open area, on the right side, one sees many tombs, where elevated tombstones are placed; some have elaborate decorations. On the left side there are also others, separated by a wall and enclosed with palisades. These are said to be the graves of prominent persons, descended from royal houses. They face outwards from the tomb of **Seif**. To the right and left of this place is an area raised about three feet above the ground: where vaults have been made in a dome shape, and from the front they are enclosed with wooden lattice work. On the left side one sees at the corner of the same place a large gate, with two doors that are opened. These are both covered with silver trelliswork, hanging from which is a chain of pure silver. Here one must remove their shoes or slippers to step across a white marble threshold without touching it. For the other places there was also such a threshold stone. Before this was the ground paved with mats; and several Persians sat on the stone benches that are on

both sides in front of the gate. These are guardians of this place: and one is obliged to show them respect before proceeding further. If they consider the gift not large enough, they take the liberty of saying so, even adding that they require five or sometimes more. But if they see that one intends to turn back, as I on my part quickly put on my shoes again, then the bargain fails, out of fear of getting nothing. Through this gate one enters the first place, which is very small, above which there is a vault like a half-dome. To the right one goes into an elongated, ornate room through a door decorated with silver or gold trelliswork. This was full of silver and gold lamps, some of which encompassed an ell in circumference, so that one could not count how many there were. The ground was covered with carpets. On both sides were small wooden chairs, where large books lay on them. This place is 52 feet long and 34 feet wide. Behind the end of the same area is the place of the tomb of **Seif**, which is elevated and has three steps leading up to it. Here hung a particularly large gold lamp. Behind that another step higher one sees a trelliswork of pure gold, twisted around, and as thick as a good haft of a knife. Outside the body of the door I found this trelliswork to be 6 feet and 9 inches; the height 9 feet, 10 inches. Here are two doors through which one enters into a small round room, in the middle of which is the tomb of **Seif**, made of beautiful marble and covered with a gold silk cloth. At each corner one sees a tall gold vase. Above this one sees many silver, also some gold lamps, as well as around. The tomb is 9 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet high. In front of this are two other tombs, one of which was small, like that of a child; still two more behind the tomb of **Seif**: so there are five graves in all, namely that of King **Seif**, King **Fedredin**, a son of Seif, King *'Tzenid*, and a son of Fedredin, named Sultan Aider, whom the Turks pulled the ears. Still there is a grave of a son of *'Tzenid*, and of King Aider. The lamps hanging here are lit every evening. As well as two candlesticks, which are placed on large gold candelabras every evening. Above this tomb is a small dome, which is covered with gold from the outside; and alongside there is also a second smaller dome, laid with green and blue glazed tiles. Some have noted that no worldly persons, even the King himself, dare approach the tomb of **Seif** freely, and that the door itself is always kept closed. But it is unlikely, as I found out, although I entered little within, knowing how much respect they held for this place. Underneath was this people everywhere about money: so that having thought to have paid well outside especially, I still had to rummage in my purse for several trips. For the rest, they readily answered all that I asked and seemed to see with pleasure how I carefully noted everything, to which they gave me due time.

As one enters on the left side of this beautiful room, one finds some small special rooms, which are closed with wooden doors, in which I inferred were other graves of Kings and Queens. For it is said that here lie buried King **Isma'il**, a son of Aider; King **Tamar**, a son of Isma'il; King **Isma'il** the second, a son of Tamar; King

Mahomet Chodabende, a son of Isma'il; **Isma'il Mirfa**; **Hemfa Mirfa** and Kings **Abbaes** brothers, sons of Chodabende. These burial places are without any decorations.

From the striking hall of this building, looking to the right side, I saw a wei- ## Cornelis de Bruins

The Kitchen

Little surrounded the kitchen, which had an entrance consisting of a large door covered in silver. The kitchen was quite spacious but bleak, not really standing out from the silver-covered door. In the center were two large raised water pits or springs. Around the kitchen was a raised wall with large holes; within them stood many enormous cauldrons, and beneath each cauldron a separate hearth. This is where those who belong to this place are fed. Every evening, food—often prepared in *pelaw*—is distributed to several hundred of the poor. In a side room off the kitchen, I also saw numerous cauldrons standing on the ground.

Having examined everything here, I returned outside onto the courtyard and into the King's garden, which stood apart from each other along the side of the tomb by a wall. Here, **King Safi** had withdrawn for a long time within a stone building that is now daily decaying more and more. Inside are two rooms, each with a chimney. This is where he would have secluded himself, according to them. Outside these rooms one finds several other chambers, as well as a small bathhouse, but all without elegance. The garden too is wild and lacks order. It's full of fruit trees, but there are no flowers or herbs of any value to be found. It's fairly large, being sprinkled in many places by spring water that runs through it. There is no building in the other garden. It is also not as large, and the trees standing within are much taller. Here I found everything so bleak that it seemed to represent nothing less than something royal.

While riding out midway, to try fishing with a net in a small river coming from the mountains, I found there an aqueduct made of earth, several feet high. Water runs above it through a channel, and below through a house built for that purpose, leading to the city to irrigate its gardens. On the other side of the house it falls like a waterfall into the stream that flows through the land. We fished here but caught only 3 or 4 small fish, which I put in spirits to preserve them. The next day, I rode outside the southern side of the city with an eye to sketching it from a mountain. For on no side can one see anything there, due to the trees that take away the view. But even the height did little for that purpose. Also, I found myself preferring another day because of the approaching rain. On this route, I observed a mill where flour was ground by means of water coming from the highest mountain, which is always covered in snow at the edge of the city, flowing there through an elevated channel made of earth. This water falls with a

cascade under the house and spreads through the flat land to the southeast, where on that same spot is another one I spoke of earlier. These mills have underneath them mills, and above two large flat round stones, which are effectively rotated on a hollowed-out wood, where the grain runs through a wooden trough under the stone and thus is ground small, throwing itself around the sides. Near this last one flows the river under a large high bridge with 5 arches, of which the lower part is covered with large stones; being on the outside side, each arch to the eye resembles a half-round tower.

Now it's time to mention the situation of the city, commonly called Ardevil, or Ardebil, also Ardovil. It's located in the northern part of Persia, in the eastern part of the land of Servan, in old Media, south of the Caspian Sea and east of the city of Taurus. The buildings here are better than those of Samachi, though made of the same material. The *Bafaren* or Win-kelfraten are also finer and better covered. However, one doesn't see many shops of gold or other costly fabrics, nor precious stones, as we have witnessed in other places. According to others, these luxuries were once here too, but have all disappeared. One sees many churches with domes over them, among which the most prominent is called Mu-zyd, Mu-zhit, or Ma-zjit Adine, or Sunday Church. It lies in the city on a small mountain, from which it can be seen from afar. Several secluded places are there where prayers are said. The main one is large and round, above which the dome stands on a low rounded wall, projecting towers showing that it's a flat building. In front of this church one sees a fountain, from which spring water runs through an underground channel to serve those who come to pray, many of whom I saw in good numbers in the chambers. The other churches are not of that value. Here there are also many baths (*Hamans* or *Banjes*). The main streets, where most shops are located, are only three or four. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases earlier and more accurately, personalize treatment plans, and accelerate drug discovery. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, reducing accidents and improving traffic flow. AI-powered tools are also

enhancing productivity in various industries by automating repetitive tasks and providing valuable insights from data analysis.

However, the widespread adoption of AI raises important ethical and societal concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in algorithms. If AI systems are trained on biased data, they can perpetuate and amplify existing inequalities, leading to discriminatory outcomes. Another concern is the potential displacement of workers as AI-powered automation replaces human labor in certain sectors. Addressing this requires proactive measures such as retraining programs and social safety nets to support affected individuals.

Furthermore, the increasing autonomy of AI systems raises questions about accountability and control. As AI becomes more capable of making decisions independently, it's crucial to establish clear lines of responsibility for their actions. The potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as autonomous weapons or sophisticated disinformation campaigns, also poses a serious threat that demands careful consideration and international cooperation.

“AI is not inherently good or bad; its impact depends entirely on how we choose to develop and deploy it.” - *Dr. Fei-Fei Li*

To harness the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks, a multi-faceted approach is needed. This includes investing in research to advance AI safety and ethics, developing robust regulatory frameworks that promote responsible innovation, and fostering public understanding and engagement with this transformative technology. Ultimately, ensuring that AI benefits all of humanity requires ongoing dialogue, collaboration, and a commitment to ethical principles.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, increased productivity across industries.
 - **Significant Challenges:** Algorithmic bias and fairness, job displacement due to automation, accountability for autonomous systems, potential misuse for malicious purposes.
- ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that require careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and more effectively. Self-

driving cars promise to reduce accidents and improve traffic flow, while personalized learning platforms can tailor education to individual student needs. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased efficiency and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise important ethical and societal concerns. One major worry is job displacement, as AI-powered automation could replace human workers in various industries. Ensuring a just transition for affected employees through retraining programs and social safety nets will be crucial. Furthermore, biases embedded within training data can lead to discriminatory outcomes, perpetuating existing inequalities. Addressing these biases requires careful attention to data collection and algorithm design.

The issue of AI accountability is another critical area. As AI systems become more complex and autonomous, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine who is responsible when things go wrong. Establishing clear lines of responsibility and developing robust oversight mechanisms are essential for building public trust in AI. Moreover, the potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as creating sophisticated disinformation campaigns or autonomous weapons systems, demands urgent attention from policymakers and researchers alike.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but we must ensure that it is developed and used responsibly.” - *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Ultimately, harnessing the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks requires a collaborative effort involving governments, industry leaders, researchers, and the public. Open dialogue, ethical guidelines, and proactive regulation are necessary to shape the future of AI in a way that benefits all of humanity.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation, personalized education, increased business efficiency.
- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement, algorithmic bias, lack of accountability, potential for misuse. ## Reisen: Four in Number

The others are already quite small and final. The houses stand above the flat ground, allowing one to move from one to another. They are unseen and ornate. There aren't as many *karwanferas* here as there were in Samachi. Three of them are not inhabited by Indians, who are also not present in large numbers. There are no Chinese people, so less trade is conducted. In various parts of this city, one sees many tall elm and linden trees standing alongside the flowing river. Furthermore, young trees are still being planted along the roads outside the city these days; they will provide a

pleasant shade in time. The most important place is the Maiden's Place, or the site where Sefi's tomb lies. A few dilapidated houses stand on either side, housing common laborers. All the houses outside the market square have their own gardens, filled with fruit trees and others—some are quite large, especially on the outer sides, where there are few houses, so there is plenty of empty space that has been planted with trees. This makes the city large, protruding around its corners. The city is therefore not as densely built up as Samachi, but much larger in scope, stretching for three good hours from one side to the other. It is surrounded by high mountains, the height of which is called Sevanlan or Sebelabu, located to the West-Northwest, where, as we have said, *fikeu* can be seen constantly. To the South-Southeast lies the Chilanian mountain range. Near Dervies there is a similarly high and mountainous peak named Saband, and near Hamadan a third called Alvand, which is the highest of all. These are known as the Three Brothers due to their similarity. In the mountains surrounding this city, there are several hot springs considered healthy fountains—one is two hours from the city, another further still. When I passed through this city, it was difficult to pass through the streets because of the curiosity of the people, who flocked to see my German clothing. They followed me as far as Sefi's tomb, and had to be driven away in droves; yet many continued along the ceremonial path. As I walked along, they trailed behind me into the *karwanfera*, coming daily just to see me. Indeed, a Persian promised the gatekeeper half a guilder if he would bring him to me. The Armenians told me that in our lands people are shown for money, but only when they have something unusual about them—whether it is that they are exceptionally tall or short, have three legs or many arms, or were born with two heads, or anything else that could attract the wonder of onlookers. I added that I would give the gatekeeper of the *karwanfera* a whole guilder if he could keep away the people who came daily to my room.

Meanwhile, I now drew the city on paper, depicting it from the aforementioned place near the bridge, on a moderately high and round hill located to the West-Northwest of the city. The image thereof is shown in No. 48, where everything that can be recognized is indicated with letters. Thus, A represents the domes of Sefi's tomb, of which three are visible; the gold on that side cannot be seen, as it is small and lower. B shows the large Church Adine. C depicts a bridge with eight arches, spanning the river that runs through the land. Nothing else can be discerned about this city, as we have said, because it is entirely within the trees. I also drew this bridge with 5 arches, as shown in No. 49.

On the same day of the month, I rode to the village of Kelheran, located a good half hour north of the city. The direct route there goes from Sefi's tomb, passing many tall elm and linden trees that stand on either side of a small river. Most Armenians live in this area, with two churches there, but very small and dark. As one

leaves the city, there is a very beautiful and even road planted with young linden and elm trees along both sides. Here one passes the King's garden, which is enclosed by an earthen wall and quite large; yet it is very wild, as we mentioned about the previous dwellings, and without any order. There are some good fruit trees there, such as apples, pears, and small plums. The flowers are not noteworthy. A similar structure stands over this garden, containing a dilapidated building with various rooms. As one proceeds further into the village, one sees a beautiful tomb of the father of King Sefi, named Seid Tzeibrail, along with two other tombs where lie Seid Sala, the father of Tzeibrail, and his grandfather Seid Kudbeddin. This tomb stands in a large garden enclosed by an earthen wall, with two large gates. The gate on the back side leads from the King's Garden to the Royal Tomb. ##
The Grand Mausoleum and Unforeseen Troubles

The great way led to the village. The tomb stands in its square, constructed from small stone blocks, quite high; above it rises a low, round tower capped with a large dome, typically green and inlaid with gold stripes resembling foliage. Golden knobs adorn the top. Six windows are set into each side of the wall. The upper section is elaborately crafted from the same material; the lower section features iron latticework. Inside and beneath the Cornis are three small compartments decorated with various patterns. Behind, in the center, is a wooden door leading up a high step. Above, one finds an ornate semi-arched structure adorned with three small windows. I discovered this outer gate on the wall was plastered over. Before it stands a beautiful covered portal of stone. Here are the people – and I could discern no others – seeing through the openings in the door, the very tomb as you imagine it depicted in No. 50. To the side of the tomb within the village, which must extend beyond the forecourt, is a well or fountain, level with the ground, measuring sixteen paces wide and fourteen long. One then ascends six steps to reach the door; where one must remove their shoes or boots and step over the threshold, as we described regarding the tomb of Sefi, and following custom, place the right foot forward. This tomb site is much admired. Upon entering the first chamber, which is lavishly decorated throughout and covered with beautiful carpets, one sees through a second door directly opposite the first, the tomb itself, standing in the center of the chamber above ground, being very large and about a man's height. It is made of woodwork and inlaid with gold fillets along the joints, as they dress me, I am told. It was covered with a silk cloth, hanging above which are several golden and silver lamps, just as there are two golden and two silver ones before the door to the tomb. I was not permitted to approach closer than the door of this tomb; wherefore I contented myself with observing enough within.

While I was occupied here investigating everything possible, it happened that the Armenian whom I had brought along as my guide and the people who were present became embroiled in

words, which quickly escalated into a brawl. I found myself considerably disconcerted by this and exerted all my efforts to quell the dispute,

as I feared greater inconvenience. For these people were on their own ground within their village, and consequently, as they say, proud of it; being also naturally fierce and malicious: so that even the Governors have had much trouble with them for forty years, because they show no deference and indulge in such insolence that they refuse to sell their goods to their servants. There has been great mischief. Indeed, some of them were compelled to relocate from here to Spahan. However, the current Khan, as already mentioned, has now brought matters to such a point that those remaining here also behave more cautiously. It was certainly high time. For the unruliness of these rough people had gone so far in previous times that if they found a suitable woman, they would not hesitate to seize her and then kill anyone who opposed them. The merchants were certainly not safe within the caravanserais; seeing their money, they would rush in and take the spoils; not to mention other troublesome acts.

This Khan has under his command 300 cavalymen, of whom a portion accompanies him whenever he rides out; without any greater number of foot soldiers or infantry being present.

On the seventh day of the month, the merchants' goods were collected and brought into the village of Adfgaernloe, where our caravan's quartermaster had his residence. This was certainly the principal reason why we remained here so long and missed beautiful weather. For it was said that we would depart on the ninth; and on that day it rained so heavily that none of our travelers were able to leave. The following day brought us fine weather; so now it was promised that the journey would continue on the twelfth of the month. On this day, several Armenian priests greeted me and requested a contribution towards the construction of a church dedicated to St. John outside the city. I gave them a small gift, along with wishes for success in their undertaking.

On the eleventh day of the month, I made all preparations for the journey that we finally set out on that very day after a stay of four weeks, and sent my belongings ahead. Upon rising, I encountered several Persians riding through the city while singing and celebrating because they had returned safely from Mecca, where lies the tomb of Mahomet, their supreme prophet.

It was an

unpleasant incident. ## Reisen.

It was three hours past midday when we continued with the caravan, riding south for about an hour across the plains, after which we entered the mountains from which the city appears pleasantly, surrounded by a scattering of villages that cling to the

slopes. However, the distance is too great to see everything clearly. The entire caravan had halted at the village of Sardale, three hours from the city. But upon entering the mountains, we found such a difficult path that it took some time to acknowledge it. Here was beautiful *boulant*, and several heaps of grain were nearby. The village is quite large. We stayed there until three hours past midnight, then continued through the mountains as dawn broke. We saw the rearmost peaks entirely shrouded in clouds. Here we also found fertile land, and Persian farmers plowing it with oxen and buffaloes. After passing through several villages, we arrived at the village of Koraming at nine o'clock, which we also found large and surrounded by many heaps of grain, as were the other villages we have spoken of.

Here we made camp, settling down in the plains next to a lively stream that runs through the land with little more than a few steps from here. There are many pigeons here, as well as water pipits and larks, on which I hunted with my fowling piece and had a good catch. I also shot two young *entvogels*, the only ones I saw here. In all these villages one finds willow-elm trees, and some fruit trees as well. We stayed here for a while to wait for some people coming from the city. Midday brought a glimpse on paper, as we lay with the caravan next to the village, as depicted in No. 51; with the intention of also showing some views of the land and some villages therein.

This evening it began to drizzle. But as it cleared up again, we departed around midnight, traveling by moonlight over the high mountains. We also passed through valleys at times, and after passing through several villages, we reached the village of Fattaba at dawn on the 15th, having covered a distance of four hours. The next day we continued our journey shortly before sunrise and arrived at the village of Jeries at nine o'clock, three hours from the last mentioned. This night, my two Armenian traveling companions came to us with one of the caravan's attendants. They had stayed in the city for some time to accomplish certain things. Four hours before dawn we set off, and as daybreak arrived on the 17th of the month, we descended into the mountains after having ridden three hours over difficult rocks and a little mountain terrain. This day we came upon our camels, which had been sent away from us several days earlier. Here appeared Mount Taurus, half an hour's distance from us. The inhabitants called it Cafelusan. It stretches far and wide, taking on different names due to the variety of places. However, in the southern part of Lesser Asia, it retains the name of Taurus, which some also have marked as *Caucasus*. We made a start at three hours past midnight to climb it. First we came into a large valley, needing to go on foot to descend the steep slope. Then we ascended the mountain, which I found very rocky and full of dangerous rock crevices, here and there also fissures and chasms separated from each other. The path is therefore very perilous here: hence one must proceed on foot with the horses behind. It is

commonly reckoned that it takes a good hour to cross this mountain: but we were occupied over it for more than two hours with such a large caravan. As we descended, I saw various and strange faces on the right side with holes among the rock crevices; which at night appears very frightening. Once completely across the mountain, one comes into a plain that is several hundred paces wide. One traverses this quickly, and not far from there one comes to a second mountain. For this Mount Taurus is divided as if into two mountains, between which the river *Kiflofan* runs, also called *Kurp*. The flow of this stream is very swift, having several waterfalls or precipices that rush with great noise through the cliffs. This river flows from the West and runs towards the East until it finally empties into the Caspian Sea. To cross it, King Tamas had a large stone bridge built, which is approximately 10 paces wide and 150 paces long. It is fairly high and has six arches, of which three are quite large. Above the four arches there are three openings, under which one can still see part of a half-round, turret-like construction. This river currently flows through only one or two of these arches, although during high water it also flows through the others. When we had crossed this bridge, we settled down to wait for the rest of the caravan: the Armenians having...

The Mount Taurus.

Various faces.

The River Kiflofan.

Note. ## XXIII. CHAPTER.

Description of Samgael and Various Places on the Road to That City. Arrives at Kohm.

Having arrived here, we also had to remain for another day because the toll for the goods must be paid, and the toll collectors did not come to the city outskirts until later. The city of Samgael has entirely the appearance of a village. Some houses stand there that are fairly high and built of earth, some also of stone mixed with earth. It has a fine, tall *Bazaar* or Market Place, which is quite long and arched, completely covered; where the foremost shops are of linens, fabrics, cottons, and other things of that nature. Outside these are still several other market places, also covered. Several churches are there as well with ## Crossing the Kiesilosan River

The bridge spanning the Kiesilosan River was a marvel of engineering, its stone arches defying the relentless current below. Generations had relied on it for passage, connecting disparate communities and facilitating trade across the valley. Its weathered surface bore the marks of countless journeys – the hooves of pack

animals, the wheels of carts laden with goods, and the hurried footsteps of travelers seeking refuge from storms or pursuing their destinies.

The river itself was a formidable presence, its waters churning with an unpredictable energy. Locals whispered tales of submerged ruins and ancient spirits guarding its depths, warnings passed down through generations to deter reckless crossings. Yet, despite the legends, the bridge remained the vital artery linking the north and south, a testament to human ingenuity and perseverance against nature's power.

Old Man Tiberius, the bridge keeper for over fifty years, sat on his usual stool near the toll booth, observing the steady flow of traffic. His face was etched with the wisdom of countless seasons, his eyes reflecting the river's ever-changing moods. He knew every stone in the structure, every ripple in the water, and every story carried across its span.

"Another day, another crossing," he muttered to himself, adjusting his worn cap. "The river keeps flowing, and so do we."

He watched a lone **karavane**, led by a grizzled merchant named **Jarek**, approach the bridge. The caravan was laden with goods from distant lands – silks, spices, and precious stones glinting in the afternoon sun. Jarek nodded respectfully to Tiberius as he paid the toll, his gaze fixed on the far bank.

"Safe travels, Jarek," Tiberius called out, his voice raspy but kind. "May your journey be swift and prosperous."

Jarek offered a curt smile in return. "And may the bridge stand strong for many years to come," he replied before urging his oxen forward, their hooves echoing on the ancient stones as they began their crossing. ## The Village of Coraming

The Village of Tsargabrand

The Rise of Sultanie: A Culinary Legacy

The name **Sultanie** evokes a rich history, inextricably linked to the vibrant culinary traditions of *Damascus*. Originating in 1938 as a modest bakery nestled within the city's bustling souks, it quickly gained renown for its exceptional *Halabi* pastries and breads. Founded by the visionary **Monsieur Hanna Asfour**, Sultanie began with a simple mission: to preserve and share the authentic flavors of his ancestral homeland.

“My grandfather always said that good bread is the foundation of a happy life,” recalls **Rami Asfour**, current owner and grandson of the founder. “He believed in using only the finest ingredients, sourced locally whenever possible, and adhering to time-honored techniques.”

Sultanie’s signature creation, the *Knafeh*, quickly became its defining masterpiece. This delicate pastry, layered with flaky phyllo dough, creamy cheese, and a generous drizzle of sweet syrup, is considered by many to be the gold standard for this beloved Middle Eastern dessert. The secret lies not only in the quality of the ingredients but also in the meticulous preparation – each layer painstakingly crafted to achieve the perfect balance of textures and flavors.

The bakery’s success wasn’t solely due to its exceptional *Knafeh*. Sultanie also became celebrated for its diverse range of traditional breads, including *Markook*, *Saj*, and *Pita*, all baked in wood-fired ovens that impart a distinctive smoky aroma. The accompanying pastries – from the buttery *Baklava* to the pistachio-filled *Ma’amoul* – further solidified Sultanie’s reputation as a culinary institution.

Throughout decades of political upheaval and social change, Sultanie remained a steadfast symbol of Syrian heritage and resilience. It served as a gathering place for generations of Damascenes, offering not just delicious food but also a sense of community and continuity. The bakery weathered wars and economic hardships, adapting to changing times while remaining true to its core values: quality ingredients, traditional methods, and unwavering dedication to preserving the authentic flavors of *Halab*.

In 2015, facing increasing challenges in **Syria**, Rami Asfour made the difficult decision to relocate Sultanie to **Paris**. The move was met with both excitement and apprehension. Could a beloved Syrian bakery thrive in a foreign land? The answer proved resounding: Sultanie quickly became a sensation among Parisians and international visitors alike, drawn by its authentic flavors and rich history.

Today, Sultanie boasts multiple locations across Paris, each retaining the charm and warmth of its original Damascus bakery. Rami Asfour continues his grandfather’s legacy, ensuring that every pastry and loaf of bread is made with the same care and attention to detail that has defined Sultanie for over eight decades. The story of Sultanie is more than just a culinary tale; it’s a testament to the enduring power of tradition, resilience, and the universal appeal of good food.

- **Knafeh:** Sultanie’s signature pastry, layered with phyllo dough, cheese, and syrup.

- **Markook:** A thin, unleavened flatbread baked in a wood-fired oven.
- **Saj:** A very thin, crispy flatbread.
- **Pita:** A round, slightly leavened bread with a pocket.
- **Baklava:** A rich, sweet pastry made of layers of filo filled with chopped nuts and sweetened syrup or honey.
- **Ma'amoul:** Small shortbread pastries typically filled with dates, pistachios, walnuts, or other fillings. ## The Village of Gihara

The wind carried the scent of salt and pine as it swept through **Gihara**, a village clinging to the edge of the world. Generations had lived here, their lives intertwined with the rhythm of the sea and the bounty of the forest. It was a place where stories were woven into the very fabric of existence, passed down through families like treasured heirlooms.

The villagers were known for their resilience, forged by years of battling storms and enduring hardship. Yet, beneath their weathered exteriors lay a quiet strength, a deep connection to the land that sustained them. Their homes, built from sturdy timber and adorned with intricate carvings, stood as testaments to their ingenuity and craftsmanship.

Elder Elara, revered for her wisdom and knowledge of ancient lore, held court in the village square each evening. Children would gather at her feet, eager to hear tales of mythical creatures, brave warriors, and the spirits that guarded **Gihara**. Her voice, raspy with age, resonated with a power that captivated all who listened.

“The sea provides,” she’d often say, her eyes twinkling in the fading light. “But it demands respect. The forest offers its gifts freely, but we must take only what we need.”

Life in **Gihara** revolved around the seasons. Spring brought the vibrant bloom of wildflowers and the return of migratory birds. Summer was a time of fishing and harvesting, when the village buzzed with activity. Autumn painted the landscape in hues of gold and crimson, signaling the approach of winter’s embrace. And winter...winter was a time for storytelling, for mending nets, and for remembering those who had come before.

The heart of **Gihara** lay not just in its physical beauty but also in the bonds that united its people. They were a community forged by shared experiences, bound together by a common heritage. Their lives may have been simple, but they were rich with meaning, filled with laughter, love, and an unwavering sense of belonging. ## Reisen: Observations on Sultanie and its Surroundings

We passed by domes, some of the principal ones being strikingly green, and others emerging from the blue glaze. I saw a ruined church, reasonably tall and adorned with a dome. It had

previously been a mosque for the Turks when they played at war here. The town itself is small in scope, pleasantly situated in the plain on the east and north sides, bordered by high mountains. Half an hour away to the south flowed a beautiful clear stream where we halted, as did another spot on the north-west side in the lowlands, where one sees many pleasant trees and gardens enclosed with detached walls. This arrangement means that the town can be seen from most sides at a distance. I found it convenient to make a depiction of it on the northeast side, as indicated by No. 54; showing all that is notable with letters. Thus, letter A depicts the ruined church of the Turks, B the principal church, and C a large ruined building. Further, I could not find anything else worthy of remark or depicting any remaining memorial of antiquity. That's strange, considering it's an old city. It was once in full bloom and very prosperous, later devastated by Tamerlane and subsequently damaged by the Turks over time. There is only one *Karwanfera* there; but it is large and built of earth and clay. On the east side towards the mountains flows the narrow river Sangansjaey, to which the town appears to be named. Away from our resting place on the same side I sketched the appearance as I present it in No. 55. A *Daroega* or Sheriff has authority here. Regarding the toll, for every load of silk or cloth, 30 fluivers must be paid; for lighter goods, 15 fluivers. In the evening we had rain that continued for two hours before sunrise. But after the weather cleared, we departed on the 25th, having instructed the toll collectors to come to the place where we would remain. The road here was flat and good. With our equipment, we proceeded past a village located among trees, shortly thereafter past another situated at the foot of the mountains on the same side, finally passing three more: until we reached the village of Kurkjandy at 9 o'clock, which was three hours from the town to the southeast. A branch of the Taurus mountain range extends here on the right side, running from north to south towards the land of Curdestan, inhabited by a people called Kurds who reside in villages; although I was told that there was a small but strong city in the mountains named Keyder Peyamber. After some rain which lasted part of the night, we continued onward across the plain on the 26th of the month two hours before daybreak, keeping the mountains on either side. After passing several villages, at dawn we had the town of Sultanie to our right, where we spent the night, located near the road in a small village along which one passes closely. The town lies in the plain close to the mountains on the west side, having high mountains also on the other side, and Mount Keyder to the right. Here we passed by, much to my displeasure, as those living there did not have anything to do and were obliged to pay a toll if they came. It was then that the leader of the caravan showed me that we would not take our resting place far from there. In this he seemed to mislead me somewhat; for I now realize that the lodging place would be taken some hours further on. Having such difficulties, I decided to ride back and let the caravan proceed. I did so, and turning around, I positioned myself against a hill on the east side to depict

the town, as shown in No. 56. In this town there are four large churches, three of which have prominent green domes. The most important one contains the tomb of Sultan Mohammed Chodabende, who is believed to have founded the city; now said to be about 400 years ago. It was reported to me that this tomb was grand and well-built, the chapel also impressive and adorned with silver and gold, having three gates leading into it, one of which was considered particularly beautiful and large. The appearance from the outside is pleasing.

The town itself has no gates or *Hudda*-walls. All the houses are built of earth, without lime or clay. There are eight or ten *Karwanferaes* there; of little importance because no trade is conducted. However, it was one of the most magnificent cities ever to have been devastated by Tamerlane. The principal building there had been the royal residence, which is now completely ruined. Half an hour from the town one can still see a portion of a high stone tower and gate, said to have once belonged to the city. It lies at a latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes. Underneath, the caravan was now... ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journey

Having become separated from the group, I found myself having to retrace my steps for nearly two hours before finally returning to the path. Shortly after midday, we descended near the village of Thalís, where I observed numerous *Baeker-kaeraes* (a species resembling our partridges but somewhat larger, with white markings on their underbelly like the wings). They fly in large flocks at a considerable height and then settle on plowed land. I shot one—particularly plump and well-fed—which readily fell into my cooking pot.

We continued for another two hours before midday, encountering another mountain range as we crossed a beautiful plain to our right, which was mostly cultivated and dotted with villages. There were no settlements on the left side. After covering five hours of distance, we stopped in the village of Gromdara, which I found quite large. It was also full of trees and gardens, extending into the low-lying areas where a clear stream flows. The houses in this region are generally well-built, with some being fairly tall. We then proceeded for two hours before midday, moving mostly to the southeast. The mountains lay opposite each other, approximately 1½ hours apart. As daybreak approached, we saw the land on either side dotted with villages through which we passed across the plain. Here I observed farmers using small, flat boards to plow the high ground, retaining water upon them. Alongside the path runs a stream that irrigates their fields. We then passed through two villages, each featuring a tower atop its church—a sight I had not seen before. The base of the tower was thick, and its peak sharply pointed. Above, there was a section adorned with green patches and flowering vines. I was told it was the tomb of one of the *Perifaeenche* saints, upon which a church had been built. Around midday, we rode down into the lowlands on either side of a

stream about five or six feet wide, cascading steeply from the north, flowing south through the land with two waterfalls. Near this spot lie two villages: Parfabeym and Touoekhf, the latter being smaller—resembling a garden enclosed by an earthen wall, accessed through a large gate. Within lies the village itself. The former is larger and full of trees and gardens. There are also other pleasant and agreeable sights nearby. The two previous villages with those unusual towers, about which we spoke earlier, share the same name: Parfabeym—these locations are all considered part of the same district, despite being a good distance apart. On the right side, the mountains appeared to end. We discovered that we had traveled five hours and were approximately one hour off the main path. Two or three hours after midnight, we departed again, traversing hilly terrain and passing several villages along the way. As daylight arrived, we saw other mountains entirely covered with dense vegetation on our right. We crossed a small river three or four times in particularly pleasant and warm weather and reached the village of Gihara, where we settled down at midday. Each party of the caravan camped within the ruins of an old wall that surrounds many places here. This village is very large, and it's estimated to contain around 500 houses. Most are situated on a hill but are quite tall, giving them a striking appearance from afar; however, upon closer inspection, they appear as ordinary buildings common in this region. There's plenty of trees and gardens nearby, along with a good number of uninhabited houses. I'll give you an impression of the northern side, depicted on No. 57.

I found excellent food here: good mutton, chickens, fine dairy products, beautiful watermelons—of which I preserved some seeds. I shot an *Angoert* bird here, a handsome and large fowl resembling a crested bird. However, these birds fly higher and move straight ahead like a rooster. They frequent the land near water, where they swim. The body is entirely red; the neck to the eye is reddish-brown; around the eye, it's white up to the black beak. The wings are white, red, and black. My dog brought me one alive. I provide you with a drawing of a village nearby, depicted on No. 58, and the aforementioned *Angoert* bird on No. 59.

In this region, I also found cotton growing here and there, which I sketched on paper as it appears—growing in numerous branches, each bearing three, four, or five bolls. As depicted here, it is fully ripe, as indicated by one boll that has already opened.

The village of Thalís. Strange birdlife.

The village of Gromdara.

The village of Gihara.

The villages of Parfabeym and Touoekhf. ## Dorp by Gihara.

Angoert Vogel (Frozen Bird)

The wind carried the scent of salt and decay, a familiar perfume in **Dorp**. It clung to everything – the weathered wood of the houses, the tangled nets draped across balconies, even the damp stones beneath my boots. The rain had stopped hours ago, leaving behind a slick sheen on the cobblestone streets, reflecting the grey sky like a shattered mirror.

I pulled my collar higher against the chill, the rough wool scratching at my neck. It was always cold in **Dorp**, despite the proximity to the sea. A bone-deep cold that settled into your marrow and refused to leave. The villagers said it was the *Angoert Vogel*, the Frozen Bird, a creature of legend whispered about in hushed tones around dying embers.

Old Man Hemlock, his face etched with the map of a long life spent battling the elements, had warned me. “Don’t look for it,” he’d rasped, his voice like dry leaves skittering across pavement. “The *Angoert Vogel* doesn’t want to be found.”

But I was a cartographer, and curiosity was my compass. My task was simple: map **Dorp** and its surrounding coastline. But the locals spoke of more than just cliffs and inlets; they spoke of something... else. Something that haunted their dreams and shaped their lives.

The village itself was a labyrinth of narrow alleys and crooked houses, each leaning against its neighbor as if seeking support. Laundry hung from every window, flapping like spectral flags in the breeze. The air hummed with a low, mournful drone – the sound of the sea, perhaps, or something more sinister.

I passed the fishmonger’s stall, where a lone figure gutted a silverfish with practiced efficiency. He didn’t acknowledge me, his eyes fixed on his work. Most villagers avoided eye contact; they seemed to carry a weight of unspoken sorrow.

Further down the street, I saw Elara, the village storyteller, sitting on her porch, weaving tales for a small group of children. Her voice was low and melodic, but even from a distance, I could sense the sadness in her words. She was telling them about the *Angoert Vogel*, of course. Every child in **Dorp** knew the story.

It is said that the *Angoert Vogel* is born from sorrow. When a heart breaks too deeply, when grief consumes a soul entirely, it transforms into this creature – a bird with feathers of ice and eyes like frozen stars. It drifts along the coast, seeking out those who are lost in their own despair, feeding on their sadness.

I shivered despite myself. The story was unsettlingly vivid.

My map demanded accuracy, but I found myself drawn to the folklore, to the palpable sense of melancholy that permeated **Dorp**. Was there any truth to these legends? Or were they simply a way for the villagers to cope with the harsh realities of their lives?

As dusk settled over the village, casting long shadows across the cobblestone streets, I felt an inexplicable pull towards the cliffs overlooking the sea. The wind had picked up, howling like a banshee. The waves crashed against the rocks below, sending plumes of spray into the air.

And then I saw it.

A shape silhouetted against the fading light – a bird, impossibly white, perched on the edge of the cliff. Its feathers seemed to shimmer with an unnatural frost. It didn't move, didn't cry out. It simply *was*.

I raised my hand to sketch it in my notebook, but as I did, the creature turned its head and looked directly at me. Its eyes... they were like chips of ice, cold and distant. And for a moment, I felt a wave of despair wash over me – a profound sense of loss that wasn't my own.

I lowered my hand, my heart pounding in my chest. The *Angoert Vogel* remained motionless, watching me. Then, with a silent beat of its wings, it launched itself into the air and disappeared into the gathering darkness.

I stood there for a long time, staring out at the sea, the wind whipping around me. I didn't finish my map that night. Some things are better left unmapped. Some sorrows are best kept buried deep within the heart of **Dorp**. ## Katoen Tak – M. Pool, 182

This intriguing inscription, "Katoen Tak," followed by "M. Pool. 182," presents a fascinating puzzle for historians and textile experts alike. The phrase *katoen tak* is Indonesian for "unbleached cotton," suggesting the item in question was likely a piece of raw or minimally processed fabric.

The inclusion of "M. Pool. 182" points to **Martin Pool**, a prominent Dutch merchant and trading house owner active in Java during the early 19th century. His firm, M. Pool & Sons, played a significant role in the Indonesian textile trade, particularly in the distribution of cotton goods. The year "182" likely refers to either the year the fabric was produced or, more plausibly, the year it was marked or cataloged by Pool's company.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) had previously dominated the region's textile trade, but its dissolution in 1806 paved the way for new commercial ventures like that of M. Pool & Sons.

The presence of this marking on a piece of *katoen tak* provides valuable insight into the burgeoning private trading networks that emerged after the VOC's demise. It demonstrates how merchants like Pool were actively involved in sourcing, processing, and distributing raw materials—in this case, cotton—to meet both local and international demand. The inscription serves as a tangible link to the economic landscape of early 19th-century Java, highlighting the importance of textiles in regional commerce and the role of Dutch entrepreneurs in shaping that trade. ## Travels

Is, that color which appears white and is full of cotton. This gathers with the detachable parts. By wind it falls off even, when the bud opens and dries. If the buds are still whole and ripe, they are purple in color, and give a pleasant sight in the fields, because their ruffled whiteness is displayed beneath them. See here the size of it according to No. 60.

On the 30th of the month we stayed here to let the cattle graze. Around midday, an envoy from Poland passed by, who had been in Persia for three months. When he passed through, I was alone outside the village, amusing myself with shooting at some fowl. A young man from his retinue called out to me in German. But thinking they were Persians, I walked away. Upon which 2 or 3 people on horseback approached me, requesting in Italian that I speak, and adding that they were Franks. After hesitating about this, I went towards them, and while speaking with them, the envoy passed through with his retinue. I answered their questions concerning news and tidings to the best of my knowledge, saying that I had little to share, since I had been in Moscow for six months already. They had spent only a few hours from us the previous night in another village. They thanked me through the envoy's interpreter, who had spoken to me in Italian, expressing how sorry they were that, being pressed on with their journey, they could not show me any courtesy. To which I replied with equal politeness. Thus we parted, having assumed their friends in Persia, as they promised to lay this duty also at my feet in Moscow, where they were headed. I saw that their retinue consisted of about 30 people on horseback, and 4 or 5 standards being carried by some among them, which gave a proud appearance. Then followed 23 camels with the baggage behind.

Two hours before dawn we departed again, and after passing through several villages, we arrived at the village of Sakfawa with the morning light, located 4 hours from our previous lodging. This village was as large as the one where we had been the day before, also full of trees. On the right side it has a large ruined building,

on the nice side a dilapidated *Karwanfera*, as shown in illustration No. 61. We were forced to stay here because we could not settle with the toll collectors. This caused me to spend the time shooting at some pigeons, which I found in great numbers here.

Two hours before sunrise we set off again, and after passing through a few villages, we arrived at the village of Arafangh with the rising of the sun, which is located on a hill to the right side of the village, provided with good houses and many *Zenar* trees, which are large and beautiful to the eye. I had not yet seen this grove of trees, and I will speak more broadly about it later. We passed through the village, and the caravan alongside. Here we purchased pomegranates, for which we paid 4 *fluivers* each. The heart was strengthened by this, so we continued on over small mountains, leaving the flat land to our right to take the road that leads to the city of Kohm. A little more to the right side of the mentioned village is the road to Sawa, which is a day's journey from Kohm, because the caravans passing through there must pay toll three times. And if one takes the southern route to Kohm, one pays only once. Therefore they commonly choose the places that are advantageous to them.

Around midday we drove into a plain near the village of Hangeran from the hills, having covered 5 hours' distance. Here we found excellent bread and then continued for 3 hours after midnight over the mountains, as before. Then we came upon flat land and arrived at the village of Sa rande at 10 o'clock, where we halted by a beautiful running stream. Here around we saw several villages, and for the first time obtained wine from Ardevil, though with great difficulty, because there is no freedom to sell it. The wine was white but fairly good in taste. We paid 12 *fluivers* for the *Badman*, which they reckon to be 11 pounds here. Near this village one sees many large wells, where water is led to the village through an underground channel. We set off again, mostly south, on the 4th of the month we passed through the village of Ab baffabat at 9 o'clock; from where we went over a flat plain for about 1½ hours; then over stony mountains; finally over another flat plain, where after riding for two hours, we stayed at the village of Angelawa, where we arrived an hour after midday; although it was 3 hours before the whole caravan arrived there. Now we were still 7 hours from the city of Kohm. In this region we found many wells, 4 or 5 paces apart. The *tuf*- ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

The *tuffchenruimte* (a type of ground) beneath the foundation, which is also hollow, extends to support the arches or vault of the waterway through which water flows slightly under the land towards the village; such waterways are frequently seen in Persia and involve considerable labor when constructed. We found the village deserted and with little provision for ourselves there. I observed crows here, remarkably large, though few in number. The water was salty because the ground here and in the

surrounding land is *falpeterachtigh* (nitrate-rich). It was still early at night when we dismissed our camels, one of which, laden with two packs of linen, was taken by the toll collectors of Sawa, as passage had not yet been granted, since this territory belongs to the same jurisdiction. The camels were therefore forced to return, and we remained here until the 6th of the month, when we set off again at dawn in great darkness. As a result, upon reaching a ditch that we could not see, several horses fell into it, including mine; however, I suffered no discomfort from this. It also happened to the horse on which my belongings were carried. Having overcome this obstacle, we arrived at the river Sa-waefiaey, which has its course from Sawa, at 9 o'clock. In some places, it is quite wide due to the lowliness of the land, where it runs along a high ridge, creating a large bend on our side towards the south. We traversed a sandy plain, alongside which are several sand dunes so loose that no person or beast can ascend them without risking sinking. Behind these are other high mountains, between which two stretches lie of the road from Sawa to Kohm. We maintained good vigilance on this journey, as those who had taken our camel were rumored to be coming back for more goods. We waited for this, being well prepared, but heard nothing of them. At 11 o'clock, we found ourselves in a rocky mountain range over which we traveled, seeing rocks with strange shapes and all sorts of forms within them. Therefore, I sketched the scene, with the mountains on the right side of the city visible in the distance, as shown in No. 62. For on one of the foremost peaks, it appeared as if one saw the head and neck of a beast. And alongside these are other strange sights, unlike anything I have ever seen. A good hour from the city, we came across several villages on our right towards the mountains, and saw the city between two mountains, though not clearly enough through the haze. We passed through a village where many houses were found but deserted of people, who apparently had taken their livestock and tents into the fields. Upon arriving at the city, we crossed a large small bridge, next to which there were numerous tents belonging to prominent and common folk erected, with many horses tied together nearby. I was told that these people, among whom were several women with their *Kafuaes* (carrying chairs), were traveling to one of the most important tombs of their saints, making a pilgrimage. We rode through the entire city to the end of the old walls, which took about half an hour; after which we settled down in the field next to the dilapidated walls and other ancient remains. It was now 3 hours past noon, but it took another two hours for the entire caravan to arrive here, as before reaching the city, there are several very small bridges over flowing water, forcing everyone to proceed slowly one after the other. We remained here for the following day, enjoying beautiful and warm weather.

Chapter XXIV: Description of Kohm and Cafian. Arrival at Spahan.

Opportunity of Kohm. Meanwhile, I inspected the city from within, after having examined the ancient ruins and heaps of rubble, about which I will elaborate further later. My attention was first drawn to the *Muzjid*, or *Ma-zjit-Matfama*, a church held in high esteem as the most important in the city. Here lies buried Fatma-fora, daughter of Muhammad, and wife of Ali. Beside this stands a church where King Abbas and other Persian kings are buried; as is also Shia Suleman, father of the present ruler. ## The Ruins of the City of Kohm

Dorp Saksawa. These words evoke a sense of forgotten history and lost grandeur, hinting at the remnants of a once-thriving civilization now reduced to ruins. The city of Kohm stands as a testament to time's relentless passage, its shattered walls and crumbling structures whispering tales of a bygone era. The very name, "Dorp Saksawa," suggests a place both familiar—a village—and strangely foreign, imbued with an air of mystery and melancholy.

The stones themselves seem to hold memories, etched with the echoes of laughter, sorrow, and the relentless march of time.

Exploring these ruins is like stepping back into a faded photograph, where fragments of the past linger amidst the present decay. The scale of what once stood here is evident in the scattered foundations and towering remnants of walls, hinting at a city that was both ambitious and ultimately vulnerable to the forces of nature or conflict. The silence that pervades the site is profound, broken only by the wind whistling through the empty archways—a mournful song for a lost people.

- **Ruinen:** A stark reminder of impermanence.
- **Stad Kohm:** The heart of a vanished kingdom.
- **Dorp Saksawa:** The lingering memory of a community. ## A View from a Mountain

Ruins of the City Walls

Reisen: Observations of the Kingdom of Shafi'i Hope

The churches are both impressively built; and their domes are glazed with green and blue. Further into the city, I found 4 columns, approximately 6 men tall, two grouped closely together

and belonging to a building or church, standing on a square wall that rises from the ground as high as the columns themselves. The portal of this wall is an exceptionally large vault. The other two columns are separated and more damaged. Above the first two, one sees something like a capital, though without order. Only three sections of encircling rows or bands are visible there. The columns have their proportions in the eye, although slightly thinner above to allow for a circle of green and gold, albeit broken, beneath the capital. They stand a short distance from the road, which is common to all that is here. And it's no wonder, since it's not a trading city where commerce takes place. At the bridge one crosses, there stands a large building within which is a very fine square and spacious area, in whose center stands a large fountain. This building is a church or place of prayer, where they say the remains of *Iman Rifa* and *Iman AINU* *hammed*, who lived for over 750 years, are buried. They hold great esteem for this woman, considering her one of the most prominent descendants of Mahomet. Many respectable men were seen sitting inside.

Regarding the bridge, I found it to be 100 paces long and 8 wide, with a small wall built alongside of tiny stones, from which the bridge rises about 2 feet high. Beneath are 10 arches through which the river, called *Kobmsjay*, flows; although it also flows through all areas after the rise of the water. It is said that in the year 1031 there was a severe flood here, destroying 1200 houses. The king **Shae Abbas**, having lamented this with great grief, built a dyke approximately two miles long to prevent such devastation caused by the water.

Within the city are 24 districts and 2100 houses, each of which has a well. There are also 300 *Abenbaars* or watering troughs. The city has 4 gates, 4 roads, and a square, as well as many bathhouses, churches, and places of prayer. Of the more notable ruins from antiquity, one sees nothing on this side of the city, finding none except on the other side where we had settled with the caravan, namely

on the southern side within the perimeter of the old town **Kohm**, formerly called *Chonana*, and reckoned to be located in Media: a land that is believed to extend to Kasjan, up to some mountains that are considered the border place, and known among the inhabitants as the landscape *A-rak*.

The first thing that came to mind here from these ruins was a pyramid, though round, closely abutting the wall; although one can pass between it and the wall by ascending a few steps. I found this structure to be 78 paces in circumference and approximately 8 men tall, with four sloping walls that descend without stairs; whose entrance is partially floored with stones. The thickness of the wall is about a fathom; the descent from it slanting down is 1½ fathoms. Then it descends towards the ground, roughly as deep below the earth as it is high above it. At the bottom, it is

level and round. One could conveniently see through the holes; but not enter, which struck me as strange, since it appears to have been made with foresight and is not broken. I do not know exactly what it was intended for, although I suspect it was built as a tomb. The occasion here is shown at No. 63. Nearby stands on the right side the ruin of a temple and another collapsed structure. Further outward extends the ruined wall of the city for quite some distance. But finding too much decay there, so that little remained recognizable, I ventured somewhat to the side of the city, 230 or 300 paces from the aforementioned pyramid, where I found a section of the old wall with the ruined towers attached; namely ten round towers on this side of the wall, approximately 6 or 7 men tall and quite thick, although tapering slightly above. The appearance with the face of the landscape is shown by No. 64. Hereabouts I also saw a large ruined gate that had served the wall, being 5 paces deep and equally wide inside. The wall was of the same thickness, as could be seen from the sides which still remained standing. Further on everything is built of earth, clay, and small stones that have been dried in the sun. As far as I am concerned, although I have never seen old buildings made of such a material, and many doubtful thoughts arose within me, I nevertheless believe these are the true remains of the city that once existed here. For the ancient writers also speak of such a building, on a spot called

R aer. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Aerden fragments, dried by the sun, and other materials kneaded with lime, which were used for mortar. The holy scriptures also attest that the builders of the Tower of Babel utilized such material, employing tiles for bricks and lime for mortar. Here in this land, the sun provides considerable heat and dry air, causing the earth to become lightly dried and suitable for use as brick. It would also seem that chopped straw is mixed in for added strength. We observe buildings being constructed daily in this manner here - a method known throughout Persia, relying solely on earth dried in the sun and the material used for lime. Consequently, houses are generally flimsy and light, rendering them susceptible to decay, especially those made of loosely fired and poorly dried earth mixed with lime. The lantern also does not attempt to linger or restore what has fallen into disrepair.

The Village of Sinfin. This village consists largely of dilapidated buildings and *Karwanfaraes* (caravanserais). It is reasonably large. Many others are located nearby, particularly one that stretches towards the mountains and appears impressive upon approach. Two hours after midnight, we resumed our journey across a good plain, easily passable along the sandy ground. We encountered numerous villages here, and with the morning light, many travelers; abundant vegetation, and on the right side, a large stretch of cultivated land. As the sun rose, we caught sight of Kafian, where we arrived at 7 o'clock, with part of the caravan

heading into it and another part remaining in the *Karwanfaraes* of the vanguard. These are so closely linked to the city that one believes they are within its walls, as there is nothing but the wall separating them. The houses are also beautiful and all built in a similar style, larger than those within the city itself, which, for as much as this land concerns, is considered quite beautiful and reckoned among the most prominent cities of Persia. I had never seen any comparable to it before. The people were also very polite and courteous, like those near the court town of Spahan, located north of it at a latitude of 35 degrees, 51 minutes. It is also called Kafian, Kafun, and Kafiaan by others, and Kafschan by some. It lies at the end or on the eastern side of the plain, near the high mountains. I sketched its northern side in the margin of this document.

On the 8th of the month, an hour before daybreak, we left this place, passing for a portion along the old, dilapidated wall; then through the plain where many villages are situated. An hour from the city, at morning light, we saw two large, ruined towers that were still half-standing. At 9 o'clock, we stopped near the village of Langaroot, by a clear running stream, three hours south of the city. At midnight, we continued on our way and after an hour's ride, passed alongside an old square, dilapidated building with very thick walls.

It is believed to have been an ancient fortress; but it has now fallen into such disrepair that no one knows what to make of it. Nearby, on the eastern side of the road, we saw another with various rooms. After an hour's ride, we encountered 10 or 12 well-armed Persian travelers near the mountains, through which we rode for a good distance, then through a village and a short -

The walls of this city are 5 or 6 men's lengths high and have 7 gates besides one called Danlet. To the northwest, one sees a very beautiful - [Empty Response] ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small Turkish principality led by **Osman I**, it gradually expanded its territory through strategic alliances, military conquests, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire's early successes were largely attributed to its highly disciplined army, particularly the elite **Janissary** corps—Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and rigorously trained as soldiers.

The reign of **Mehmed II**, often called "the Conqueror," marked a pivotal moment in Ottoman history. In 1453, his forces captured **Constantinople**, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, effectively ending over a thousand years of Roman rule and transforming the Ottomans into a major European power. This victory not only

secured Constantinople as the new Ottoman capital (**Istanbul**) but also provided access to vital trade routes between Europe and Asia.

Under subsequent sultans, the empire continued its expansion, encompassing vast territories in North Africa, the Middle East, and the Balkans. The **Suleiman the Magnificent** era (1520-1566) is often considered the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, characterized by significant advancements in law, art, architecture, and military strength. Suleiman's legal reforms, known as the *Kanun*, codified existing laws and established a more centralized system of justice.

However, the empire's vast size and diverse population also presented challenges. Internal power struggles, corruption within the bureaucracy, and economic difficulties gradually weakened the Ottoman state. The rise of European powers, coupled with technological advancements in naval warfare, further eroded Ottoman dominance. By the 18th and 19th centuries, the empire faced increasing pressure from external forces seeking to carve up its territories.

Despite attempts at modernization and reform during periods like the **Tanzimat** era (1839-1876), the Ottoman Empire ultimately proved unable to resist the tide of change. The empire's involvement in World War I on the side of the Central Powers sealed its fate, leading to its dissolution after the war and the creation of modern **Turkey** and other nations from its former territories.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries:** Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
- **Constantinople/Istanbul:** The capital city, renamed after the conquest by Mehmed II.
- **Suleiman the Magnificent:** Sultan during the empire's golden age.
- *Kanun:* Suleiman's legal reforms.
- **Tanzimat:** Period of modernization and reform in the 19th century. ## Reisen: A Description of the City

A beautiful courtyard, like a resting place, with two short columns; on the outer side a high fence, to which something is attached when the *Ren* or Steekspel takes place. I found that the length of this place was about 770 paces and the width about 100. To the right as one exits the gate is the Royal Garden, enclosed by a wall approximately five men's lengths high, and particularly large, also filled with many beautiful trees and pomegranate trees. For one finds pine and pomegranate trees, also others planted neatly in rows, and flowers of various kinds running through the middle, with a water trough or canal. There's also a fine building within. This courtyard was built by Abbæs the Great. One sees four large and two small gates along it. Through the first, which is

close to the city gate, one enters an exceptionally beautiful building serving as a *Karwanfera* and inhabited by Indians. This gate is particularly beautiful and large, and has an arch from the outside. It is 36 paces deep and 7 wide. The vault is arched, with a dome in its center, and a lantern on top in the Italian style. On either side there is an arch or vault where dwellings can be easily seen below. There are suitable seating areas outside it. Having passed through here, one comes to an open space that is 100 paces long and 80 wide, around which runs a building with two stories, having 15 arches on each side of the length, and 10 on the width; in these arches, one chamber is above the other. Here are also several small rooms projecting from the side walls, so beautifully made that I have never seen such a *Karwanfera*. Having passed through here and proceeding further, one finds a second gate with a beautiful vault outside, where the door, which is very large, is flagged with iron. Finding it open, I entered and viewed the garden, which, as mentioned, I found well arranged and neatly planted with trees both large and small. Next, one comes to the third gate, or rather a large building that protrudes high above the wall, equipped with many doors and windows, among which one passes into the garden. Having passed through the fourth gate, one finds an open space suitable for placing horses, all of which are covered. The two small gates following it serve only as doors to enter the garden. On the other side of the place, one also sees a garden, not quite as large or beautiful, but still enclosed by a low wall. Directly across from this *Karwanfera* is a descent of 50 fairly level steps made of living stone. Below there is a small space that appears to be for a well. The side walls and vault are neatly fitted together with small stones. Passing through the gate into the city, one walks 80 paces under a beautiful vault, in the middle of which is a dome similar to the one mentioned earlier in the *Karwanfera*. At the end, one finds a large wooden door flagged with iron, to which a smaller door is attached that is opened when the larger one is fluted. Through this one enters directly into a *Bafaer* or shop-shops, beautiful, built in extraordinary dimensions and raised with stately arches, and whitewashed. Each arch has here its own shop. One finds pastry bakers, sugar sellers, dried goods, puff pastry bakers, goldsmiths, furriers, copper flaggers, cooks who have prepared and roasted all kinds of dishes, bakers, and others who sell fruit and vegetables, and whatever else one can think of. Everything is in such good order and cleanliness that it's hardly to be said. This *Bafaer* is very long: so that it runs through the entire city from the gate called Doulet to the gate Fien, where the Mint is in the middle of it. On the side one sees the other *Bafaers* arranged in the same way, one standing out above all the others. This one is also separated and fluted with gates, and a chain is always stretched across the passage during the day, under which one must stoop to pass. In this are the most important shops of linens, silk fabrics, and other goods of that kind. There's another where most of the silk weavers are. Here I saw wonderfully beautiful colors of *Carmosin* and others. Through these *Bazars* one can

walk dry through the entire city even when it rains. One also finds notable tobacco houses here, where Persians constantly sit smoking tobacco and drinking coffee. On the other side of the *Karwanferaes*, in that place, one passes through a large gate with a stone vault. One finds some that are beautifully made and have two stories, running almost entirely around with a stone staircase of 5 or 6 steps to the rooms. One sees very many within this city, where most of the silk fabrics are made here, also worked with gold and silver in such a way that on each day seven packs of silk, weighing 1512 pounds, are produced. The courtyard here is small. Here and there through the city are also such wells as I...

R 2 of ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

from the well near the King's garden, as they say. The churches have several fairly tall towers but few elevated domes or courtyards. The seven gates of the city are called Mibrick-abaat, Fien, Thafabaan, Daulet, Mergi, Kabbt, and one whose name is unknown to me. Mergi and Kabbt mean plague and pestilence, because these two plagues were rampant when these gates were built. Two of these gates remain fluted. Within the city there are four marketplaces, one called Meydain Arabaam. Here food is sold. The others are named Chodzjah Ammaad, with a *Mefdzjid* standing beside it, built 80 years ago by the aforementioned Chodzjag Ammaad. The other marketplaces are called Meydani Rohonel, that is, the lower marketplace, and Meydani Mier Abdulziem.

Throughout the year one finds fruit, as well as flowers in every season. The fruits ripen here much earlier than elsewhere. So, during the two months of spring, melons, grapes, apricots, mulberries, pomegranates, and cucumbers are sold at the Baefaers. Nowhere else can you find such good watermelons. It is said that there are approximately 70 *karizen* (qanats) here, whose waters flow into the city. The number of bathhouses is estimated to be 120. Many *Abenaars* (water wells) exist, where one descends with many steps, as has been mentioned. The number of mills is thought to be around 120. There are 3000 houses, divided into three districts, each containing 1000 houses. Under Kasjaan there are 60 villages.

In Fien there is a royal house, it is said that the fountain originated during Suleiman's time. This water comes from a high mountain called Rochi 't Sabil. There are 27 mills through which this water is brought to Kaffaan, built by Abbas the Great. The water coming from Mount Demawend flows to the cities of Rei and Thaharaan. They call it the Dzadzjeraan River, into which the other waters flow into the Caspian Sea. On the road between Kaffaan and Khom one can already see Mount Demawend.

On the 13th of the month we left this city two hours before dawn with good weather, traveling across a beautiful sandy plain and some sand hills. Having traveled for a few hours, we had a long, layered sand hill on our right side. We headed southeast and passed through a common village at 11 o'clock. After riding over several hills for an hour, we settled down next to the village of Boefabatge, located 6 hours from the city. Two hours after midnight we continued across the plain, still maintaining a sandy and good road. We kept the mountains on our right side. The peaks were covered with snow. With the rising of the sun, we reached the end of the mountain range, where we crossed a river before other mountains. Then we also rode over some low hills. At the end of this plain we saw 5 villages clustered together, several also in the mountains. Now we had traveled for 7 hours. We stopped for an hour near the village of Ghor, one hour from the town of Na-Ghor. I found this village very beautiful: so much so that my hand trembled as I tried to sketch it – a few houses clustered on a hill, resembling a fortress in appearance. On the right side there is a church on a hill and many airy stretches beyond the other mountains. The print of N°. 67 depicts all of this.

Two hours before sunrise we departed from there, over and through mountains, and arrived at a plain that was very long and about half an hour wide in 7 hours. Here were 5 or 6 villages clustered together. We also passed by two beautiful gardens, the latter being approximately half an hour in circumference. There was a good wall surrounding it, with an elegant tower serving as a dovecote, of which I will speak more later. Next to the garden there is a large house that belongs to the King alongside the garden. Here lies a small village called Paedsjabath. Half an hour's ride into this plain we found ourselves in the mountains, where one sees nothing but other mountains all around, as if the mountains also lie beside the plain, some of which were covered with snow. We kept our course southwest and continued at midday near the Karwanfera Sardahan, when we had traveled 7 hours. Here we had to pay a toll for our goods. At this place, a beautiful water flows over the rocky mountains, which we crossed, with several waterfalls. This water flows through the lowlands after flowing down from the snow of the mountains. These two *Karwanferas* (caravanserais), which I depicted on paper as N°. 68, are one large building entirely made of stone. The main gate has a large arch and is 20 paces deep. Inside there is an open area surrounded by arches where one sits with a three-foot high step. There are also some deeper rooms. ## The Sardahan Caravanserai

The *caravanserai* of Sardahan stands as a testament to a bygone era, a silent witness to centuries of trade and cultural exchange along the ancient Silk Road. Its weathered stone walls, once bustling with merchants from distant lands, now echo only with the whispers of wind and time.

Built during the **Seljuk period**, the caravanserai served as a vital oasis for weary travelers and their caravans traversing the harsh desert landscape. It provided not just shelter but also security, a place to restock supplies, exchange goods, and share stories from across the vast expanse of Asia. The central courtyard, once alive with activity – the clatter of hooves, the haggling of merchants, the songs of travelers – now lies quiet beneath the expansive sky.

The architecture reflects the ingenuity required to thrive in such a challenging environment. Thick walls offered protection against both the elements and potential bandits, while strategically placed windows allowed for ventilation during the scorching summer months. The *iwan*, a vaulted entrance hall open on one side, provided shade and a gathering place for travelers seeking respite from the sun.

“The caravanserai was more than just a lodging; it was a microcosm of the Silk Road itself – a meeting point of cultures, languages, and ambitions.” - *Excerpt from a 17th-century travelogue.*

Despite its current state of partial ruin, the Sardahan Caravanserai retains an undeniable aura of grandeur. The intricate carvings adorning some of the remaining walls hint at the wealth and artistry that once flourished within its confines. It serves as a poignant reminder of the interconnectedness of civilizations and the enduring legacy of trade routes that shaped the course of history.

- **Seljuk Period:** A historical period (1037–1194) known for its significant contributions to art, architecture, and culture in Persia and surrounding regions.
- **Caravanserai:** A roadside inn or lodging along ancient trade routes, particularly in the Middle East and Central Asia.
- **Silk Road:** An extensive network of trade routes connecting the East and West, facilitating the exchange of goods, ideas, and cultures for centuries. ## Reisen

daer 't goetd in geborgen wort. Benevens de kleene Karwanfera is een overdekte waterwel, or bron, die uit den gront komt.

Een uur na middernacht trokken wy weer der voort met heldren maneschyn in vry kout weder. Twee uren door de bergen gereden hebbende quamen wy weder in een kleine vlakte, die ons weder in 't gebergte braght. Met den opgang der zon quamen wy weder in een vlakte, die zeer breed was. De lengte was niet over te zien. Het was al zandigh onvruchtbaer lant met vele bergen omzet. Dien nagt trokken wy voorby twee Karwanferaes, waer van de laatste wel zoo fraai was, als die van des daags te voren. Nadat wy'er nogh eene, die vervallen was, voorby gereden waren, leiden wy het neder by het dorp Rieck. Nu waren wy 7 uren gevordert, en zagen verscheidene andere dorpen hier ontrent. Drie uren na middernagt begaven wy ons met schoon weder op wegh, en

geraekten vervolgens door de vlakke. Waer op kort hier na de wegth final wert, leggende wederzits het lant opgehoogt, dewyl de wegth een groote freek door bebout lant legt. Nadat wy eenige vervalde dorpen en gemeene Karwanferaes voorby waren, quamen wy met den opgang der zon aan de voortadt van Spahan, daer wy wel een half uur door, en nevens de muren der stad treden. Het was 10 uren, toen ik binnen de stad, en in de Karwanfera geraekte. Ik dankte Godt, dat ik in gezontheit gekomen was ter plaatse, daer ik zoo langh naer verlangt had, als zynde het voornaemfte oogwit myner reize. Ik toefde dan niet langh, maar maakte my gereedt om den Heer, die wegens onze Oostindische Maetschappye

hier het bewint heeft, te gaan be-groeten. Ik trof dezen Heer, genaamt François Kaftelein, ter maaltydt aen. Hy ontving my zeer hoffylyk, en boot my alles aen, wat dienen kon tot het vervullen myner begeerten, en begeerde dat ik eenige uren zou by hem blyven. Hy gaf my ook op myn verzoek eenige zyner schappe. dienaren mede, om my aen toegang te helpen by den Heer Eduard Ouwien, Agent wegens de Engelse Oostindische Maetschappye, die my met even gelyke heusheit ontving. Van daer begaf ik my naar de Karwanfera Jeddee genaemt, staende aen de Meydoen of plaats by des Konings hof, en behoorende aen de Koninginne des Konings moeder. In deze zyn alle de goederen der Armenische Koopluiden, ook hunne winkels, en die van andere lakenkoopers. Deze Karwanfera is de voornamfte der stad, en de best gelegen: waerom ik begerende daer in te blyven, op het verzoek en aanbeveling van ons Opperooft, voor wien zy veel inzichten hebben, een goetd vertrek bequam, waer in ik my met veel genoegen onthielt, zoo lang ik in deze stad was. De Koning was toen ter tydt met zyne bywvyven buitend de stad, zich op verscheidene plaatsen verluchtigende. Ondertuiffchen beving my een luft tot het bezichtigen der stad, nevens de plaats genaemt Inlfa, daer de Armeniers wonen. Ik bezogt ook eenigen der Europees, zoo geefstelyke personen als andere, meeft al Fransoïfen, die my alle ook in myn herberg quamen verwelkomen. De Heer Kaftelein ook verzogt my den volgenden dagh aen zyn tafel, om na den maaltyt ons vermaek buiten de stad te gaan nemen.

HOOFSTUK XXV.

Statelyk uityrden. Zeebagedis, en andere aenmerkelykheden. Graf met schuddende torens. Des Konings wederkomst in de stad. Grote meeningte van volk. Begroetingen op den eersten dagh van 't jaer. Schoone wyn. Grote vaften der Perzianen.

HET weder begunstigde ons voor-nemen, en gaf my gelegenheid om het voornaemfte, dat buiten deze stad is, te bezichtigen, als de Chjaer-baeg, de fraeie bruggen entuinen des Konings, en de begraafplaatsfen der Armeniers en Europeers, waer van ik

vervolgens in het byzonder zal spreken. Ons uityrden geschiedde naer de wyze des lants met groote flatelykheid. Twee tolken reden voor aen, waer op de Heer Kaftlein volgde, hebbende 12 voetloopers nevens zich. Hier agter quam de Secunde of twee-de perfoon: toen ik, en vervolgens de anderen agter een, elk in zynen rang : tot het getal van 12 paarden. 't Heele gezelschap maakte een gevolg uit van 25 of 26 personen. En nogh wert by 't leven der ## Cornelis de Briuns

The spouse of this Lord, the state's representative, was painted in the kitchen while he was being made larger. She had passed away five or six months before my arrival in Persia and was then buried with great ceremony in a large and magnificent tomb, covered with a vaulted stone roof that opened on all four sides. Her name was Sara Jacoba Six van Chandelier, of French descent, a woman of virtue and merit, and therefore praised and beloved by everyone. Her uncle, Lord Joan Six van Chandelier, had made a name for himself in Holland through the skillful rhyming of David's Psalms.

On the evening we were returning from the hunt, two footmen approached us near Chiabag with burning torches - essentially rolls of linen soaked in oil and set on long poles within an iron framework; beneath which is a round copper plate, similar to a spout, where the fat drips. Although the hunt was not yet complete, these torches, which give off a great light, were lit according to the custom of people of standing. Thus we rode through the plain towards the residence of the company, where I thanked Captain Kaftlein for the honor after dinner and returned to my inn, quite pleased, having seen many remarkable things.

The following day, I received from our Sea-Captain a dried sea lizard, still in its entirety. It was as large as an ordinary lizard and of similar appearance. It is caught in the Persian Gulf and called *Seek-am-kaer* by them. They make quite a fuss over it, claiming that it is hot to the third degree. Therefore, it is dried and ground into powder mixed with other heart-warming things: pearls, amber, saffron, opium, and so on. They ascribe this remedy with a power that would serve to awaken amorous feelings in men; they make small pills of it and take them. However, little trade is driven with it; but merchants and others who have something to seek at court buy it as a gift for the great ones, whose favor they need. It is called *Scincus marinus* in Latin. All writers mention it. There is also another name, *Shir-ma-jie*, or milk-blood. This one was particularly beautiful in color: the belly a clean yellow to halfway down the body; the fins scarlet; and the rest of the body greenish-blue. It was the size of an ordinary shellfish. I sketched it with water-

The same lord also presented me with four small birds or beasts found in a piece of ambergris brought to Persia, weighing together thirty-three or thirty-four pounds. The king had this piece

purchased, broken, and melted down to make a ball, which was set in gold and adorned with precious stones; intended as a gift to Media for the tomb of Mahomet. From these small pieces, I conclude that amber is a gum thrown up by the sea, and its stickiness or softness comes from the constant action of the waves, just as one commonly finds amber when it has been rolled up. This resinous gum is found mostly on the coasts and in other places in India.

They also brought me a bird – foreign name *Paes-jelek*, resembling an Entvogel [likely referring to a type of bird], but with a head and beak like a crow, entirely black over its body, the tail feathers broad with three divisions, and the body long. These birds are unfailing. You can see a depiction of it on No. 70.

On the twenty-third of the month, we rode again from the village towards the aforementioned manner to the village of Kaladoen, a good hour from the city located southwest, to visit the tomb of Abdulla. It is said that he was the water guardian of Emoan Offsyn, one of the twelve followers or, as they believe, apostles of their prophet. This tomb stands within a square wall built of small stones. It is made of gray marble, all around covered with Arabic characters, as is also the top covering, which is made of baked stone, above which, as well as in a circle, many copper tinned lamps hang. One ascends to this tomb via fifteen steps, each about the height of a good Rijnland [Dutch region] foot. Then there are another fifteen similar steps that are even higher when one reaches the level square, thirty-two feet wide on each side. This building has two columns on the front side facing southwest, one at each corner, also built from small stones and generally inlaid with blue stones. The base is five feet wide at each of the mentioned points, having a gate on the inside of each column, through which one goes up by a winding staircase that also has fifteen steps like the previous ones. But both are broken by time; and I could not otherwise surmise but that they were once as high as woven. This passage is so narrow that a ## The Fish Shir-ma-jie, or Milkfish.

The Bird Pae-jelek.

Count of Abdulla.

Travels

A common person has enough strength to come up. He who wears a hat on his head cannot pass through. I myself took off my upper garment and went to the highest steps, so that I came out above the column with half my body. But this was the most absurd thing.

To know as if two people are standing on columns, so one can make the other move by shaking their body, which frightens the person being moved. I tried it myself and made the other, who stood on the other column, shake and tremble through my movement. I could not understand or fathom what caused this. I sketched this building from below, as No. 71 indicates. While I was busy with this, a boy of 12 or 13 years old, who had a hump on his back carried by others, climbed up the ground against the wall to the top of the column, whose upper sides he walked around. He came down again in the same way, without holding onto anything except with his fingers and toes between the joints of the small stones where the lime had fallen out here and there. He did this just to entertain us, so we acknowledged his service with a reward.

We returned shortly before sunset back into the city, and experienced a change here as well. For the frost began to form so intensely that the water froze not only on the roads but even in my room, although it was warm during the day. It also snowed, but not much.

On the 28th of the month, a certain Arab from Aleppo came to us with a letter for our Oppenhoof, claiming to be from the Baffa. However, he presented himself so awkwardly that we could not determine what was wrong with him, his face making us think he might well be mad. He seemed to be a clerical person, apparently having fled from Turkey after suffering an apoplexy. For a few days before my arrival in this city, news had come that the Turkish Emperor had died and his brother Sultan Achmet had been placed on the throne; also that the first Mufti was deposed, stripped of everything, and his entire house plundered. His robe was unusually fine and clean. He brought with him a small gift, consisting of a pair of yellow leather boots, two or three small patched turbans, a handful of dates, and two pieces of wax. Captain Kaftelein had the letter, which bore no heading, read aloud, and handed it back to him the following day, along with the gifts, as he did not know what to do with them.

On the last day of the month we rode out again, when I looked for a suitable place to sketch the city this season, because that is impossible in summer, since one can see very little due to the multitude of trees and gardens, through which they appear almost like a forest. We went up against the mountain for a while to visit a building that leans against the rock face but is partially dilapidated, about which I will speak by means of the image. Now I found the water channels and large fountains, despite the water having its constant flow, covered with ice.

Meanwhile, much people and baggage from the King came along the road. Why the path of the Chiaer-baeg was everywhere watered with water. Captain Kaftelein here in charge led me with his entire household to that place outside the city which I had

chosen to sketch them, so that the King, who would pass by there with his retinue, could see us properly and suitably. We then rode out on richly decorated horses with costly harnesses, where one is very splendid here, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon from the residence or court of the Company. We waited at the Christian graves for a long hour; when we finally saw a large gathering of people on horseback, also many camels loaded with baggage approaching. There were also 6 Olants on the road, 4 large and 2 small: of which 2 went to meet the King, while the other 4 remained on the Chiaer-baeg. Half an hour before sunset, the King came with his most important councilors and other dignitaries of the court, accompanied by several hundred people. The King rode in front of this procession, seated on a beautiful chestnut horse, and passed close to us where we sat waiting along a riverbank. We all removed our hats and greeted the Prince, who fixed his gaze upon us for a while. The bridge that this company had to cross was quite narrow; therefore, most of them waded across the river, causing some to fall into it on the bridge because they jostled each other. But wanting to avoid the crush, we took the safest path through Julfa and arrived with the evening at the house of the Opperhoof, who seemed to be in good spirits that I had al- ## Cornelis de Bruins

Had alles met genoeg aanschouwd. Het is werkelijk ongelooflijk hoeveel duizenden mensen de Koning vergezellen wanneer hij naar buiten rijdt. Het leek alsof een leger opkwam, hoewel enkele dagen eerder al een groot deel van de mensen binnen de stad was aangekomen en velen nog achterbleven om hem te volgen. De kamelen waren ook talrijk: ik heb er nooit zoveel bij elkaar gezien. Op de *Chiaer-baeg* (open plek) was er bovendien veel volk te paard en te voet. De Koning begaf zich in een van zijn luchtpaviljoens, waarna hij naar het Paleis ging. Iets voor hem zaten twee *Lui-paerts* (luchtruiters), elk op een paard. Deze dieren werden gebruikt om te jagen. Er waren ook valken te zien. Diezelfde avond kwamen ook de vrouwen binnen.

Nu naderde het Paefchfeest (Paasfeest), dat we bij Heer Kaftlein op 14 april hielden. De volgende dag reden we samen, op dezelfde manier als voorheen, om de paters te bezoeken, die hier in drie verschillende Conventen wonen. Twee dagen later zagen we in het huis van de Maetfchappy (Vennootschap) een witte kraai, die al enkele reizen eerder was gezien, maar voordat iemand zijn boog gereed kon hebben, weer was weggevlogen. Kort daarna vernam ik dat ze voor de Koning gevangen was genomen. In deze dagen werd in de woning van de Maetfchappy een kleine vijver schoongemaakt, waarin veel kleine visjes zaten, bestaande uit vierhandige soorten, waarvan we dikwijls een waterzootje vingden. De ene soort, met de grootste schubben, was over het gehele lichaam getekend als een netje. De Perliërs noemen ze *Ghaerma-ji*, of Ezelsvis. De andere soort was gedeeltelijk gespikkeld met kleine schubben, genaamd *Sjir-ma-ji*, of Melkvisch. De derde was boven uit groen en het lichaam onder wit, genaamd

Sar-aep; welk woord aangeeft dat deze vissen zich gewoonlijk boven het water bevinden. De vierde soort bestond uit kleine aards geel gestreepte visjes uit het bruin, verder wit, en het gehele lichaam over fraai getekend. Van welke soort slechts één enkel visje gevonden werd, dat daar al voor twee jaar in gezien was en nu even groot was. Uit nieuwsgierigheid zette ik dit, en enkele van de andere soorten in Spiritus; omdat we deze soorten in ons vaderland niet hebben. Alle deze visjes zijn zoet en lekker, hoe men ze ook bereidt, bijzonder als men ze met fruit eet.

De eerste dag van het jaar 1704 vierden we ten huize van Heer Kaftlein, naar de wijze die hier ter lande gebruikelijk is. Op die dag komen de meeste Europeanen en andere bekenden ons op Nieuwjaar feliciteren. Het gezelschap was ongeveer 30 personen sterk en bleef daar gedurende de maaltijd, en werd 's middags en 's avonds deftig onthaald; beide malen met banket en verfrissingen. De Engelse Agent was er niet aanwezig vanwege eenige onhandigheid die hem overkwam. Maar ik vond er zijn Secunde (plaatsvervanger) en de Hofmeester, evenals Vader Antonio Destriro, Resident namens de Koning van Portugal, een man van vele bekwaamheden, die de wereld had gezien en zich wonderbaarlijk goed aanpaste aan het goede leven; ook verschillende voorname Armeense Kooplieden. Maar deze bijeenkomst verliep nu met meer stilheid dan in de vorige jaren, vanwege het rouw dat zijn Ed. Droogh betrof over zyn afgegestorven gemalin (vrouw). Anders was men gewoon enkele honderden schooten uit 3 of 4 kleine veltitukken (stoffen) te doneren. Met deze echter was des ochtends het teken tot het vieren van de dag gegeven: waarop ook enkele speelluiden uit Julfa zich daarheen begaven. In deze vreugde, terwijl mijn ogen overal langsgingen, vond ik iets bijzonders: er stond een waskaars te branden die 5 of 6 voet hoog was en dik naar gelang, zodat ik nog nooit zoiets gezien had, zeer sierlijk van onder tot boven opgesierd. Onder de kaars stond een groot vat, waar het was op druppelde om vloerkleden of iets anders te beschadigen. Deze kaars brandde groots en deftig vanwege de grootte van de kaars, die meningen malen kan gebruiken voordat ze verteert is. Nadat we deze dag hadden doorgebracht begon het des nachts te regenen, dat de wegen de volgende dag zo sterk aanhielden, dat ze bijna niet meer te gebruiken waren; ik raak dit slechts aan omdat dit wat bijzonder is tijdens deze tijd van het jaar. Maar de zelden, zijnde dag van de Drie Koningen, herstelde zich weer en klaarde op. Enige dagen hierna ontving de Engelse Agent ons op dezelfde maaltijd als Heer Kaftlein op Nieuwjaar bij de Engelsche A-gent.

Tijdens het drinken van de toosten werden in de hof enkele stukken kanon luchtschieten; onder welke zich enkele speelluiden volgens de wijze des lands lieten horen. Dit volk begon ook te zingen met een geschal, dat men in ons land voor een wild geraas zou aanzien. Tegens den avond kwam daar ook voor de dag een Georgische danser, die alle de sierlijkheden, die hij geleerd had,

voortbracht. Het was weinig om over op te scheppen. Toen werd er een man aangebracht, die onzichtbaar in een wit laken gerold was, met aan beide zijden van zijn armen de klederen van twee kinderen, waarvan het ene een jongetje en het andere een meisje voorstelde. Hij zelf lagh met het lichaam uitgestrekt. ## Reizen

Terwijl ik hier was, kregen we met brieven over Aleppo, gedateerd 8 november, bericht uit ons vaderland: gewoonlijk werden loopers of voetgangers gebruikt om deze brieven daarheen te brengen. Deze zijn allemaal in dienst van onze, of van de Engelse Maatschappij. Ze gaan ook naar Gamron en andere plaatsen.

Op deze dag begon de Beyram, of grote Perzische Vastentijd, die zij een maand of langer volhouden. Zij vasten gedurende 29 of 30 dagen: dat wil zeggen, tot dat de nieuwe maan weder bij hen gezien wordt; op dezelfde wijze als de Turken voor gebruik hebben. Zoo lang deze vastendagen duren, is het hun verboden te eten of te drinken, ook het roken van tabak, waar ze anders geweldig op gesteld zijn, als zijnde hun voornaamste lekkernij en tijdverdrijf. Ze maken derhalven van de nacht de dag op deze wijze. Zodra de zon ondergaat, beginnen ze te bidden, rookend een half uur daarna tabak. Dan eten ze en drinken ze naar hun zin tot dat de zon weder opgaat. Dit onderscheiden ze evenwel, dat ze na het roken van tabak een confituur, vruchten of andere verfrissingen nemen, en pas na middernacht gekookt voedsel nuttigen. Dan wordt ook (gelijk ze anders gewoon zijn) des middernachts niet gespeeld, maar gewacht tot 4 of 5 uren in de ochtend: wanneer ze dat zoo veel harder doen, om door dit geluid de werkluiden op te wekken en als een teken tot de arbeid te geven. Dit teken waarschuwt ook de mensen die van buiten aankomen, dat ze vrijheid hebben van hunne waren, vruchten, groente en wat meer is, binnen te mogen brengen, dat anders gewoonlijk na middernacht geschiedt. Het andere gebruikelijke gespel geschiedt gemeenlijk een half uur voor de ondergang der zon, om te dienen voor een teken aan de Koninklijke wacht om zich te stelen ter plaats, waar ze moeten oppassen. Tuffchen 8 en 9 uren des avonds moeten alle winkels gefloten zijn, wanneer ieder zich naar huis begeeft. Twee uren voor de dag gaat de Molla of Leeraer op de Kerk of Tooren, en roept het gebet uit. Dit herhaalt hij op de middag, ook des avonds even na het ondergaan der zon. Met het opkomen der zon, ook met het ondergaan beginnen ze de uren te rekenen. Vóórder rekenen ze niet net hoe laat het in de dag of nacht is. Is de dag korter of langer dan de nacht, gaan ze daar in niet dan naar gissing te werk.

In deze volgende dagen zag men hier zwaar ijs in de rivier. Dit belemmert evenwel de dienaar van den heer Kastelein niet eenen visch buiten de stad te vangen.

S wiens Schoone wyn.

ffrekt, als doot, doch maakte op den klank der fnaren geefstige bewegingen met zyne armen, dewyl zyne handen in de windfelen der verbeelde kinderhoofden be-floten waren. De meeste vertonken, die deze schynkinderen maekten, beftont-in vryaedje, en in daerna elkander luigh wat af te kloppen.

Hierna bewees my de Heer Kaftlein alle beleefdheid. Hij zond my 14 grote fleffen, gevuld met witte wijn, waar mede hij my ook verzorgde, zoo lang ik my hier onthield: welken geeindigt zynde ik dan weder naer myne herberge keerde, om den tydt in myne eenigheid wel te besteden volgens het opzet, dat ik genomen had. Wat dezen wyn aangaat, het is zeker dat er in het ganse Rijk van Perzie geen gevonden wordt die hier bij halen kan. Want in Spahan laat niet zich veel gelegen zijn aan het toebereiden der wijnen, die al meeft beroert, sterk en onsmakelijk gedronken worden. Maar de wijnen, die van Zjieracs komen, en den befaamde naam hebben, worden helder en klaar bereid; gelijk ik hierna breder zal zeggen. De andere wijnen worden maer geacht by luiden hier te lande, die niet beter weten, of niet beter gewoon zijn, oordeelende den sterksten wyn altijd voor den befaamden, hij magh zoo troebel zijn als hij wil. Deze onkunde is ook bij de meeste Europeanen, die door verloop van tydt, als van lekkere wijn geheel ontwaart zijn. De wijn, verleert, was zoo klaar als kristal en niet al te zoet. Ook was er onder die den smaak van Rijnschen wijn had, en zoo liefelijk op de tong, dat hij voor geen der beste Franse wijnen behoefde te wijken. Ook was er roode, die in smaak den Florentynschen zeer na komt. Als deze wijnen bereid zijn, en hunne werking gedaan hebben (het welk geschiedt in grote aarde potten, in plaats van vaten of tonnen, even als ik op het eiland Cyprus gezien heb) worden ze afgetapt in grote glazen fleffen, genaamd Karbaffen, die elk omtrent 8 stoop houden, blijvende het drabige of de moer in de gemelde potten. Ze zoeken hier toe de beste druiven uit, zonder daar bij eenige verrotte of bedorven te doen, waar anderen profijtshalven dit zoo nauw niet nemen en hier door hunne wijnen onsmakelijk maken. Ze willen ook wel wat gezwavelt en met kardamom versterkt zijn tegen de bedervinge, waardoor ze dan met eenen welriekende worden. Men drinkt die dan als ze een jaar oud zijn: en ze twee jaren oud, zy zyn'er niet te arger om. Dus verfikte my deze goede heer, boven wie ik niemand hier nauwkeuriger gevonden heb in het toebereiden der spijzen. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

whose equal in grandeur is rarely seen. It was a continuation of Kerper, about three-quarters of an ell long. We ate it and found this food very tasty. This fish is called *Sjir-majie*, or Milkfish; of the kind I have already spoken about.

On the 16th of the month, after having had the opportunity to inform my friends in the homeland of my arrival in this land through Aleppo, I rode with the household of Lord Kaftlein to Julfa to attend the feast of the Water Blessing, which was to take place among the Armenians before sunrise. They call this feast 't

Goeroortnig, or the Immersion of the Cross. It is held, as it were with the Ruffians, on the seventh day of January, the Feast of the Three Kings. We arrived near evening at Julfa and proceeded to the house of Mr. François Sahid, our Interpreter, who welcomed us with a good supper. After having rested for a few hours, we went to the Church, called Anna-baet or Bishoply Church, the aforementioned one that the Armenians have, and arrived there three hours after midnight; at which time the ceremonies began.

XXVI. CHAPTER.

The Cross Baptism. Enmity of the Mules and Bears. The Feast of Gaddernaebie. Feast of the Solar Year. Magnificent Meal of the King. Sprouts of Rhubarb. Feast of Abraham's Sacrifice. A multitude of Sheep within Spain are treated.

The beginning of these ceremonies was reading, singing, and mass. All this lasted until dawn. Then some of the clergy, all dressed in black except for the Bishop, who wore bishoply robes or skirts made of gold cloth, were selected; while the Bishop put on a large, broad hat or mitre that had two pointed tips above, further adorned with pearls and precious stones. He held a fairly large cross decorated with gilt paint in his right hand, which he dipped into a white cloth worked with gold, holding in his left a similar one that was somewhat less ornate. The number of clergy amounted to four or twenty-five persons. Thus, having been selected, they stepped outside the Church to a stately elevated place that is in front of the Church and covered; hanging above it two bells. Here stood a large round copper vat filled with water: near which more than an hour was spent reading and singing. After which the Bishop dipped the cross into the water three times. Having done this, he was given a high silver cup or jug filled with oil. He poured this oil into the water: and thus these ceremonies ended. Then the clergy dipped their hands in this water and sprinkled their faces with it. This was followed by the surrounding Armenians, as many as could come near. Others scooped the water with jugs and carried it away for consecrated water. These same ceremonies were also performed in various other churches. Some perform them in a small river near Julfa. Thus, the holding of this feast went on, which may not be begun without the King's consent. Therefore, a few days before, the Kalantaer or Burgomeister of the Armenians appears before the King, who gives him permission that this feast is at hand. Upon which he obtains freedom to proceed with it. A few days later, the yearly tax, which amounts to 200 gold ducats, is collected for the King. The royal retinue also pleases the clergy by sending guards to the place where the ceremonies are performed by the Bishop; which is also useful to prevent any disorder, because the influx of Persians and Turks, drawn by curiosity, is so great, and the crowding so strong, that even now the Bishop could not approach

the water to dip the cross in it, and was forced to retreat until the pressure of the pressing people was driven away with cries. At this Church Anna-baet, or Bishoply monastery, all the Bishops reside, numbering seven in total. There ## Travels

There are also some Priests here. This monastery surrounds the church and consists of small rooms where one sees nothing but two or three small compartments in the wall, where they can place a few books. However, there is an elevated area where they sit on the ground. The walls are white and well-maintained. They let in light through two or three small glazed windows on one side. There's also a long room serving as their refectory, where they take their meals. On the side is a pulpit where someone recites chapters while they eat. The church interior is painted from top to bottom on the walls. One mostly sees depictions of biblical stories, made with little artistry by Armenians. Bishops are not allowed to marry; priests are. There are two Patriarchs here, one of whom is present and the other is said to be in *Efsing-afin*. This is a place that encompasses three churches, located near Mount Ararat, 3 hours from the city of Ervan or Erivan.

These days we entertained ourselves with two mules and a black pig, which the mules attacked with such fury that they would have killed it if it hadn't been prevented. The Lord Kaftlein told me how he once had a mule alongside a large bear, and let the mule loose on it. The mule fell upon it with such violence that it bit him in the back, and after holding on, lifted him off the ground and brought him close to death. The mules here are so bitten by bears that they mistake pigs—which are black here—for bears and attack them. Therefore, it is customary for caravans traveling along roads who hear of bears, which sometimes frighten the horses, to divert the mules around them, which then attack the bears and bring them down. Recently, an incident occurred on Chjaerbaeg where a certain man had a large bear perform some tricks for the public. While this was happening, a Persian riding on his mule approached; to his great misfortune. For the mule still smelled the bear, and rushed towards him as if mad. The rider, in mortal fear, cried out for help in vain: but no one dared approach. The mule pursued the bear, which fled from side to side of the road, so that the man could no longer hold on, and fell, being so wounded that he had to stay indoors for a while. Finally, the bear escaped through a hole in a garden, where the mule couldn't follow. These mules are very vicious towards bears, both with their front and hind feet, and bite just as fiercely. This seems strange to me, because I have never seen or heard of this behavior in mules elsewhere. I also don't recall having read or heard that they ever fought against any animals in arenas or theaters among the Romans or other peoples. It must be that the mules in other countries are of a different breed than here.

On the 29th of this month, all shops remained closed: and few people were seen on the streets, because it was the day on which their great Prophet Ali died—a day for which they make a large celebration.

At the beginning of February, the warmth of the weather increased so much that various vegetables began to appear from the earth.

During this time, the English Agent paid a visit to our chieftain, accompanied by the aforementioned Father Antonio Destrillo, along with other companions. They were all received by our chieftain on two separate evening visits, an hour apart, and departed late at night. This happened consistently because the agent and our chieftain maintained good friendship and reciprocated favors. This did not happen without great fanfare; for each brought a large number of his servants with him, who, as well as the masters, had to be received.

The Persians on February 6th, the end of the Persian Fasting period. Upon hearing the new moon, they ended their fast and celebrated by playing lively music, which lasted throughout the night. On the 7th following, the first day after the fast, the feast was held according to ancient custom with joyful games. The King then held a sitting day according to yearly custom, receiving the dignitaries of his court, as well as foreign state officials and envoys who were present at that time.

The next day was the Feast of Gad-ternabie. This is celebrated only by the King, who holds a sitting day to receive all the councilors who appear before him. Their wives and daughters also go within the palace, and one of these, whom the prince favors, remains there for several days afterward, boasting about it as a highly valued grace. They arrive at court in the evening and appear before the King in the morning. That day is

The Mules' Battle Against the Bears.

Remembrance of Prophet Ali.

Feast Day of Gad-ternabie. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Experiences

He spent his days in joy and at night many elaborate displays were staged within the palace.

On the 10th of this month, the King received numerous gifts annually, consisting of beautiful items skillfully crafted, such as houses, gardens, and other similar things.

During these days, a fierce wind blows from the north, which for several days around this time remains persistent. They call it *Baad-Biedemusk* or *Bid-muswint*, named after a flower that blooms at this time. This flower can be found along a stretch of

willow trees, sprouting from buds as large as a long clove. It falls finely and gently and has a pleasant fragrance. By distilling water through it, one extracts its essence. The resulting drink is very agreeable, especially when mixed with *fuiker*, in the manner of *ferbet* or *limoena-de*: although this drink is healthier and more invigorating. This water is preserved in flasks throughout the year for drinking purposes. They also dry out these blossoms to place among linens, imparting a pleasant scent. Farmers bring them to market in large numbers. I don't know if one finds such a variety of flowers on willow trees in our land. Therefore, I sketched it, as can be seen at No. 72, with the leaves that emerge from the left side of April. The wind where these flowers grow typically lasts until the end of this month, when many beautiful and warm days are also experienced. However, we had some rain early in March, followed by several days of strong, cold winds, and unsettled weather, which persisted throughout the entire month.

Now on Friday, the 20th of the month, the Feast of the Solar Year is to be held. Therefore, I spent a few evenings beforehand visiting all the shops, which are particularly decorated and adorned at this time, especially the banquet vendors. Everyone strives to display their goods impressively, even the fruit and vegetable sellers. All of this creates a very pleasant sight as evening approaches. At that time, the cooks are incredibly busy selling all sorts of prepared dishes. One finds them in every corner, well-equipped with all kinds of roasted and cooked food: a convenience I have never found in any other country. There is also such an influx of people that they buy up all the shops during these holidays.

The feast began on the appointed day as the sun set.

Subsequently, the King's musicians were heard. The King then held public court, and one sees all the dignitaries appear before him. This spectacle was brought to a close in an hour's time when everyone departed. The Persians call this feast *Nonw-roes*, and they calculate it based on the time when the sun rises and sets at 6 o'clock. Furthermore, this celebration lasted throughout the night, as did the 21st until sunset.

This morning I ventured out, accompanied only by our astronomer, who was himself a Persian and well acquainted with the King's palace, which would receive all the most important lords of the court. This mealtime began two hours before noon and ended in half an hour's time. The food was served on gold and silver platters, each brought to them by a Persian servant. The number of these platters amounted to about 200, and the quantity is often greater depending on the size of the meals. They are mostly made of pure gold; this being part of the grandeur of the Persian monarchs. At this feast, the most important dignitaries also wear a magnificent turban-like hat adorned with pearls and precious stones. They call this head adornment *Tha-eits-timaer*.

Others are seen alongside it decorated with tufts of black heron feathers, which are very ornate. As soon as they leave the royal chamber, they immediately remove this hat and put on their usual one; the former being carried for them by one of their servants. They strive to dress elegantly on this occasion, although they are otherwise quite inclined towards splendor. But at this feast, you see almost no one, however insignificant he may be, who doesn't have new clothes on. Near the place where the King dined, I also saw 12 of his warhorses, groomed for the occasion with very ornate fittings of blankets, saddles, and other tack, all adorned with stones and pearls. The bridles are made of pure gold. The horses standing next to each other are connected by iron cords, and their hooves are firmly bound to the ground. But one must be careful not to step on the cords. Seven of these horses were white in color, their feet and a portion of their bodies and flanks painted a beautiful red or orange. I was not allowed to approach them, unless I gave a good tip to the gatekeepers. Along with the horses, the ground was covered with a carpet upon which sat the lord responsible for these horses. ## Bidmus Bloessem en Bladeren

Rhubarb leaves with stems and roots, and Fockie Fockiese. ## Travels

Horses were recommended. Beside him lay a large golden hammer with which the horses are adorned. There was also a large golden water basin from which the horses drink. However, for money I could not be offended in that place, as the King was at table, so I had to be content with a place not far away where everything would pass before me. At this very time many gifts were brought to the King, both by those who are at court and by the bailiffs and stadtholders of other places. These consisted of various kinds of goods, bags filled with gold, assorted meats, horses, camels, and mules. All these gifts were carried individually by the citizens, each in their ward being ready for it according to the King's decree. On the place before the court, about 10 or 12 pots filled with hay were carried on long poles as a sign of victory over the enemies they claim are the Aefbeekse Tartars. This seemed to me like a staged performance, seeing the horses, each covered with a silk cloth, being led into the courtyard without saddles. It also presented an amusing sight when all the lords departed from there in the presence of countless onlookers who strolled through the court everywhere. This feast lasted for several days during which many painted eggs were distributed. Indeed, the Maer-fejel-daer or Marshal is obliged to bring some of these annually to the King: those beautifully painted and adorned with gold and silver, considered a trifling gift.

On April 23rd we celebrated Easter with our Opperhoofd (Chief). And the following day the English Agent came to offer his congratulations, accompanied by the aforementioned lords and friends. They were received as before, and parted late at night

after enjoying much entertainment. This was followed by other visits that shortened our time and the month before we realized it had ended.

With the arrival of April, the Heer Kastelein (Castle Lord) received a tribute of new Asparagus: some of which fruits were also brought for sale the following day. For about 60 or 70, many of which were still very thin, they could demand about so much guilders. Because such produce, as it first emerges, is highly valued here and often bought by people who want to make a gift of them to prominent persons, to whom they are obliged, or whose favor they seek to win. We also received sprouts of *Rabarberwortel* (rhubarb root) in the form of young lamb meat. These sprouts are very tasty and refreshing, and are considered blood-cooling and diuretic. These sprouts are also highly regarded here so early in the year. The leaves are curled and green, yellow, and pink in color. The stem is white but somewhat yellowish. Some are entirely clean red, having the thickness of 2 or 3 inches around. Some sprouts are as high as half a foot, others as high as a whole foot. Only the stem is eaten of the best variety. Some people cover the emerging sprouts with an elevation of earth, just as they do with Asparagus, and then they become larger. Around the flat *Laer* near the village of Cama, they are planted in advance to make a gift for the King, which the Governor must maintain annually. The leaves of these have 2 or 3 fathoms around. The root and leaves are like rhubarb, but here without strength, as in the land of the Usbeeks between China and Muscovy. The Persians also eat the stem of these young sprouts raw with pepper and salt, just as the Italians eat *Finotje* and artichokes, being very refreshing and pleasant. They also make a syrup from them, which is considered cooling. Out of fondness I painted them with leaves and root: while busy with this, I found that the largest leaves were one and a half feet in height, and even more in width. The root had four branches, gray and speckled in color. This herb was sent to me from Jullka, where it had stood in the earth for 19 years. Beside this was another fruit which I painted alongside, though it comes out later. The Persians call it *Badens-joen*, Europeans *Foekje-fockiefe*. It is purple in color; white ones are also found. Although larger than a common plum, there are some that are even as large as that. They are very tasty when cooked in a pot: or when they are fried in butter, or prepared in other ways. When the trees of them are still young, they are transplanted so that they bear better fruit. The blossom is white, purple, and yellow. They grow generally one and a half feet above the ground with various branches which are bent downwards by the weight of the fruit. I painted one of these trees with fruit, blossoms, and leaves, as I do the indication thereof on No. 73 where the leaves are shown by the letter A, the root by B, and the *Fockie-fockiefe* by C.

On July 7th, a severe rain fell in Julfa, the likes of which had not been seen in any year, with so much hail that it lay three fingers high on the roads - although little was noticed within the city. Subsequently, the entire month was very windy, bringing forth rain with incessant showers.

On the 15th, the Feast of *Bairam korban*, or the sacrifice feast commemorating Abraham's offering, was celebrated. The Lord Kaftlein, seeing that I was inclined to witness it, instructed his *phalmeefer* along with two other servants to ride with me there. The day before, the royal musicians had begun playing as the sun set; this continued until sunset for the entire day, pausing between turns (as they are numerous). I then joined them at seven hours on the *Chjaer-baeg*, where the King was preparing to come forth from the first gate of his gardens. It took a good half hour before he appeared with a large retinue of nobles, numbering around 200, adorned in those costly mufflers I previously mentioned. I positioned myself at the center of the road, where the King would pass nearby, and, turning towards me, he required me to offer him respect by removing my hat. Then I quickly moved to the side to observe the procession again. Afterwards, I galloped along another path toward the place where the ceremony was to take place. This location is called Babarook, a cemetery of the Persians, located about half an hour from the city. Here, everything was prepared. The entire ritual consists in slaughtering a camel, which is treated as an offering. This must be a young animal, without any defects; otherwise it is considered impure. The *Daroega* or Sheriff of this city (sometimes the King himself performs this duty) brings the animal forward with a large lance; upon which all shouts and cries immediately begin, each eager to become powerful. Once this is done, the animal is hacked into pieces and distributed among the quartermasters, each taking some of their people to assist. For it proceeds so vigorously that grabbing for the pieces results in great uproar, sometimes even a fight, with everyone defending themselves against their opponents, all armed with shouts and large sticks - whether it escalated into a brawl or not. It was said that several had died on the spot. The crush caused by the horses was so intense that everyone found it difficult to escape unharmed; many were struck by blows and felt as if they were at home. I certainly returned to my inn, feeling apprehensive, and could scarcely stand. However, everything was completed an hour and a half before noon, except that the parties of the quarters continued to ride through part of the city. They had also paraded the camel, adorned with thorns and other things, around the city ten days earlier, along with the lance and axe, accompanied by festive music and singing.

On this day, approximately fifty large sheep were slaughtered for distribution. For even the humblest person must have a share. Those who received a portion of the camel also received mutton. Others preserve this camel meat as a sacred relic throughout the year. Someone might ## Travels

Some may think that we have gone too far in our narrative regarding the number of sheep, and have given an overly broad account. However, I can assure them that in this city of Spahan, daily 10 or 12 thousand sheep and goats are slaughtered. And on this day, each person is obligated to take a sheep or a portion thereof for themselves. Certainly, the day before, riding out, I encountered everywhere such a gathering of sheep that I could scarcely make my way through them. Young lambs especially, but 20, 25, or 30 days old, are eaten here in abundance. This begins in November and lasts until April or May, particularly among those of prominence and means. For each lamb commonly costs 7, 8, or 9 *Morocdjies*, of which 7 make up one *ryxdaler* (a local coin) of our money. These lambs weigh approximately from 6 to 12 light pounds. This is the delicacy of the prominent Persians, who never eat beef. But the common people do eat that, and also buffalo meat, which is brought for sale here along with other foodstuffs. The lamb meat certainly falls here so pure and finely flavored that one never tires of eating it, even if eaten every day.

On one of the following days, the King went out with his wives to enjoy the entertainment of watching elephants swim in the river, which was greatly swollen by recent rains.

On the 23rd of the month, they celebrated here the feast called *Aidikader*, being the day on which Muhammad is said to have announced to the community that Ali should be his successor, and they blessed him for it. According to their accounts, this occurred in happy Arabia near the village of Shomkadier, where the feast is named, and is celebrated only by the Persians. No other Muslims wish to hear about it.

At this time, one saw the leaves sprouting on all the trees. The month ended with rain, which damaged many houses and swept others away from their foundations. It's no wonder: for the mudwork of these buildings draws water to itself. Therefore, because they are flat, they are above ground; there is nothing to be done about it until the weather dries out again.

The weather cleared with the arrival of the May month: on whose first day I rode out with Mr. Kaftlein, intending to take our way along the river. But we found it so high that the side road was completely underwater. Therefore, we changed course and took the path through the countryside, which after two hours of riding brought us to the estate called Old Goes-jeron, located next to the Zenderoc River, east of the city. In this very garden, planted with *Zenacer* and fruit trees, several envoys of the East India Company

have had their stay upon arrival and departure. The building consists of several rooms, which are now partially dilapidated. Above it one sees beautiful views of the surrounding countryside. In the garden stand 4 large *Zenaer* trees close together, providing a pergola in which one goes along some steps. These trees are short and thick-stemmed: and two of them have 16 feet in circumference. They are considered very old, and it is said that Tamerlane sat under them.

Here we intended to hunt some birds: but the weather changed, and rain overtook us. Once cleared, we rode back to Julfa, where we remained until evening.

The following days brought still erratic and changeable weather, which caused me to fall ill with a fever, of which I had received a few warnings. It was not stubborn, however, and left me after a few repetitions, but left me weak for the entire month.

The King's departure with his wives. Feast of *Aidikader*. ##
CHAPTER XXVII.

DESCRIPTION of Spahan, and of those things which are most remarkable within and without the same city.

FINALLY recovering my former health, I applied myself to consider and examine what was worthy of notice in this city. As far as the appearance of Spahan from without is concerned, together with the suburbs adjoining it, it is particularly large, exceeding all the cities I have before described. However, externally one does not see any great churches, high towers, or uncommon buildings standing out; although to mark and draw everything accurately, I availed myself of the winter season, because in summer the multitude of trees prevents one from seeing anything distinctly. Many trees also, which remain green even in winter, greatly obstruct the view, such as the palm-, pine-, cypress-trees, and vines, the latter being particularly high and armed with ivy, which appears strikingly prominent to the eye. All the buildings are gray and flat on top. From the enclosure of the city, though surrounded by a wall, one cannot distinguish anything, because it is so close that it seems united with it; hence it is difficult to make an outline, as there are no elevations that project far enough to be traced from without: although I had taken the place where I made the drawing at a height of about an hour's distance from the city, because I could see nowhere more conveniently. Here one perceived Julfa, though situated on the other side of the river, and belonging to that town, as well as what extends closer to the city than many villages and gardens, whose circumference comprehends an incredible size, entirely surrounded by mountains. It was healthy, but has now been rebuilt. Its appearance from below is as depicted on the adjacent page. The other mountains lie far away. The plain in which this city is seen has a length of about 25 hours from east to west. To the east it

seems as if there were no end, as also is the case with the road to *Zjie-raes*, where many pleasant villages and gardens are situated. On the western side I was more than six hours' distance from the city when I could still vaguely discern the end. The breadth of the outermost mountains on either side will be about six hours.

The city has 10 gates, none of which are flanked or guarded with any sentinels. I was eager to know its size. Therefore, I first went to view the gate called Haffan-abaeet, named after a famous man who formerly cultivated this region. From this side one arrives at Derwaf-cykaroen, or Gate Karoen, meaning the gate of the deaf: because this district was formerly inhabited by such people. One leaves this gate on the right flank and rides through the Bafaers, situated a quarter of an hour from the first gate. Then one comes after just as much to the tuffchenwytte at the gate called Seydach moedjoen on the eastern side of the city, where there is a double wall. The outer part of this is very low, and one finds nothing outside it, except for private graves. Next one arrives at the gate Sjoeborn, which lies to the west. Then, at about the same distance, appears the gate Togtfjie. Near this gate a ditch flows from the ground, which runs along part of the city's perimeter westward from here to the aforementioned Gate Karoen. Subsequently, a quarter of an hour further on is the gate Darideff, and at about the same distance the gate Darwafy-noww, or New Gate. Further on is the gate Darwafi lamboen, so named after the region, also situated at about the same distance to the west. Not far from this one arrives at the gate Doulet, or the gate of prosperity, which stands near the Chjaer-baeg. The tenth is the gate Hadsjie, standing close by the kitchen gate of the King's court. When I now returned after all this going around to the aforementioned Haffan-abaeet, I saw

The mountain called Koe-joffa is a mountain range, located one and a half hours south of the city. In its hanging position stands an airy house, built by King Sulle-moen, father of the reigning monarch. Here are several apartments, very pleasant and convenient for looking out over the vast countryside and the city. One sees here a plantation of various trees: also a stream of water that is received from the mountains. This building is called Tagte Sullemoen, which means the Throne of Sullemoen. But it is very dilapidated.

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TOWN OF ZULEMOEN.

I had been on the road for little less than 2½ hours, according to my watch. All these gates are made of earth and without carvings. The doors are roughly assembled from wood and flagged with iron plates.

The division of this city consists of 22 main districts within: of which 17 are called Mamerb-olla-fie, or Nametholladers, the other 5 Heyderries. These two parties are just like the Nicolotti and the Castellani in Venice. These 17 districts each have their particular names, such as Bagaet, or the district of gardens, because this area was formerly covered with gardens built by Abbaas the first; the second Kerron, which means deaf, being those of prominent people who perhaps once lived there, after whom this place received its name; the third Daelbettin, as much as Melon house; the fourth Sey-id Agmed-joen, named after one of their teachers; the fifth Letter, of which nothing can be said; the seventh 't Sjaer-Agaes or Ganzemarkt (whole market); the seventh 't Sjaer-foy Kotba, or Kruifwegh (grinding path) of Kotba; the eighth Seltoenfensjerie after a prince of that name; the ninth Namo-afig, or three two-thirds; the tenth Sjoebare, of which there is no meaning; the eleventh Derre Babba-kafim or the quarter of Father Kafim; the twelfth Gonde Magfoet-beek, or Quarter of the den of Lord Magfoet; the thirteenth Golbaer, or flower rich; the fourteenth Meydoene-mier or district of the Mey-doen (female teacher) of Mier, named after one of their teachers; the fifteenth Niema-wort, of which I know no meaning; the sixteenth Derre-koek or airy place; the seventeenth is unknown to me, because the district officer who promised to give the name thereof did not reappear. The four following are Heyderiers, of which the first is called Maleynomw or New district; the second Derredeft, or abandoned quarter; the third Hoefcyn-ja, or quarter of the Hemniers (shepherds), or Giftyken (gifted ones); the fourth Togtsjie, said Hen keeper.

The main districts that belong to the same parties outside the city are 4 in number, as Abbas Abaet, built by Abbaas the great. This is well the prefix of those outside the city, and only the most prominent people live there. It's also just as good if they lived within the city. It lies on the west side. ## Cornelis de Bruyns

zyde. The second is Sjems-Abaet, named after the builder Sjims. The third is Bred-abae, the fourth Thie-roen. The main districts, which lie on the side of Namet-olla-bie outside the city limits, are two in number: Sjeig-joesfus-fi benna, that is the eldest Jofef's withfelaer (companion): otherwise called Sjeig sebbennaes quarter; and Telwaes-kon. In all these main districts there are many other small districts, each having its own particular names. These two different sides particularly clash during the times of solemn processions and the mourning days of their greatest saints; and in places where they may meet each other. So that,

because neither side wants to yield to the other, clashes and other inconveniences often arise from this, about which we will speak at a more appropriate time. Some claim that these divisions originated from old records of the Persians, indicating that there were formerly two villages lying adjacent to each other, one belonging to the Heyderrie, the other to Mamet-olla-hic, and thus the divided parties in Spahan have retained these names. So that they have always wanted to be distinguished from each other, excelling over the other. Spahan then also bore the name of Hifpaban, also Ispahan, also Alspahan, and did not rise above being a village until Abbas brought the kingdom of Lar and Ormus under his rule. For then he abandoned Kasbin and Sultanie to transfer his court to Spahan, finding that place most suitable for securing his realm, as it was very well situated. From that time on, it was transformed from a village into a city and became worthy of being the capital of all Persia. It lies in the province of Ayrack or Yerack, a portion of the ancient kingdom of the Parthians at an altitude of 32 degrees, 45 minutes.

The land in general is known as Perfie, being a large and renowned kingdom in Afic, situated between the Caspian Sea, the Zagathay landscape, Tartary, the kingdom of the great Mogol, the Indian Sea, the Persian seaboard, barren Arabia, and Turkey.

The court of the King of Perfie has, as I have discovered, its circumference in about three-quarters of an hour. The court gate has six gates, the most important of which is Alie Kapie or the gate of Alie. The second is called Haram Kapefe, or Gate of the Women's House. These two gates stand on the Mey-doen or the place to the North. The third is called Moerbag Kapefe, or kitchen gate, because the food and everything pertaining to the table are brought in through it. This stands to the East. The fourth is Ghandag Kapesie. Through this one enters the Gardens of the King. But no one is admitted there except the King and the Kapaters (Guards) of the women. This comes to the Chjaer-baeg. The fifth is Ghajat-ganna Kapesie, or the tailors' gate, because the tailors in service of the King have their dwelling there. The sixth gate has the name of Defter Ghanna Kapesie, or the gate of the Secretariat. These two last gates come again within the city to the North. Through most of these gates the Great Ones of the Realm come to the King when he has chosen his seat in the court; but mostly it is through the two first-mentioned gates.

The castle, which they call Tabarock, The castle. has a circumference of about half an hour, stretching in length to the East within the city and towards the South against the city wall. It has a high wall of earth and is studded with many rough towers from which some cannon pieces protrude. But if I were to express my opinion, it would be frightening if they were fired, as they would surely bring down everything around them. For the walls are so thin and dilapidated that in many places one can see through them. Also, no foreigners are allowed inside, perhaps

because it feels even more desolate within than without. However, there are many dwellings within. What further is to be said about the city we will say after the depiction I shall give you beforehand, so that understanding everything will be all the easier. Therefore, I will show everything around as it appears from the South side, indicated with No. 74, and mark everything recognizable with a number. Thus No. 1 is a hillock, lying separate from the others; 2 the new garden of the King, exceedingly large, which was laid out here during my stay; 3 the river Zenderoe; 4 the house with a dome belonging to one of the prominent Armenians in Julfa; 5 the Church of the Dominicans in Julfa; 6 the St. John's Church of the Armenians; 7 the Bishop's Church of the same with a turret; 8 the Church of Jesus Mother; these things being so far in Julfa: 10 the bridge Allawerdi-chan; 11 the King's Mu-zjit or Church; 12 Mu-zjit Totf-olla, one of their old teachers; 13 Menare Kambrinfie, being a high stone tower; 14 Kella Menara, a tower of brickheads; 15 Tabarock, or the castle; 16 Hazar-zjeriop, the great garden of the King; and 17 and 18 the most important tombs of the Persians. ##

The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers immense potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of **machine learning**, a subset of AI, has been particularly groundbreaking. Algorithms can now learn from vast datasets, enabling them to perform tasks previously thought to require human intelligence – such as image recognition, natural language processing, and even creative content generation. This capability is driving advancements in areas like personalized medicine, where AI can analyze patient data to tailor treatments; autonomous vehicles, which promise safer and more efficient transportation; and fraud detection systems that protect financial institutions from losses.

However, the increasing sophistication of AI also raises concerns about **job displacement**. As machines become capable of automating routine tasks, many workers may find their jobs at risk. It is crucial for governments and businesses to invest in retraining programs and explore new economic models to mitigate these effects and ensure a just transition for affected individuals.

Another critical challenge lies in ensuring the **ethical development** and deployment of AI systems. Algorithms can perpetuate existing biases if they are trained on biased data, leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes. Furthermore, questions surrounding accountability and transparency arise

when AI makes decisions with significant consequences. Robust regulatory frameworks and ethical guidelines are needed to prevent misuse and promote fairness.

The potential for **misuse** of AI is also a serious concern. Autonomous weapons systems, for example, raise profound moral and strategic dilemmas. The spread of deepfakes – realistic but fabricated videos or audio recordings – can erode trust in media and institutions. Safeguarding against these threats requires international cooperation and proactive measures to detect and counter malicious applications of AI.

Despite these challenges, the future of AI is bright. By addressing ethical concerns, investing in education and training, and fostering collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and industry leaders, we can harness the power of AI to create a more prosperous, equitable, and sustainable world. The key lies in responsible innovation – developing and deploying AI systems that align with human values and benefit all of humanity.

- **Key Opportunities:**

- Advancements in healthcare through personalized medicine.
- Improved transportation safety and efficiency via autonomous vehicles.
- Enhanced fraud detection and cybersecurity measures.

- **Critical Challenges:**

- Potential for job displacement due to automation.
- Ensuring ethical development and mitigating algorithmic bias.
- Preventing misuse of AI technologies, such as deepfakes and autonomous weapons systems. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

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The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to reduce traffic accidents and improve transportation efficiency, while AI-powered virtual assistants streamline daily tasks and enhance productivity. Businesses across various sectors are leveraging AI to automate processes, optimize operations, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise ethical and societal concerns. One major worry is job displacement, as AI-driven automation could potentially replace human workers in

numerous industries. Ensuring a just transition for affected employees through retraining programs and social safety nets will be crucial. Another concern revolves around algorithmic bias – if AI systems are trained on biased data, they may perpetuate and amplify existing inequalities. Addressing this requires careful attention to data quality and fairness considerations throughout the AI development lifecycle.

Furthermore, the increasing sophistication of AI raises questions about accountability and transparency. When an autonomous system makes a decision with significant consequences, it can be difficult to determine who is responsible. Establishing clear lines of responsibility and ensuring that AI systems are explainable – meaning their decision-making processes are understandable – are essential for building trust and preventing harm.

The future of AI hinges on our ability to navigate these challenges effectively. International collaboration, robust regulatory frameworks, and ongoing public dialogue will be vital to harnessing the transformative power of AI while mitigating its risks. Investing in education and research is also paramount, ensuring that we have a workforce equipped with the skills needed to thrive in an AI-driven world.

- **Healthcare:** Improved diagnostics and personalized treatments.
 - **Transportation:** Safer roads and increased efficiency through autonomous vehicles.
 - **Employment:** Potential job displacement requiring retraining initiatives.
 - **Ethics:** Addressing algorithmic bias and ensuring fairness.
 - **Accountability:** Establishing clear responsibility for AI decisions.
- [Empty Response] ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers incredible potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that we must address proactively.

The development of **machine learning**, a subset of AI, has been particularly groundbreaking. Algorithms can now learn from vast datasets, enabling them to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively human capabilities – such as image recognition, natural language processing, and even creative content generation. This progress is fueling advancements in areas like personalized medicine, autonomous vehicles, and more efficient energy consumption.

However, the increasing sophistication of AI also raises concerns about **job displacement**. As machines become capable of automating routine tasks, many workers may find their roles obsolete. It's crucial to invest in education and retraining programs to equip individuals with the skills needed for the jobs of the future. Furthermore, exploring alternative economic models that address potential widespread unemployment is becoming increasingly important.

Another critical challenge lies in ensuring **algorithmic fairness**. AI systems are trained on data, and if that data reflects existing biases – whether racial, gender-based, or otherwise – the resulting algorithms will perpetuate and even amplify those biases. This can lead to discriminatory outcomes in areas like loan applications, hiring processes, and criminal justice. Rigorous testing and ongoing monitoring are essential to mitigate these risks.

The ethical implications of **autonomous weapons systems** also demand careful consideration. The prospect of machines making life-or-death decisions without human intervention raises profound moral questions that require international cooperation and robust regulatory frameworks.

“AI is not a magic bullet, but it has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems.” – *Dr. Fei-Fei Li*

Finally, safeguarding **data privacy** in an AI-driven world is paramount. As AI systems rely on massive amounts of data, protecting sensitive information from misuse and unauthorized access becomes increasingly complex. Stronger regulations and ethical guidelines are needed to ensure that personal data is handled responsibly.

In conclusion, the rise of artificial intelligence presents both extraordinary opportunities and daunting challenges. By addressing these concerns thoughtfully and proactively, we can harness the power of AI for good while mitigating its potential risks, ultimately shaping a future where technology serves humanity’s best interests.

- **Machine Learning:** A core component of modern AI development.
- **Algorithmic Fairness:** Ensuring that AI systems do not perpetuate biases.
- **Data Privacy:** Protecting sensitive information in an AI-driven world. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases earlier and more accurately, personalize treatment plans, and accelerate drug discovery. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation by increasing safety and efficiency, while AI-powered virtual assistants are streamlining daily tasks for individuals and businesses alike.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement, algorithmic bias, and ethical implications. As AI systems become more capable, there is a risk that they will automate jobs currently performed by humans, leading to unemployment and economic disruption. Furthermore, if AI algorithms are trained on biased data, they can perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities. Ensuring fairness, transparency, and accountability in AI development is crucial to prevent unintended consequences.

The potential for misuse of AI also poses a serious threat. Autonomous weapons systems, for example, could escalate conflicts and undermine human control over warfare. Safeguarding against such risks requires international cooperation and the establishment of clear ethical guidelines. Moreover, concerns about data privacy and security are paramount as AI relies on vast amounts of personal information.

“The key to harnessing the power of AI lies in responsible innovation,” says Dr. Anya Sharma, a leading researcher in artificial intelligence ethics. “We must prioritize human well-being and societal benefit while mitigating potential risks.”

To navigate this complex landscape effectively, governments, businesses, and researchers must collaborate closely. Investing in education and training programs to prepare the workforce for the changing job market is essential. Developing robust regulatory frameworks that promote ethical AI development and deployment is also critical. Finally, fostering public understanding of AI's capabilities and limitations will be vital for building trust and ensuring its responsible use.

• **Key Opportunities:**

- Improved healthcare diagnostics and treatment
- Increased transportation safety and efficiency
- Automation of repetitive tasks

- Accelerated scientific discovery
 - **Significant Challenges:**
 - Job displacement due to automation
 - Algorithmic bias and unfair outcomes
 - Ethical concerns surrounding autonomous systems
 - Data privacy and security risks
- ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers immense potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases more accurately and develop personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, increasing safety and efficiency. Businesses are leveraging AI to automate processes, improve customer service, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the widespread adoption of AI raises important ethical and societal concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems. Algorithms trained on biased data can perpetuate and amplify existing inequalities, leading to discriminatory outcomes. Another concern is the potential displacement of workers as AI-powered automation replaces human labor. Addressing this requires proactive measures such as retraining programs and social safety nets.

Furthermore, the increasing autonomy of AI systems raises questions about accountability and control. As AI becomes more sophisticated, it may be difficult to predict or understand its behavior, making it challenging to assign responsibility for errors or unintended consequences. Robust regulatory frameworks are needed to govern the development and deployment of AI, ensuring that it aligns with human values and societal goals.

Looking ahead, the future of AI hinges on our ability to navigate these challenges effectively. Collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and industry leaders is essential to develop ethical guidelines, promote responsible innovation, and harness the full potential of AI for the benefit of all humanity. The key lies in fostering a human-centered approach that prioritizes fairness, transparency, and accountability as we integrate AI into every aspect of our lives.

- **Machine Learning:** A core technology enabling AI systems to learn from data without explicit programming.

- **Algorithms:** Sets of rules or instructions used by computers to solve problems.
- **Bias in AI:** Occurs when algorithms produce unfair or discriminatory outcomes due to biased training data. > “AI is not a replacement for human intelligence, but rather an augmentation that can enhance our capabilities and improve decision-making.” – *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher* ##
Reisen: Notes on a Journey

nevens hun kerkhof; named Babaroek: 19 of the Christian cemeteries; 20 the river of Kings: 21 the Choroë mountains, partially covered with snow: 22 the mountain range of Taliffia, a village nearby also called that.

Now follows the Mey-doen, one of the two most important structures adorning this city. This place or market is 710 steps long from east to west and 210 wide from north to south. On the southern side stands the King's Court. To the north of it is the Nachbroë-Chone, or Drum House, where the royal musical instruments are kept, consisting of two high galleries separated from each other, between which is the imperial portal, built tall and stately of beautiful stone, through which one enters the Bafäers. On this gate is displayed finished the flag of King Abbas against the Usbeck Tartars, depicted in small figures by a painter from this land. Above it is a clock with a flag, the only one found throughout Persia. On this side is also Wagniffa-jaet, or some plaything made of unique wood puppets that move through a running mechanism; not worthy of being viewed by any European. A little further to the east is the Mu-zjid or Ma-zjid Sjig-loft-olla, or the Church Sjig-loft-olla, named after one of the Persian scholars whom they hold sacred. This is one of the most important churches, adorned with a beautiful large dome that is covered on the outside with green and bluish stones and usually inlaid with gold. The top knob has three golden buttons. The front gate leads to the Mey-doen. One ascends several steps to enter it. This church measures 40 paces from one side to the other, as I measured them; for no one of Christian nationality is permitted to enter. Further on, it is built round. At the end of this place to the west stands Sjae Ma-zjit, or the Royal Church, which is the most important in Spahan, also having a dome like the previous one. To this church are two porticos, with a tall column attached to either side. These both rise above the church. Everything is colored as we have named it, inlaid with gold, and very striking to the eye. One sees many white Persian characters there. There are also two columns on the dome. This church measures 85 paces from one side to the other, being also built round like the previous one. In the middle of the courtyard is a beautiful fountain or water basin directly in front of the entrance to the church. These two churches greatly enhance the Mey-doen. The gate Alie-Kapie is 266 steps from this last church and around this place run tall buildings with a continuous portal, where the shopkeepers and craftsmen gather. Those who serve the King live on the side of the court, both

craftsmen and others. So most of this place is occupied by large tents that serve as shops. Here everything is sold, but every evening it is all packed away for safety, which the guards with their dogs protect and ensure. Around the buildings there are many Elm trees here. There is a great deal of commotion from people, both nobles who come to court and common folk who flock here in large numbers. Among them are daily those who set themselves up for nothing but getting money by begging. These, well-spoken and free of shame, play as market tricksters or quack doctors, though they bring no medicines for sale. They entertain the crowd only with their performances and charlatanry, for which they are rewarded by the bystanders with a *Kaufbegie*, the smallest copper coin. Others are accompanied by a monkey to be able to perform even more tricks. This has gained considerable popularity here. For no lantern in the world lends its ears more readily to these vanities than the Persians. Therefore one also sees many of these tricksters in tobacco shops and coffee houses, as well as in shop fronts. There are also among them those who know how to tell stories about their saints and bring other strange histories to light. In the middle of this place stands a very tall pole, serving for the use of the tournament game. Then they put a golden cup or something of similar value on the highest point of it. Here they run up with a full stride, turn around after passing by, and shoot an arrow at which children stand. This shooting is only allowed to the most important nobles and their blood relatives, thereby honoring the persons of the ruler. He who has the prize takes it to himself and puts it on his head as a sign of victory. Then the King gifts him with another gift, large or small, according to his inclination towards the victor. These gifts are commonly a golden box filled with arrows or something of similar value. This knightly exercise has not occurred very often during the time of this king,

T 2

wiens ## The Meydan of Shah Abbas

The significance of this place extends to other matters. Quite different were his ancestors, who erected this enclosure. In their time, this game was always played on the day of the feast Non-roles, or the new Solar Year; a ceremony derived from the ancient Persian Kings, as evidenced by records indicating it also occurred during the reign of Darius. At that time, all tents were removed from their usual locations, and the ground was plowed for about twenty days beforehand. Then the King would sit atop the *Talael*, above the gate Alie-kapie. For this purpose, it is built in such a way as to appear tall, grand, and imposing. Once the winner had displayed his prize, other entertainments followed—wrestling matches, rope dancers, and others: also battles of flails and foot-ramming. Amidst these were many *guichlaers* (buffoons): whom this King did not desire to be exhibited; being arranged by his overseers, who showed him that such a spectacle was not in

accordance with his piety. This understanding also deterred public dancers and other light women: previously nothing was considered more common in Persia.

Illustration of the Meydan.

Now, let the reader observe the illustration of the Meydan on No. 75. The first view is drawn from the north side at the Nach-roe-Choue or Drum House. Here, letter A indicates the *Talael*, Alie-kapie, standing atop the building above the gate of Alie. B represents Sjae Mu-zjit, or the Royal church. C. Mu-zjit Sjig-loft-olla. D Wag-tis-fai-aet, or the play area. The tents can be seen as they stand there, like the enclosure for the racing game. The second view on No. 76 is drawn from the east side in one of the houses where the King's church stands. There, letter A indicates Talael Alie-kapie. B the Church Sjig-loft-olla. C the play area. D the drum house. E Derre Herrem, or the gate to the Women's House, of which little can be seen. The enclosure is visible in the middle of this place, and because it is less crowded with tents on this side, one can more clearly see how the cannons are positioned along the court. This consists of 119 pieces, of which three or four large ones are placed before each of the two mentioned gates. And among them stands one that far surpasses all others in size. The rest are mostly small culverins: of which there are two, laying on three on a frame, large in wheel diameter but quite dilapidated. Along the side where these pieces stand is a waterway. All these pieces were brought from Ormus during the reign of King Abbas,

when it was conquered by the Persians with the help of the English.

Regarding the Royal Court itself, one enters through the gate Alie-kapie, which is richly and beautifully built, and has a width of 10 paces, and even greater depth under a high vault. On either side, one sees many fine niches made of beautiful stone. Having passed by there, one finds on both sides a tall stone wall: and passing between them, one comes to the residences and gardens. The gate Derre Herrem or Haram Kape-sie is similarly wide. When I was there, it was mostly torn down and being rebuilt anew, and proudly gilded from the front. When I first visited the court, when the King was outside the city with his wives, I passed through such a gallery or walkway between the walls as mentioned. The beginning of it was truly royal. Then I entered the newly built area of the women, which was full of proud, though small apartments. The outer walls were seven *volts* (paces) deep; where one first passes through. The walls of the rooms were white on the outside but painted with colored flowers. At the end to the right, one saw a large and neat room, followed by several other rooms around it, not yet completely finished, but in short time to be brought to perfection, as they are steadily being worked on. Subsequently, I inspected the area called 'Tjel-feton', named the place of 40

columns. Here the King receives foreign ambassadors. One sees 20 wooden columns, some large and others painted green and gilded. This hall was spacious and wide, with walls around it colored blue and other hues, also decorated with flowers and ornamentation. One saw there also a few figures of Europeans, dressed in Spanish fashion and otherwise. Behind this building one sees eight more columns, four on each side, although four are in an inner chamber that is floored. The place where this building stands is particularly large and full of cypress trees. Opposite this stands another smaller building behind which the aforementioned women's quarters lie. Between these two buildings is a beautiful large fountain or pond, whose ground is paved with large stones. So too is the walkway on both sides. I found this fountain 180 paces long and 24 wide. From there I went to another large area where I found a particularly large and long building, and within it an extraordinarily large hall, of which the ceiling was very high.

The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

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The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing more effective treatments. Self-driving cars promise to reduce traffic accidents and improve transportation efficiency, while personalized learning platforms powered by AI can cater to individual student needs, enhancing educational outcomes. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased productivity and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise critical concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems. If AI algorithms are trained on biased data, they may perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities. Another concern is the potential displacement of workers due to automation. As AI-powered machines become capable of performing tasks previously done by humans, there's a risk of widespread job losses, requiring proactive measures for workforce retraining and adaptation.

Furthermore, ethical considerations surrounding AI are paramount. Questions about accountability when autonomous systems make mistakes, the privacy implications of data collection and usage, and the potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes demand thoughtful regulation and oversight. The development of

increasingly sophisticated AI also raises existential questions about the future of humanity and the need to align AI goals with human values.

Addressing these challenges requires a collaborative effort involving governments, researchers, industry leaders, and the public. Investing in education and training programs to prepare workers for the changing job market is crucial. Developing robust ethical guidelines and regulatory frameworks that promote responsible AI development and deployment is essential. Fostering open dialogue about the societal implications of AI will help ensure that this powerful technology benefits all of humanity.

- **Ethical Guidelines:** Should prioritize fairness, transparency, and accountability in AI systems.
- **Workforce Retraining:** Programs are needed to equip workers with skills for emerging roles in an AI-driven economy.
- **Data Privacy:** Strong regulations are necessary to protect personal data from misuse by AI applications.

“AI is not a threat; it’s a tool. Like any tool, its impact depends on how we choose to use it.” – *Fei-Fei Li*, Professor of Computer Science at Stanford University ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire’s early successes were largely due to its effective cavalry—the *sipahis*—and its innovative use of gunpowder weaponry, giving them a significant advantage over their rivals.

The conquest of **Constantinople** in 1453 by **Mehmed II**, also known as Mehmed the Conqueror, marked a pivotal moment in history and solidified the Ottoman Empire’s position as a major force. This victory ended the Byzantine Empire and transformed Constantinople into Istanbul, the new capital of the Ottoman realm. The city’s strategic location controlled vital trade routes between Europe and Asia, further enriching the empire.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I**, known as Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), the empire reached its zenith. His reign witnessed significant legal reforms—the *Kanun*, a comprehensive code of laws—and a flourishing of arts and architecture, exemplified by the stunning works of architect **Mimar Sinan**. The Ottoman navy dominated the Mediterranean Sea, challenging European powers and controlling lucrative trade routes.

However, internal strife, succession disputes, and increasingly powerful European rivals gradually weakened the empire. The **Treaty of Karlowitz** in 1699, which ceded significant territories to Austria, signaled a turning point, marking the beginning of a long period of decline. Despite attempts at modernization during the **Tanzimat reforms** in the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire faced mounting challenges, including nationalist uprisings and economic instability.

Ultimately, the empire's involvement in World War I on the side of the Central Powers proved fatal. The defeat led to its dismemberment following the **Treaty of Sèvres** in 1920, and the subsequent establishment of the Republic of Turkey under **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** in 1923 officially brought an end to over six centuries of Ottoman rule.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Constantinople:** Formerly the capital of the Byzantine Empire; renamed Istanbul after its conquest by the Ottomans.
- **Suleiman I (The Magnificent):** Reign marked the peak of Ottoman power and cultural achievement.
- **Mimar Sinan:** Renowned Ottoman architect known for his mosques and other structures.
- **Tanzimat Reforms:** 19th-century efforts to modernize the empire through legal, social, and economic reforms.
- **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:** Founder and first president of the Republic of Turkey.

“The conquest of Constantinople was a turning point in world history, marking the end of an era and the beginning of another.” – Historian Bernard Lewis ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

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The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and more effectively. Self-driving cars promise to reduce accidents and improve traffic flow, while personalized learning platforms can tailor education to individual student needs. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased efficiency and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise important ethical and societal concerns. One major worry is job displacement, as AI-powered automation could replace human workers in various industries. Ensuring a just transition for

affected employees through retraining programs and social safety nets will be crucial. Furthermore, biases embedded within training data can lead to discriminatory outcomes, perpetuating inequalities if left unaddressed.

The issue of accountability also demands attention. When an autonomous system makes a mistake or causes harm, determining who is responsible – the developer, the user, or the AI itself – becomes complex. Establishing clear legal and ethical frameworks for AI decision-making is essential. Moreover, the potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as creating sophisticated disinformation campaigns or developing autonomous weapons systems, poses a serious threat to global security.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but we must proceed with caution and foresight.” - *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Addressing these challenges requires a collaborative effort involving governments, researchers, industry leaders, and the public. Investing in education and workforce development is vital to prepare individuals for the changing job market. Promoting transparency and fairness in AI algorithms can help mitigate bias and ensure equitable outcomes. International cooperation is needed to establish common standards and regulations for AI development and deployment, preventing a race to the bottom that prioritizes profit over safety and ethical considerations.

Ultimately, harnessing the power of AI responsibly requires a proactive approach that anticipates potential risks while embracing the transformative possibilities it offers. By prioritizing human well-being and societal values, we can shape the future of AI in a way that benefits all of humanity.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, personalized education, increased business efficiency.
- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement due to automation, algorithmic bias leading to discrimination, difficulties in assigning accountability for AI actions, potential misuse for malicious purposes. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

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However, the development and deployment of AI also raise important ethical and societal concerns. One major worry is job displacement, as AI-powered automation could replace human workers in various industries. Ensuring a just transition for affected employees through retraining programs and social safety nets will be crucial. Furthermore, biases embedded within training data can lead to discriminatory outcomes, perpetuating existing inequalities. Addressing these biases requires careful attention to data collection and algorithm design.

The issue of AI accountability is also paramount. As AI systems become more complex and autonomous, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine who is responsible when things go wrong. Establishing clear lines of responsibility and developing robust oversight mechanisms are essential for building public trust in AI. Moreover, the potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as creating sophisticated disinformation campaigns or autonomous weapons systems, demands proactive measures to mitigate these risks.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but only if we develop and deploy it responsibly.” - *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Ultimately, harnessing the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks requires a collaborative effort involving governments, researchers, businesses, and civil society organizations. Investing in education and workforce development, promoting ethical guidelines and standards, and fostering open dialogue about the societal implications of AI are all vital steps towards ensuring that this transformative technology benefits everyone.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, personalized education, increased business efficiency.
- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement due to automation, algorithmic bias leading to discrimination, lack of accountability for AI actions, potential misuse for malicious purposes. ## Reisen.

Stretching against the flat opening of the sky. From the front it was draped with large curtains that hung from top to bottom on the ground. I lifted these up and saw that the entire hall was adorned with mirrors and beautifully painted and gilded wooden columns. This is the most magnificent building where the King receives foreign dignitaries. In front of it, one sees some beautiful fountains, usually also a waterway that irrigates the trees and gardens. This whole court is divided into many dwellings and

gardens, all separated from each other. There are also long covered stone galleries on both sides adorned with niches, from which there emerge a few seats or stone benches about 3 feet high. Many other buildings are also present, besides the new dwellings made for the women. The King pays 300 *toman* annually for these dwellings, each *toman* reckoned at approximately 40 guilders. To this must be added all the shops that stand around and on the Mey-doens, as well as those located on the Chjaerbag. The income from the gardens here belongs to the endowments that Abbas the first bestowed upon them.

The entertainment that the King enjoys is largely provided by music. His players on the *Nachroe-Chone* have several types of instruments. One of the most important is the Karama or Bazui-zuin, which comes closest in importance to the trumpet. Some of these bazuiuen have an end where one blows, five inches in circumference, and another end four feet: in length seven feet and six inches; so that being thus large and heavy they must be carried or placed against the front wall of the playing area, or on the knees of the blower, who sets his foot on a bench or some elevation. They make a rough and strong sound, or rather a rumble. Along with these come large drums, called *Koes* by them, which are five feet and two inches in height and nine feet and nine inches in circumference. But these are only used in the army during wartime. Then they are hung on a camel, where the player sits above and gives a strong sound. They also use those same drums, which we have, called *Hool*. There is also a type of small kettle drums, which they call *Nagora*, and trumpets that bear the name *Schalmei* from Nafier. Also *schalmies*, by them named *Soorna*. The harpsichord is also in their use. But the players especially use the *Kaman-fje*, a kind of violins. They also have the flutes *Tuterk* or flute, the *Sernoe* or *schalmei*, as well as a large type of flute, called *Balla-ban*, which gives off a sweet sound. There is also a type of a cittern, named *moog-nie*. But the *Sanseh* or *Cimbelk* is much in use. This is a kind of flat copper cymbals with which they produce a strong sound by clashing them together. Some of these cymbals have the size and shape of a common dish, although they are somewhat wider around the rim and the cavity thereof somewhat higher. In each hand they hold one, and can tire themselves out if the playing lasts too long. They also play on the 't *Saen*, an instrument of four pieces, of which they hold two in each hand, and skillfully clash them against each other. These things are commonly made of wood, half round, and 4 or 5 inches long. The *Harders* have a transverse flute: the *Derviefen* a horn on which they blow, called *Sjaeg-nefer*. These also use a smaller flute of short reeds glued to it, with how- ever *Pan de Veegodt* is commonly depicted. There is also the *Daerje*, known to the Portuguese by the name of *Rabanen*, which the Italians call *Tambre-rini*.

The further entertainment this nation enjoys is in riding horseback, in running with the lance and spear, called Ayner by the Persians, being a flock that they throw at each other on the body. They also shoot much with the bow and hunt with falcons. Furthermore, they spend time smoking tobacco; and holding famen conversations. Among these, the game of chess is very popular, upon which they become particularly engrossed. At this time, the Kapaters, or guards of the Jufferchap, take a lot of entertainment in falconry, something they would not have dared to do during the reign of previous kings.

Thus far concerning the Mey-doens. Now we must subsequently address the Chjaer-bag: because these two pieces, in my judgment, are the greatest ornaments of the royal capital. I must also confess that I have never seen them again. Why I will allow myself to describe and depict this last with as much accuracy as possible.

The path then leads here just outside the Daerwafaej doulet, or gate of prosperity on the side of the city, made by Sjae Abbaas the great. This Vorft allowed some of his aforementioned councilors each to erect a building in front of the royal gardens that stretch along it, at their own expense: to adorn this path through it and set up pleasantries. One of these lords, named Gemsjie ## Cornelis de Bruins

Ali Chan possessed a particularly grand and ornate building along the side wall of one of the gardens that runs alongside the river. Others followed this example, adorning this path with beautiful structures. At the beginning of this very path stands also a house from which the King can emerge from his garden to view it. This pleasant path has two names: from the city gate to the bridge Chjaer-baeg Pa-ien, or lower place; and on the other side of the bridge Chiaer-baeg Ballae, or upper place.

Having ascended through the aforementioned gate and walked 215 steps, one finds two buildings standing opposite each other, as are all the subsequent structures, with large gates through which one enters the gardens. In the middle of this path is a grand octagonal fountain. Having progressed another 338 steps, one encounters two similar buildings, also featuring a square fountain in the center. Another 170 steps further reveals a path between the garden walls, along which one can proceed to other areas. Here, one sees many wooden tables, benches, and chairs arranged where Persians are frequently found in large numbers daily to smoke tobacco and drink coffee, especially as evening approaches. There are six or seven beautifully crowned *Olm* trees, under whose shade it is pleasant to sit. The ground slopes downward slightly here. Constantly there is a great throng of people coming and going from the city, bringing and taking away all necessities, just like in other places. Many also ride horses nearby, turning back; others amuse themselves with running and

other exercises. Having advanced another 78 steps, one finds a large *flee-ne* gate leading to one of the gardens; from there, another 250 steps reveals two more such buildings where many people gather to smoke tobacco. After 135 steps, there is a passageway, and after another 140 steps, one sees two buildings in the same manner, with a square fountain in their center. These buildings are used as tobacco and coffee houses, and tables and wooden chairs have been placed around the fountain. In these dwellings, one observes many shields, arches, pylons, and other weapons hanging; one displays that of the aforementioned Mamet-bolladers, and the other, the Heyderye. After progressing 135 steps, one encounters another pair on either side; and having advanced another 145 steps, one finds a prominent seating area for those who wish to smoke tobacco, alongside an octagonal fountain offering a pleasant view of a path running between two rivers, with many *Zenaer* trees standing on both sides of the path. Continuing onward, the path runs 200 steps further alongside the King's house and garden, where peacocks and birds are found. Having proceeded another 80 steps, one reaches the bridge Allawerdie-Chan, where I found the lower road to be long—1751 steps. It is wide—68 steps—and planted on either side with very beautiful tall *Zenaer* trees, which were planted by King Abbas the Great more than 100 years ago. On one side, I found 135 fountains; on the other, 132. The path where these trees stand is 5 steps wide and a foot and a half higher than the middle road, which consists of sandy ground. This side of the garden wall to the trees is generally paved with large paving stones, as is the water canal that runs through the Chjaer-baeg. The width and height are also the same. Along both sides of the trees runs a small water pipe to irrigate them; all the trees stand in a neat row 10 steps apart.

Now follows the bridge over the river Zendervet, named Allawerdie-Chan after the name of the one who oversaw its construction. It is long—540 steps—and wide—17. It is built entirely of large stones, especially the substructure and foundations, which I observed in low water to contain some arches in the sandy ground, which is free from sediment. The arches where the river flows during high water are 33 in number; and above on the bridge at either side of the path there are 93 niches, some open and others closed, worked ornately at both ends. Above this runs a row of small stones laid upon each other so that there is an opening between them. On this bridge, one finds exceptionally beautiful views on either side. Having crossed here, one finds oneself, as mentioned, on the upper place, whose beginning has airy houses on both sides. Four hundred fifteen steps from the bridge lies a higher path where the waterfall descends into a fountain below, which is 50 steps wide and 40 in length. Close beside the waterfall, one ascends with eleven steps. These are made of large stones; but one of them is broken. On the

side, one sees four arches that slope inward slightly against the height. Beyond the bridge and these ## Reisen: A Description of Chjaer-baeg

This fountain stands on the large side, with 23 willow trees. Near the waterfall are also grand buildings and trees. Here, one ascends steeply against the sandy slope from both sides; but then you reach a level path again, as before. After a walk of 370 steps, one arrives at two pavilions. A path on the large side runs between the walls and is planted with trees. After 110 steps, one encounters two such pavilions again, and after another 235, two others, as also after 228. From there, 12 steps further, two paths run between the walls. After 114 steps, two pavilions again, as also after 228. After 117, a path to the right, and after 112 steps, two pavilions again. Then, after covering another 103 steps, this path ends. Chjaer-baeg is generally level and even, bordering the King's large garden, which extends from the waterfall to the end. On each side stand 140 beautiful cypress trees, among which a few mulberry trees are planted. Thus, I have counted from the bridge to the end 2045 steps, and 540 that make up the length of the bridge. The lower section is 1751 steps, totaling 4336 steps in all. The Romans reckoned 1000 steps or paces as a *miliare* or mile; the Greeks counted with stadia, each making 125 paces. A common German mile of 15 in a degree is one hour and corresponds to 4000 steps; from this it can be determined how Chjaer-baeg, whose end is marked by the King's large garden and a grand and beautiful building that, like all the others, appears stately from the outside and is adorned with flowers and foliage, is situated. Particularly impressive is the entrance to the garden. Inside the garden, a pleasing sight presents itself: for through its center flows a stream of water descending from above, with several small fountains. The garden is spacious and full of walking paths, further populated by many fruit and other trees, which create a beautiful appearance. This garden is famous here for its beauty, although it could still be improved as far as the plantings are concerned. When one turns to the right at the end of the mentioned path, one walks 280 steps between the walls of the gardens before beginning to measure their length. Then one proceeds straight ahead. Further, between the walls, another 505 steps lead to the first dovecote, which stands in the King's garden, on a half-circle outside the wall, where one must walk around 50 steps when taking the right side and reaching the level opening. To the mountains from this point to the second dovecote are 855 steps; subsequently to the third tower, which stands at the end of the wall, 870. Thus, this garden extends in length from north to south for 2280 steps. When one begins counting from the end on the east side, one counts 565 steps to the first two small columns that stand before the garden. To the building on that side of the garden (as can also be seen in the drawing of the city) and the mentioned dovecote are 330 steps. Back to the other two columns, 210. From these again to the end, 540. Thus, I found the width here from east to west to be 1645 steps. The name of this garden

is Hafuer-Zjeriep, which means the Garden of 1000 *Zjerieps*; each *Zjeriep* being between 17 and 18 Hollandish elles, and 1200 Geld or Royal elles, well understood in a square measure.

While we are speaking of these dovecotes, it is appropriate to say what purpose they serve. They primarily collect the droppings of pigeons that gather there in large numbers. This droppings is used as fertilizer for all kinds of melons; and it is sold as *Manfa*, which is 11½ points, commonly for 8 or 10 stuivers. For this reason, these towers were raised extraordinarily high from the ground: so they also serve as a shelter for the pigeons standing there. They also bring their benefit. Every year they yield well 240 guilders in income, coming from both fertilizer and young pigeons that are also sold. Therefore, one sees many of them here in this land.

To depict Chjaer-baeg now, the first view from the west side is shown, drawn by me while sitting beside the Zenderoe or Zajanderoot river, which means “giving birth river,” because it throws out so many fountains or flowing waters. It has its source from four large fountains or wells, named Cher-t ZefmE, or origin of the fountains; a place about 5 days’ journey from Spahan in the mountains to the west—although others locate its origin on two different places, one three days’ journey from Spahan near the village of Dombina, and the other, as we have said. This river disappears again about three days’ journey from Spahan to the east in Gou-honie, which is a barren plain.

This first depiction is shown:

First Depiction. ## Cornelis de Bruyns’s Observations

Cornelis de Bruyns illustrates at No. 77 a location marked with the number five. This encompasses the gardens on either side of the Chjaer-baeg, alongside the path leading to the bridge, specifically from the end of the road below. 2. The Allawerdie-Chan bridge. 3. A building erected by King Sefi for a Dervish who was summoned from India but refused to come. 4. A small house where bodies are taken to be embalmed. 5. The buildings along the Chjaer-baeg. 6. The building of Gem-Sjie. Alie-Chan. 7. A Dovecote tower. 8. The Zenderoet River.

The second view, drawn by me; sitting on the Chjaer-baeg near the bridge, on the same side, is depicted at No. 78, and within it, letter A indicates the King’s garden with poultry and cattle: B represents the bridge; C ’t house where embalmed bodies are cleansed; D the Zenderoet River; E the Koe-foffa mountains. The remaining houses are the buildings on both sides of the Chjaer-baeg.

The third drawing was made by me on the bridge, as one sees the lower path from the Chjaer-baeg: showing the gate to the right side of the garden where the birds and cattle are kept. Here one

also sees a tower for catching wind; subsequently the fountains and the location of the path leading to the building next to the city gate, which comes on the fair side, being on the right side the wall of the King's Palace gardens. This view is at No. 79.

The fourth depiction I provide at No. 80. The drawing here was made at the other end of the bridge and includes the upper path with buildings on either side, also the aforementioned waterfall and fountain, alongside the further path to the end of the King's great garden's forebuilding.

The fifth depiction is a cross-section, as we show the forebuilding of this garden by No. 81, along with what is seen nearby, flowing from the water canal near the front gate.

Among other notable buildings, the bridge stands out in its beauty, named the Zjiraaffe bridge, located a quarter of an hour outside the Hassan-abaet gate, southeast of the city, also leading to this gate the name of Hassan-abaet. It has a length of 188 steps, a width of 16, measured from one side of the wall to the other. It has 42 niches on either side, some of which are open and some closed. It is built of fired brick. The lower vault in particular displays very large bricks. It has 20 arches through which the river flows, as well as 5 others on the right and 3 on the left side. The building in the middle of the bridge has openings on either side, through which one can pass under the upper bridge. On the east side, where the beautiful selection was made to create the drawing, there is a spacious paved path running along in front of the arches, being 18 feet wide. From this, one descends with 12 steps to the river when it is low, as happens during the summer freeze, so that horses can wade through without getting wet to their bellies.

What is even more remarkable is that at times this very river is so high that many houses and buildings are swept away by it, as happened especially in the year 1699 in April. These steps are separated from each other in 19 divisions by a canal through which the river flows. Some of these divisions have only 7 or 8 steps. On the back side, the foundation springs sharply out between the arches without being able to pass through, unless one goes around it from the inside along the path. The height is quite unmeasured; the width measures 18 steps. Above the bridge there is also a stately building under which one passes onto the bridge. The building at the beginning of the bridge is the front gate of the King's garden, located near the side of the city. The path on the other side of the bridge also has a similar gate to the garden, about which we will speak further. The view of this bridge, drawn from the northeast side, is shown at No. 82. The number five refers to the entire bridge: 2. the garden named Bage-naefer, or Garden of the View, because it has a view of the other, called Sadet-abad, which is represented by 3; 4 shows the Zenderoet River. When one looks east from this bridge, it is a

spectacle for the eyes, as appears here alongside. This is why every day before evening many Persians come to take their recreation on this bridge, sitting by the waterfall on the path in front of the arches smoking tobacco and drinking coffee, which can be found there. Many women do the same, some settling near the river and others strolling nearby. One commonly sees Persians with their horses running along the river. The garden now called Sadet-abad, that is, built by the fortunate one, lies southeast of the city and extends to the aforementioned bridge west of it, so that from this it can be inferred how large it must be. Within it there is also a large beautiful building of brick, which serves as Haram or ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that require careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing more effective treatments. Self-driving cars promise to reduce traffic accidents and improve transportation efficiency, while personalized learning platforms powered by AI can cater to individual student needs, enhancing educational outcomes. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased productivity and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise important ethical and societal concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems. If AI algorithms are trained on biased data, they may perpetuate and even amplify existing inequalities. Another concern is the potential displacement of workers due to automation. As AI-powered machines become capable of performing tasks previously done by humans, there's a risk of widespread job losses, requiring proactive measures for workforce retraining and social safety nets.

Furthermore, the increasing sophistication of AI raises questions about accountability and transparency. It can be difficult to understand how complex AI algorithms arrive at their decisions, making it challenging to identify and correct errors or biases. The potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as autonomous weapons systems or sophisticated disinformation campaigns, also poses a serious threat.

Addressing these challenges requires a multi-faceted approach. Governments, researchers, and industry leaders must collaborate to develop ethical guidelines and regulations for AI development and deployment. Investing in education and training programs is crucial to prepare the workforce for the changing job market. Promoting transparency and explainability in AI systems can help build trust and ensure accountability. International cooperation is essential to address global challenges related to AI governance and security.

Ultimately, harnessing the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks requires a thoughtful and proactive approach. By prioritizing ethical considerations, investing in human capital, and fostering collaboration, we can shape the future of AI in a way that benefits all of humanity.

- **Ethical Guidelines:** Essential for responsible AI development.
 - **Workforce Retraining:** Necessary to adapt to automation's impact on jobs.
 - **Transparency & Explainability:** Crucial for building trust and accountability. The illustration portrays a vast body of water—likely a river or lake—with several figures on horseback dispersed across its surface. Across the far shore, a collection of buildings is visible, including a prominent cylindrical tower marked with the number 6 and other structures labeled with numbers like 3, 4, 5, and 7. Trees and distant hills frame the landscape beneath a cloudy sky. The scene conveys an impression of openness, possibly intended for recreation or ceremony, with the numbered markers indicating specific points of interest within the depicted area.
- ## Allawerdie-Cham Structure

A long, arched structure spans the scene, its facade defined by repeating arches and supported by columns. To the left, a figure attends to a camel resting on the ground, while two dogs wander nearby. In the center, two horse riders move towards the right, their figures silhouetted against the open space. Further back, another person sits near a horse, and beyond that, a distant building with arched windows is visible atop a hill.

Chyaer-baeg Pathway

A paved pathway runs straight through the heart of the scene, bordered by buildings on either side. On the left, a multi-story structure featuring arched windows stands next to a low wall and trees. To the right, another building boasts prominent arches and is enclosed by a high wall. Several figures are scattered throughout: two people walk near the edge on the left, while

others stand or move along the path. The background is filled with dense foliage, creating a lush setting for the architectural details.

Two Illustrations

The first image portrays a lengthy avenue bordered by trees, stretching towards a structure far in the distance. Figures on horseback and pedestrians populate its expanse. The second illustration showcases an architectural complex distinguished by arched colonnades and a central building boasting large windows and an elaborate entrance, all set amidst trees and with several individuals visible in the foreground.

The Bridge Has Fallen

The collapse of the **De Brugh** bridge sent shockwaves through the region, disrupting transportation and raising serious questions about infrastructure maintenance. For decades, the iconic structure had served as a vital link between **Northwood** and **Riverton**, facilitating daily commutes and supporting local businesses. Now, its sudden failure has left both communities isolated and grappling with the economic fallout.

Initial reports indicate that structural fatigue may have been a contributing factor, although a full investigation is underway to determine the precise cause of the collapse. Witnesses described hearing a loud cracking sound before witnessing the bridge deck plummet into the **River Avon**. Fortunately, no fatalities were reported; however, several vehicles sustained damage and their occupants required medical attention.

The immediate priority is restoring access between Northwood and Riverton. Engineers are currently assessing the site to determine the best course of action, with preliminary estimates suggesting that a temporary solution could be in place within **six weeks**. A permanent replacement bridge will likely take considerably longer—potentially **two years** or more—given the complexity of the project and necessary regulatory approvals.

The incident has also sparked renewed debate about the state of aging infrastructure across the country. Critics argue that insufficient funding for maintenance and repairs has left many bridges and roads vulnerable to failure, posing a significant risk to public safety. Government officials have pledged to review current infrastructure spending and prioritize projects aimed at preventing future disasters.

“This is a tragedy, but it’s also a wake-up call,” stated **Mayor Thompson** of Northwood during a press conference earlier today. “We can’t afford to ignore the warning signs any longer. Our communities depend on safe and reliable infrastructure.”

Local businesses are bracing for significant losses as supply chains are disrupted and customers struggle to reach their destinations. The **Riverton Chamber of Commerce** has

established a relief fund to assist affected businesses, while community leaders are exploring alternative transportation options, such as increased bus service and ferry routes. The long-term impact on the region's economy remains uncertain, but residents remain resilient in the face of adversity. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire's early successes were largely due to its effective cavalry – the *sipahis* – who played a crucial role in conquering Byzantine territories.

The reign of **Murad I** (1362-1389) marked a significant turning point. He consolidated Ottoman control over much of Anatolia and initiated campaigns into Europe, culminating in the pivotal Battle of Kosovo in 1389. This victory solidified Ottoman dominance in the Balkans and paved the way for further expansion westward. The subsequent reign of **Bayezid I** ("the Thunderbolt") saw continued military successes, bringing the Ottomans to the gates of Constantinople. However, his ambitions were abruptly curtailed by Timur (Tamerlane), who decisively defeated Bayezid at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, plunging the empire into a period of civil war known as the Ottoman Interregnum.

The Interregnum lasted for nearly a decade and severely tested the empire's resilience. It was **Mehmed I**, Bayezid's son, who ultimately restored order and began the process of rebuilding the shattered state. His reign laid the foundation for the golden age that would follow under his successor, **Mehmed II** ("the Conqueror").

Mehmed II is best remembered for his audacious conquest of Constantinople in 1453, a watershed moment in world history. The fall of this ancient city ended the Byzantine Empire and transformed the Ottomans into a major European power. Mehmed's subsequent campaigns further expanded Ottoman territory, incorporating much of Greece, Albania, Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. He also implemented significant legal and administrative reforms, centralizing authority and strengthening the empire's infrastructure.

The reign of **Selim I** (1512-1520) witnessed a dramatic shift in focus towards the east. He conquered Egypt from the Mamluks, gaining control of Mecca and Medina – the holiest cities in Islam – and assuming the title of Caliph. This conquest solidified Ottoman legitimacy as defenders of the Islamic faith and brought vast new territories under their dominion, including Syria, Palestine, and parts of Arabia.

The zenith of Ottoman power arrived during the reign of **Suleiman I** ("the Magnificent") (1520-1566). Under his rule, the empire reached its greatest territorial extent, encompassing regions from North Africa to Central Europe. Suleiman was not only a brilliant military leader but also a renowned lawgiver; his legal reforms – known as *Kanun* – modernized Ottoman jurisprudence and ensured justice throughout the realm. He patronized the arts and sciences, fostering a vibrant cultural environment that left an enduring legacy.

However, even at its peak, the Ottoman Empire faced challenges. Internal power struggles, economic difficulties, and increasingly powerful European rivals gradually eroded its strength in subsequent centuries. The empire's decline was a long and complex process, marked by territorial losses, political instability, and ultimately, its dissolution after World War I in 1922.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Murad I:** Expanded Ottoman control into Europe.
- **Bayezid I:** Defeated by Timur at Ankara.
- **Mehmed II:** Conquered Constantinople in 1453.
- **Selim I:** Conquered Egypt and assumed the title of Caliph.
- **Suleiman I:** Reign marked the empire's greatest territorial extent and cultural flourishing.

"The conquest of Constantinople was a turning point not only for the Ottomans but for the entire world." – Historian Donald Quarracino ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While offering unprecedented opportunities for progress and innovation, AI also presents significant challenges that must be addressed proactively.

The potential benefits are immense. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, reducing accidents and improving traffic flow. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased efficiency and profitability. Furthermore, AI is driving advancements in scientific research, enabling scientists to model complex systems and accelerate discoveries.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise critical concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI algorithms. If trained on biased data, AI systems can perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities, leading to discriminatory outcomes. Another concern is job

displacement. As AI-powered automation becomes more prevalent, many jobs currently performed by humans may be at risk, requiring workforce retraining and adaptation.

Ethical considerations are paramount. The increasing autonomy of AI systems raises questions about accountability and responsibility when things go wrong. We must establish clear ethical guidelines and regulatory frameworks to govern the development and use of AI, ensuring that it aligns with human values and societal goals. >“The goal is not to create machines that think like humans, but rather to develop tools that augment human capabilities.”

Moreover, security risks associated with AI are a growing concern. AI systems can be vulnerable to cyberattacks, potentially leading to malicious use or unintended consequences. Robust cybersecurity measures and safeguards are essential to protect against these threats.

Addressing these challenges requires a collaborative effort involving researchers, policymakers, industry leaders, and the public. Investing in education and training programs is crucial to prepare the workforce for the changing job market. Developing robust ethical frameworks and regulatory policies will help ensure that AI is used responsibly and benefits all of society. Finally, fostering open dialogue and transparency about AI's capabilities and limitations is essential to build trust and promote informed decision-making.

The future shaped by AI is not predetermined. By proactively addressing the challenges and embracing the opportunities, we can harness the power of AI to create a more prosperous, equitable, and sustainable world for all. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small Turkish principality, it rapidly expanded under ambitious leaders like **Osman I** and his successors, capitalizing on the decline of the Byzantine Empire and internal divisions within the fragmented Seljuk Sultanate of Rum.

The empire's early successes were largely due to its highly disciplined military, particularly the elite **Janissary corps**, composed of Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and rigorously trained as soldiers. This standing army provided a significant advantage over less organized regional forces. Strategic conquests like **Bursa** in 1326 and **Adrianople** (Edirne) in 1362 established the Ottomans as a major force in the Balkans, setting the stage for further expansion into Europe.

The reign of **Mehmed II**, often called “the Conqueror,” marked a pivotal moment in Ottoman history. In 1453, he decisively captured **Constantinople**, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, effectively ending over a thousand years of Roman and Byzantine rule. This victory transformed the Ottomans into a major imperial power and solidified their control over vital trade routes between Europe and Asia. Constantinople was renamed **Istanbul** and became the new Ottoman capital, symbolizing the empire’s shift in focus towards the East.

Under subsequent sultans like **Selim I** and **Suleiman the Magnificent**, the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith. Selim’s conquest of Egypt in 1517 brought control of Mecca and Medina under Ottoman rule, establishing the sultan as a major religious authority within the Islamic world. Suleiman’s reign (1520-1566) witnessed significant territorial expansion across Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, along with a flourishing of art, architecture, and law. He codified Ottoman law, known as *Kanun*, which provided a framework for governance and justice throughout the vast empire.

The Ottoman Empire’s influence extended beyond military conquest. It fostered a vibrant multicultural society where Muslims, Christians, and Jews coexisted, albeit under specific legal and social regulations. Trade flourished along established routes, connecting East and West and contributing to economic prosperity. However, internal power struggles, succession disputes, and the rise of European powers gradually eroded Ottoman strength in later centuries, ultimately leading to its dissolution after World War I.

- **Osman I**: Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries**: Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
- **Constantinople/Istanbul**: The former Byzantine capital and subsequent Ottoman capital.
- **Suleiman the Magnificent**: Sultan during the empire’s golden age.
- *Kanun*: Codified Ottoman law.

“The conquest of Constantinople was a turning point in world history, marking the end of an era and the beginning of another.” – Historian Donald Quarracino ## Reisen N. 153

VIEW BY THE BRIDGE HASSAN ABAET.

serves the Women’s Quarters. It stands beside the river, over which a stone bridge extends, adorned from above with some wooden lattice work that serves as a railing. It faces another garden, across which one walks. It has 17 arches. There was once a higher building above the women’s house, but in this summer, when the King was there, it burned down. Adjacent to it stands a

beautiful *Talael* where the King receives foreign envoys. Behind this is a fine stone building that is 33 paces wide up to the *Talael*, and 40 long. The *Talael* itself is 36 paces long, and 42 wide. It has two small staircases on its front side, each half a foot high. When one ascends there, one sees in the middle a marble fountain that is 8 paces wide, and 6 long. After walking 22 paces, one finds an elevated place that is 3 feet high without any steps. Then one proceeds 12 paces to the side walls, where there is again such a height, to which one goes to the rooms with a depth of 29 paces. In the middle of this place one finds another fountain like the previous one, which is 4 paces long and 6 wide. On the walls one sees here 6 paintings, made life-size, painted in *niffen*. Four are dressed in Spanish fashion, each particular, men and women, all with glasses of wine beside them. On each side wall one sees the image of two women together, one painted in antique clothing, and the other in the Spanish style. One of the aforementioned four is in different clothing. All are flecked; and without art made. The rest is gilt from top to bottom, and with flowers, leaves, foliage, and similar decorations arranged. So too are the columns, which number 20, running through them blue and red stripes. This place is spacious and high-ceilinged: but the whole *Talael* is of wood, as is also the vault, which is green and red painted; that does not quite fit. The entire layout can be seen in No. 83, where the *Talael* is indicated by the letter A: the Women's Quarters by B: the Bridge by C: the River from the far side marked by D. When the King is here, he causes the river to whistle through wooden shutters placed in the canals of the bridge Hassan-abaet, through which the water flows. ## Cornelis de Bruin's Observations of Talael

He also possesses here two or three flat-bottomed, dilapidated boats—the kind we often see discarded behind the shipyard in our land—in which he and his concubines are rowed along the river.

Within this very garden, I sketched another scene higher up on a playhouse, located on the east side: from where one can also view the bridge at Chjaer-baeg; as depicted in No. 84, wherein A represents the women's house, B the bridge leading to the garden across the river, C the bridge of Chjaer-baeg, D the river, and another bridge further down the river from the

ZJARESTON BRIDGE.

city, named Sjareston, featuring ten arches; on one side of which stands a large building through which one accesses the bridge. Above it, there are splendid views both over the land and the river. In the middle lie numerous pieces of rock and land around which the river flows. You see the depiction alongside here. I must add that approximately five days' journey southwest of Spahan,

across a high, flat mountain, runs a river called Aeb-Chieran, whose water is exceptionally good and teeming with beautiful fish, particularly trout. It empties into the Euphrates.

The River Aeb-Chieran. ## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the King of Persia, Royal Affairs, and Royal Officials.

The monarchy of the King of Persia is so utterly complete that no prince in the world is endowed with greater power. For nothing withstands his will, and he can do everything according to his sole pleasure, except matters of religion, where it is believed that he could not make a change. Otherwise, he is master of all, having the life and death of every person, from the greatest to the smallest, without any limitation in his hands. His birth occurs within the Women's Quarters, guarded and protected inside by white-painted walls. Here he is raised without assistance from any instruction that a human being can comprehend, like a beast newly born, nurtured between four solid walls, and stripped bare as a plant that has shed the life-giving warmth of the sun from itself, and changed in color and form. When he begins to gain years, a black Capado is added as his tutor. This man instructs him in reading, writing, and the Mahometan religion; furthermore, how he must purify himself, arm himself, and how he must pray and fast. He also does not fail to fill the young prince's mind with the wonders of their Prophet and the 12 Imams. Especially, he does not forget to instill in the young prince a hatred for the Sunni Christians—that is, those outside of them who are also of the Mahometan religion, such as the Turks, Mongols, and others, whom he despises and curses with such burning zeal as if a special service were being performed for God. Thus much is concealed beneath the cloak of religious piety. Such lives they form him with, without mentioning or knowing the histories of men of virtue or statesmanship. For if the tutor went down this path, it would have done well for both him and his pupil. Surely because his senses fall upon nothing serious, he is given some women to whom he is entrusted, and further immersed in all pleasures, so that he knows nothing of the world except what the impulses of flesh and blood command him. And if all this were not enough, they prepare opium and cocaine, or water from sleeping pills, which is given to him as a drink, with amber and other hot things mixed in, which incite the air to indulge in lewdness, and for a short while fill it with pleasant and airy visions, until vice and licentiousness creep upon him and cast him into an insensibility. Thus he spends his life in this stupidity and pitiable insensitivity, until his father dies. If he is the eldest or, by all rights, entitled to the crown, he is then taken from the Women's Quarters and placed on the throne. Here the entire court comes to prostrate itself before him, and prove all due honors. Which all appears to him as a dream; and he would take it for

such if this interlude of state and splendor did not continue for some time. But since this parade of his continues, he grows accustomed to it and begins to know who he is. Meanwhile, everyone believes him to be very powerful and follows his sensuality in order to curry favor with him. However, no one interferes with him regarding the opportunity of his kingdom and government; but each strives as much as possible to keep him blind in this regard, in order to benefit himself from his ignorance. Thus it happens that the first State official, whom they call Attemaed Douleth, finding the King sitting in the Mazilis with a Kaliaen at his mouth—which is never separated from him on these occasions—and perceiving that he is in good spirits, after performing deep honors, by which he calls himself the Cor-baan or flachtoffer, requests him for one thing or another, that he may know how to give color to it, as if it were necessary for the kingdom, either under the guise of his own benefit, or that of his blood relatives, or also those who have filled his hands. Such requests, which involve an office or increase in salary, the King will then grant. But if anything is raised, ## Cornelis de Bruins

The writer, concerned about certain circumstances of the realm requiring careful consideration, finds he is not yet sufficiently prepared or equipped to thoroughly investigate and discern truth from falsehood regarding such matters. Therefore, he sets aside this difficulty and directs his attention to more agreeable pursuits that lie before him. Noticing this, the Attemad Douleth interrupts the reasoning and shifts the conversation to other topics. Now, food is presented that appeals to his palate: players, singers, and dancers who are maintained by the court appear. Steeds and foot races begin, each according to their flag, competing against one another. Jugglers, mummers, rope-dancers, tumblers, guichelaers, and other artists perform in turn. The King also sits in the Talael Alike-kapie, which, as we have said, overlooks the Meydoen, while stick-throwing and other exercises commence. All these things please the inexperienced sovereign better than any deliberation on matters of importance. Just as there is no amusement, he becomes saturated with it; then he grows weary of this play and retires within the Haram. Thus, the work that, according to the State Diener's proposal, must be completed—the mark—remains unfinished. If this Minister wishes to bring an end to this, he must daily present himself at the King's gate in the morning and afternoon to ascertain the time and opportunity for his business, or perhaps find the sovereign in a good mood, or have the conversation naturally turn to that subject. Otherwise, he must remain silent, as attempting to broach the matter while the King's chief advisor disapproves would easily lead to disfavor. So much effort is required before even the greatest of men can bring a task to completion. Therefore, he also relies on his encounters with the King: and then, through a cleverly placed word, he often achieves more than ten Meziliffen could accomplish. Meanwhile, the air appeals to the young women. He has them sought out from the Georgiaen sche, Armenian, and other regions; for whom he

undertakes journey after journey, hunting: sometimes the men travel several miles from their homes in order to accompany their wives on these occasions, engaging in hunting, fishing, or other amusements. Now he also indulges in drinking wine, which had been forbidden to him as long as he remained sober. This king certainly learns this well, spending two or three nights at a time in drunkenness, so that they lead five or six years of loose living, without regard for the affairs of the realm or their own glory. And at this time, the Greats of the court are so astute that each strives to fill his pockets with the mark-pennies given to them when they can help someone secure an office or render a service to the court.

The Landstewards' Greed for Money. The Landstewards in the surrounding districts also follow this pattern, plucking and scraping from the King's possessions and those of his subjects as much as is within their power. And they do so openly, provided that two or three Greats who have the king's ear give them a share of the loot. This disorder thus continues unchecked until the King appoints an official of such strictness that he can keep all the others in check. Then some improvement occurs in affairs, and it seems as if the sovereign's eyes are enlightened after his disappointment or affliction; whether his inner perception is more or less penetrating—nevertheless, not unless the breezes to which he is accustomed are resisted and diverted, constantly undermining his nature and leading him back to the old ways. Such is life generally. But when he reaches the age of 35 or 40 years, his reason begins to emerge somewhat from the cloak of his body, and he begins to come to himself. If his perception possesses some capability, then he first begins to understand the nature of his realm and to apply himself to its burdens, warding off all disorder and striving by means of which this vast kingdom may grow and flourish. But what is that? Before he achieves this goal, death often takes him away before his time, plunging the kingdom into old inconveniences.

The first official of this magnificent empire is, after his service, according to our State Diener—that is, supported by the realm or Kingdom Steward. He is also called Wazier-Azem, or great bearer of burdens, since primarily the burden and care of the entire realm rests upon him. This man, as we have already said in detail, leads a troubled life; his misery does not cease even when he neglects the concerns of his office. He must be attentive to all circumstances and events that could hold him in favor with the sovereign. Therefore, he conceals his face and his feelings from anything that might disturb or displease him, instead providing him with everything that can serve to delight him and to— ## Treachery of the Persians

To maintain a good reputation: and with all his strength working to master his mood. This is why he makes himself believe that he is the most powerful prince in the world, concealing from him

anything that could reveal or expose the weakness of his state. Thus, all unfavorable news is hidden from him, or entirely distorted and obscured, and even the smallest victory, here or there over the enemies, is infinitely exaggerated. Such actions lead this minister to expand his household and assist his friends in obtaining the most important positions within the realm; for which he frequently dismisses one or another *Chan* or administrator from their duties to make room for those he wishes to advance. And this does not trouble him, because almost no one dares to stand up to him in this kingdom. Furthermore, he shows extraordinary favor to other provincial governors or officials of high rank whose positions he has not yet filled; or to those whom he favors secretly, so that their hands are overflowing with gifts, and through his authority, royal ceremonial robes are sent to them, allowing his servants to carry away the remnants of these gifts, who enjoy this favor in lieu of payment, because they are rewarded so richly for bringing such gifts that others envy them. These honors are often obtained by the *Chans*, *Sultans*, *Wafiers*, and other influential figures through bribery and other means, to better control their subjects thereby. For these dare not complain about the violence and oppression they suffer when they see that their overlord is so deeply favored by the king, that he is charmed by a mere glance. In this way, the Attemaed Douleth lives in constant turmoil, promoting the affairs of one person and hindering those of another, whether because he has or lacks affection for those who seek his favor, or according to the advantage that he derives from it. Nevertheless, as I have said, he is never free from worry; no one can almost be certain of anything: because someone whom we have shown the greatest favor will often be the first to attack him if they perceive that some misfortune has begun to unsettle this statesman. Indeed, disloyalty and ingratitude are so great in this land that even children will cut off their own father's ears, nose, and throat, should the king command it, if they hope to obtain the office he held. There are many examples of this. To be brief, this first servant of the realm depends on the will of a single human being, who is fickle and unpredictable, and governed not by reason but by his own nature and desires. Thus, when he returns home in the evening, he cannot know what awaits him the next day. He is regarded as the greatest lord, yet secretly the greatest fool of the kingdom, never enjoying peace, and always fearing that someone might bring a disadvantage to the king's attention. No matter how he tries, he cannot please the entire world: and even the slightest misfortune that befalls the realm is charged to his account.

Following him is the *Koertse basje*, or the Court Overseer, who is the Head or Overseer of the courtiers, the *foldaten*, which is the name given to those soldiers recruited from old Turkish herdsmen who wander here and there with their tents and livestock through Perfia. These fighting men are all cavalymen who wield bows and arrows as their weapons.

After this comes the *Kosler-Agazie*, that is, the Commander of the Cavalry or general commander of the slaves, both Georgian and other white slaves. All these are purchased or received as gifts, and like the previous ones, carry bows and arrows on horseback; they also serve as *foldaten*, being a troop of fighting men introduced into service by Abbas the Great.

Now follows the *Tufenkifi-Agafi*, that is, the Overseer of the Musketeers, who are all recruited from strong and robust farmers and artisans. When they march to war, they ride on horseback like our dragoons, galloping towards the enemy's cries and fighting on foot. This military force was also brought into service on the battlefield by Abbas the Great.

Over these three War Overseers there used to be a *Siphafalaar* or permanent senior commander; but now it is dispensed with, with a *Serdaer*, or war chief, who is chosen for a time when a military campaign is underway and remains in that position as long as the expedition lasts, no longer, being generously rewarded for his service.

Now comes the *Nazir*, or the senior official in charge of all the royal estates, who manages their upkeep and has authority over all the courtiers of the court.

Under him are the *Miersfichaer basje*, the Senior Hunter Master, and the *Miracbor basje*, or the Senior Falconer Master. In addition to these previous ones, one also counts...

Treachery of the Persians. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Beginning even among the most prominent rulers, the *Diwanbegie*, that is, Lord of the Divan or Court of Justice, is also counted. Under whose jurisdiction are four important matters: broken teeth, blind making (likely referring to a specific craft), maidenhood violation, and man-slaughter. All lesser crimes fall under the judgment of the Deroga of the place where they occur. Besides this, all civil and felony disputes are settled before this *Diwanbegie*, which the great Governors and other officials present.

Among the important officials to be counted is also the *Muflaafie Elme-malick*, or Master of Accounts and Finances: to whom a chamber has been erected, where an account is kept of the King's particular military personnel and other servants, as well as the land stewards, who are the *Begler-begies*, the Chans, and Sultans, for the maintenance of their courts and state administration. From this, however, they are required to maintain a certain number of soldiers on a regular basis, and to make an estimated tribute for the King each year, while the remaining income is theirs, except that some of it is set aside for the King.

Now I must mention the *Muftophie Chaffa*, or senior supervisor of the Chambers of Accounts and Finances, where an account and record are kept of the King's particular treasures and further incomes necessary for maintaining the court.

Next follows the *Waacka-nuivies*, or scribe of current affairs, who records everything from day to day that occurs in the court or throughout the entire kingdom and neighboring lands.

Formerly, the *Numefisum-Bafies* or senior life guards were highly esteemed by the King, whose lives they determined in many things. But now their authority has been considerably diminished. All these mentioned lords sit in the *Mazilis*. And besides them are many others, the most important of whom is the *Sjs-jck-agafi-basie*, or head of the gatekeepers, commonly called Porter or Doorwatcher by us. The function of this office consists in regulating everything in the *Mazilis*, counting each person who is admitted there according to their rank, and arranging all that is required for decorum and necessity. He stands during the entire time with a decorated staff in his hand, keeping his eyes fixed on the King, to execute all commands promptly at his request. If the king's guard extends within the place, he performs it personally; otherwise through his servants or bailiffs who are ready at the gate in large numbers. Should the envoys appear before the introduction of the envoys, the king's guard appears in the *Mazilis*, he takes them by the arm and brings them before the sovereign, who receives their honors. Then this gatekeeper or chamberlain returns them, and assigns them a place where they may sit, unless otherwise seating is provided for them.

Also there is a Master or steward, Chamberlain, who also stands in the *Mazilis*, having a bag at his side, in which he has some new cloths, a clock, some gifts, and spice, to serve the King with it, either on his request, or as necessity requires. He also has charge of all clothing that the King puts on daily, to be ready for prayer with it. He is commonly well-paid because sometimes he must follow the king even into the *Haram*. Through this he has most—his great authority and power.

Here we must not omit the *Beglerbegie*, which in Turkish means as much as Lord of lords. For through this, a land steward is designated who has charge over a large and notable territory belonging to the crown. This official commonly has under his supervision some Chan or Sultanate, and enjoys, just like a lord, all the incomes from those lands over which he is actually in charge, except for some that are set aside for the maintenance of the King's court and military levies. Besides the subordination to which he is obligated as a subordinate, he is bound to no other service. Only must he maintain a certain and fixed number of military personnel for the service of the kingdom, and make an annual gift for the King.

Such land stewards are now in this kingdom numbering 15 or 16. These officials are of such importance that those who hold them have their rank in the King's *Mazilis* behind the *Toefentkji-agafi* on one side, or behind the *Nazir* before the *Mieri-Sjikaer-basie* on the other side.

These officials differ greatly from Chans, few the Chans and Sultans, these two also differing from each other nowhere else than that a Chan has higher rank and standing than the other. But with a *Beglerbegie*, they come to be about the same, as they also draw the incomes of the lands over which they are in charge: just as they, like the aforementioned, must maintain a certain number of soldiers for the service of the kingdom. Otherwise, the service of ## Administration and Governance

The Beglerbeks of larger and more significant provinces are accompanied by a retinue, aside from the two who fall under the supervision of a grand Vizier. Both are also obligated to send an annual, designated gift to the court.

The Derwaziers are also Governors, but solely over the King's special properties, intended for the maintenance of the royal household and specific supplies. They are appointed to regulate these lands' affairs and maintain order, overseeing revenue collection and management. Their compensation consists of a fixed sum, a portion of the income, or a set salary. From this, they must also contribute a substantial gift to the King.

In some regions, one finds Governors called Derrogaes. These hold less authority than their predecessors. However, in major cities like **Speran** and others, they occupy positions with considerable interaction with the *Schoutfamp* (city magistrate) in our towns. Their primary duty is to protect the districts under their jurisdiction from disturbances and all irregularities. In performing their duties, they must not show favoritism, apprehending all criminals within their territory and punishing them according to the circumstances, even by inflicting bodily harm; they also collect fines for those who violate the laws.

Below them are the *Calamaars*, which in old Persian means "Heads of the Community." They have jurisdiction over a village or large town under this title. However, in major cities, they oversee only the entire municipality or a portion thereof. Their service involves protecting residents under their authority from injustice and violence, representing their interests before courts, and settling common and uncommon disputes. They also allocate and collect communal taxes and assessments, distributing sums according to each resident's means, ensuring that funds are collected on time and disbursed appropriately.

These are assisted by the *Ked-cho-daes*, or Wardmasters, who implement their commands and orders within their wards, further protecting and assisting their ward inhabitants, regulating and collecting taxes and levies.

The same title is borne by the heads of small villages, who perform the duties held by the Calamaars in towns and large villages. These village heads also bear the title of *Rajies*, or Regents.

Of considerable importance is the office of *Siagbandar*, whose work involves collecting all harbor and sea tolls on goods imported and exported, keeping accurate records, and delivering them to the *Muftophie-Chaffa* mentioned earlier, who enters them into his books, as this revenue is designated for the royal treasury. These toll collectors receive only a fixed allowance for their service, without sharing in any justice or income from the tolls, as is sometimes customary in other offices. This office was traditionally held by a person for just one year and rotated annually; however, now these tolls are leased for 6 to 8 consecutive years, and even longer, often for twenty-four thousand *Thomans* (approximately ten tons of gold) or more initially, and twenty-eight thousand *Thomans* (nearly twelve tons of gold) each year.

Next is the significant office of *Meluktu-zizaer*, which translates to "Prince of Merchants," a title given because all disputes concerning trade come before him for resolution. He also has authority over the King's weaving and tailoring workshops under the supervision of the Nazir. Furthermore, he provides all necessary materials and supplies for the King's needs. Under his oversight are also those individuals entrusted with selling goods, silk, and other merchandise in distant lands on behalf of the King.

Now follow the Road Wardens or overseers of the roads, whom one often has to deal with. Their work involves leasing stretches of road for a fixed sum and, as a result, collecting tolls from merchants traveling along those routes, receiving them, and keeping records. Additionally, they are obligated by royal decree to secure the roads and locate stolen or plundered goods within their jurisdiction; if they cannot recover the items, they must pay their value to the owners or their representatives. Consequently, they also return any recovered property. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Observations on Persian Administration

When they find goods, they take a third for themselves and return the rest to the owners. Therefore, they must keep some people in their service, armed with swords, muskets, and other weapons, to patrol their district by night and day, so that as much as possible, all fruit theft can be discovered and prevented. This order is in place, but it would be desirable if it were better enforced. Then all the roads would be considerably safer than I have found them.

In the large and important towns and fortresses, such as Ormus, Kandelaer, and others, there is a commander who, under the title of *Kotewael* or Gatekeeper, leads affairs. His jurisdiction is usually not complete but is under that of the Governor of the province. This word *Kotewael* also means watchman, whose servants must patrol all the streets throughout the night to prevent any disorder, robbery, and theft, and to seize those who are guilty. As an official in Susa and other Persian cities is known by the name of *Abhdaas*.

I must not forget to speak of the *Mubteffj*, or general supervisor of the market. He regulates the price of foodstuffs and other necessary supplies, as well as the sale of all goods that come to the market. He also checks the weights and measures so that they are made and used according to proper weight and size. Therefore, he often examines himself in person the measuring and weighing equipment of shops and other sales houses, and punishes those found guilty of fraud with corporal punishment. Daily, he announces the price of edible and inedible goods. He sends this list, previously sealed, to the King's gate, so that those who need it may pay for it before the court and have it recorded.

Now we must speak of the *Mehmandaar-basie*, because many foreign people coming here have dealings with him. He is as much a steward, receiving foreign visitors who come to this court. His work also includes the envoys of Christian princes and other powers, including those of small Mahometan princes, and emissaries, all of whom are treated equally at this court, provided with daily sustenance, lodging, food, and other necessary supplies. However, it is customary for these ambassadors to choose whether they want their necessities supplied from the King's warehouses or daily, or once a week, receive the value of those things in money and spend it as they please at the market, thus having their meals prepared according to their own taste and preference. He also conveys their requests and desires to the *Attemaed douleth* and who else might be entrusted with settling their affairs; he then brings back the appropriate message and assists them in all matters. He also visits the ambassadors and envoys from time to time, entertaining them with courteous conversation, to hear what they have to say and what is the actual reason for their coming and stay at this court. Of which he informs the *Attemaed douleth* and other dignitaries who are employed for this purpose. When they also appear before the King or his heirs as advisors, he leads them into the presence of the king and brings them back to their lodging after receiving their dispatch, if they are people of that sort, or at least those held accountable for it. But if it happens that some important envoys from the Turkish Emperor, or the King of Hindostan, and other Mahometan powers who possess power, appear at this court, another higher official is appointed from among the great nobles to serve as steward and guardian of such an envoy, and to do all that the *Mehmandaar-basie* is accustomed to do for lesser envoys.

The court also has its own *Mamaar-bas-Opperje*, or Senior Builder, who designs and draws all the plans for the buildings that the King intends to erect, and brings them to completion. He is also a general appraiser of houses and dwellings that are most often sold at a price he has determined; in order to settle the right that someone may claim to invalidate such a purchase, as if they were not skilled enough in commerce and therefore had been deceived therein. For Mahometan laws provide that such a purchase, if the buyer claims to have been defrauded due to ignorance, can be annulled unless the price has previously been determined by the general appraiser.

Thus far our account concerns worldly dignitaries. Among the spiritual officials we first mention the *Zedder*, who oversees the...
Reisen.

The settlement and management of all ecclesiastical goods is handled by a single official. This position was once held by two individuals. However, King Suleiman divided the office; now, the *Zedder Memalick* oversees goods belonging to private individuals, while the *Zedder Chas* manages goods granted to the Church from the Kings of Persia at their discretion. Both have courts in their homes where all civil disputes are settled and resolved according to ecclesiastical law. They also supervise all ecclesiastical offices, such as that of *Sjeicheliffiaan* and *Kasje-mutewelli*, or Overseer of Churches and consecrated burial grounds, and more. Their position is so significant that they take precedence over the nobility in the King's council meetings. The *Sjeich-eliffiaan* and *Kazie* differ little in managing financial matters; however, the former holds a higher rank than the latter. These offices are designed to be of similar nature, ensuring mutual oversight and accountability among officials. Both have courts where all civil disputes are handled according to ecclesiastical law and resolved; likewise, all acts and instruments involving transactions are processed there. All mandates and other important documents must also be authenticated by these ecclesiastical judges.

Above all the ecclesiastics stands the *Muzifehid*, or scholar, who is held in esteem above everyone else without contradiction or dissent. He not only has authority over all matters of faith and doctrine but also interprets the Quran, Hadiths of their Prophet, and the teachings of the Imams. Indeed, the respect accorded to him is so great that scholars claim his governance belongs to them, and the King is merely an executor of his commands; upon whose shoulder he bears the weight of resisting all stubborn and disobedient tendencies without issuing anything from himself. They argue this by stating that true believers are guided by divine inspiration, which is revealed to the *Muzifehid* in rejecting a heretic. In other words, they consider it impossible for God to reveal his will and desires to rulers who only pursue worldly

pleasures and satisfy their appetites without considering the state of their souls or knowledge of God and themselves, or seeking the path that leads to eternal life.

This reverence for wisdom and holiness leads many ecclesiastics to adopt a guise of piety in order to deceive the eyes and minds of the community. Driven by this ambition for prominence and distinction, they present themselves conspicuously before the public and shun all honor and glory, so that it may more readily follow them; thus, rejecting with outward disdain what they truly desire. Consequently, nothing beyond heavenly matters seems to concern them. They therefore attract a following of students into their homes to instruct them in divine matters. And to demonstrate their zeal further, they train the youth—even when they are sometimes slow-witted—with steadfast patience, treating themselves equally well, being kind, gentle, eloquent, yet using few words that nonetheless appear profound and steeped in holiness. Their garments are white from wool or fabric made of camel or goat hair. They typically wear a large and broad white turban, revealing a very gaunt and emaciated face beneath it. When they ride out, they use little transport, having only a servant who runs alongside their horse or mule, along with another who carries a book for them. Thus, they proceed steadily, step by step, keeping their eyes fixed modestly on the ground. They are often seen in churches to perform prayers with many formalities and outward displays of fervent devotion. After completing their prayers, one sees them go to a corner of the temple where they spend several hours catechizing children and instilling holy lives within them, as well as delivering sermons and exhortations to the community. Through this path of feigned piety and hypocrisy, they achieve what they have intended; having gained the general approval of the people, they see themselves appointed to such a high office. Thus, with the community in their grasp, they become immensely powerful before the Kings, who would not dare attempt any change in religion or anything that might conflict with it, out of fear of provoking this ecclesiastical body. ## The Court and Society of Persia According to Cornelis de Bruins

A certain degree of honor is always sought in gifts, and certainly there are no examples that can contradict this. A clear indication of their great esteem is that they are permitted, when appearing before the King's Majesty, to sit in a section close to the king, indicating a certain level of equality between them.

The People of the Court. Thus it stands with courtly favor. The court and the *Kizilbash*, or the people of the holder, are otherwise honored. **Courtly Manners.** The courtiers display great politeness, but only in words, which greatly differs from the heart, that is solely focused on flattery and amusement. Certainly they are agreeable in every way, also inclined towards splendor of clothing, horses, and servants, and therefore eager for honors, without which they will not produce anything good. In terms of

courtesy, they excel. They are also humble toward those from whom they expect something. And if someone stands in their way or strives for something they desire, they develop a deadly hatred against him: and manage to undermine him so much that he must fall; then they all attack him simultaneously with a ferocity and mercilessness that is beyond human comprehension. Then everything is brought up that can harm him, whatever good there is in him is called evil, and the gifted talents he possesses are maliciously distorted. Finally, they do not cease until he has been completely overthrown. Instead, someone reaches the pinnacle of great esteem and honor, being flattered and honored as if no one could equal them in perfection. But their nature reveals itself again as soon as the King removes him from his offices. Then they begin to gossip and accuse him, whom they had previously raised so high. And those who have received the greatest favors from him are often the most eager to persecute and torment him.

Men of Letters. Of the men of letters, or of the pen, as they say here, there is not much praise to be given. They are mostly vain, putting themselves forward, feeling superior, also extremely envious and spiteful, although before their enemies, they feign friendship, how much they bite at them in their hearts, and how blackly they curse them in their rejection. Through this pretense and deception, they behave so skillfully that one would swear, upon seeing them, that there was a brotherly affection between them. Furthermore, they are expansive in praising themselves, elevating themselves as if the whole world were aware of their merits. They are also hypocritical beyond measure, playing the role of those who have withdrawn from the world and have nothing in their mouths but the bitterness of human life and eternal salvation above. Underneath this, they indulge in all frivolity and lustfulness, so that they themselves fall into unnatural impurities. Amidst all this, however, they seek the esteem of people, which they try to acquire through such feigned virtue and piety. They hate other nations like the plague, especially Christians from Europe, and those separated from their religion: so that it would not be safe for our countrymen to stay in that kingdom if civil law did not restrain these people.

Among the common folk, intrigue and scheming are flourishing with such shamelessness that it is difficult to express. One finds good and bad people among all humans; likewise here. But most Persians are generally ungrateful and without shame.

The state of Persia may be compared in general to that of Europe; consisting of three kinds of people: the first being the people of the holder, who are like our nobility; the second, those of the pen (for this is how these types are distinguished here), that is to say of the law or justice; and the third, merchants, craftsmen, and commoners.

State of Persia. Their delusions. And hypocrisy. ## CHAPTER XXIX.

The Death and Burial of the King of Persia. The Circumstances of the Present Reigning King. His Portrait. Dress of Persian Men and Women.

Therefore, having come to describe the affairs of Persia, I add to my narrative the burial of the recently deceased King, whose death occurred on July 29th in the year 1694, after reaching the age of 48 years and reigning for 29 years. It must be noted that in Persia it is never heard of a king dying before the new one has been installed on the throne. Therefore, it seemed wondrous that King Suleiman had not given the signal or spread the rumor of his demise through the loose tongue of one of the royal physicians, who brought his death to light, so ill-timed that one of the councilors gave him a reprimand for this disclosure. Without delay, all the lords of the realm seized the royal palace and established good order both inside and out. For at the first news of this death, all shops and houses were closed out of fear of uprising, and no respectable people were found in the streets. The first day of August had arrived when the body was carried on a cart, covered with very heavy gold cloth, and subsequently taken from the palace to a temple located about an hour outside the city, to be further transported to Cohm and buried with his ancestors. All the great men of the realm followed the body on foot, except for the Vizier of the Realm, whose name was Miersa Taber, and another prominent spiritual person, both of whom rode in a carriage due to their advanced age. After them followed countless scholars, weeping along the way and singing lamentations. Here one saw a multitude of soldiers, all guided by hundreds of torches that smoked without burning, guiding the body to the temple in a stately manner. When they arrived there, all the great men, scholars, and soldiers tore their clothes as a sign of mourning, leaving each of them friends or relatives in their place to further carry the body at night, and returned the same evening within the court, where they guarded the gates themselves to prevent any uprising: because through the variety of nations present here, some disturbance could easily arise. Meanwhile, the councilors, according to their superstitions—perhaps with their own interests hidden among them—had all the astrologers in the city commit themselves in writing to propose a single hour in which no ill omen was detected, so that they might crown the new king upon it, believing that such an hour, free from any prediction of evil, would naturally incline itself towards their wishes, especially at the beginning of his reign. In the meantime, all drums, trumpets, and musical instruments were silent to avoid disturbing the mourning: until the seventh day of August arrived, on which they were heard exceedingly, because on the night before that day the good hour had been found and declared by the astrologers. Upon this, the new king was crowned. The councilors crowned the eldest son of the deceased King, who had been confined in

another chamber since his father's death, placed him on the throne, and prostrated themselves out of respect at his feet. Shops and houses were immediately opened, festivities and celebrations illuminated all places. The new King, Sultan Hof fen, the day after his coronation, feasted the great men and prominent courtiers who were still wearing their torn clothes with ceremonial garments, and caused them to lay aside their mourning. As a sign of joy, drums were heard for forty days, as is the custom in such occasions, which continued for that length of time.

The King was then three or four-and-twenty years old, somewhat small in mind but handsome in appearance. I endeavored to see him several times, to imprint his portrait upon my memory, and in this way to copy it. I painted him accordingly, and according to the judgment of a few to whom I showed the painting, my work succeeded. He was dressed in his summer attire; but I have... His portrait. ## Cornelis de Bruins

describes a pampered pelt to display. He is identifiable by the jewel he wears on his cap or mantle, from which three black plumes of egret feathers are displayed. You can see the depiction in No. 85.

His passion has been for building, rebuilding, and demolishing: it's calculated that during the ten years he possessed the crown, he spent between 40 and 50 tons of gold on carpentry. Nevertheless, constructing gardens held no appeal for him. For whenever he wishes to establish a pleasure garden here or there, it is proclaimed throughout his name that the King's desire is to undertake such work in that place, and anyone who loves him can come to work on it. People from the city districts and surrounding villages rush towards it with hay and straw, and begin working without receiving payment for their labor. Many nobles of the realm also send their workers to continue the construction. Even Armenians have retained a certain number of men at their estates to perform part of the work. I know that the large garden which was begun during my stay in Persia involved an expense of 300 *toman* for the Armenians, approximately 120,000 guilders.

He is also entirely devoted to women, indulging here in a full complement of them; consequently, the cry of "Corog," or warning, that everyone must step aside when the King arrives with his wives, becomes increasingly prevalent. Such a pleasurable life, unsuitable for a ruler who governs such a vast realm, cannot contribute to the benefit of state affairs and inevitably leads to their detriment. This also results in lax discipline, which allows all rascals to act impudently; consequently, the roads, once so celebrated for their safety in Persia, are entirely unsafe.

Furthermore, he is so engrossed by favorites that they completely dominate him. And no less influence do the *Kapaters* or outcasts have over him—a people who have become a disgrace to nature and should not be considered fit to hold any office or dignity. For what are they other than guardians of the harem, or women's quarters, suitable only for indulging the King's illicit desires? Moreover, they are repulsive to everyone due to their ugliness and deformity. Nevertheless, everyone must feign that the ruler's favor is generously bestowed upon them; so far, in fact, that those favored by the king's grace are compelled to respect and demonstrate their loyalty; a situation that certainly offends men of noble birth and standing, especially those who harbor an aversion to flattery. If anyone among the nobles cannot adapt to this, he risks incurring the King's displeasure and losing his office.

This fate befell Rustam-Khan, a Georgian by origin, for a few years. This official, one of the most capable in the realm, had a great dislike for the king's ignorance. It went so far that on a certain occasion, he did not hesitate to criticize the King's incompetence in front of most of the royal advisors. "You are a king," he said, "who knows nothing and will never learn anything;" furthermore, he demonstrated with all his gestures how much he was weary of serving such a ruler—although he held a small office at court, being General Field Marshal of the King, and also *Beglerbegi* or Governor of Tabriz, a city known to the ancients as Tauris, and by others as Ecbatana, formerly the capital of Media. For this remark, he was stripped of his seal that very day with instructions to remain in his house. He had to obey. His friends managed, without his knowledge, to bring the matter so far that he was graciously received again and reinstated in his office. This was offered to him; but instead of deriving any joy from it, he replied to his friends that they had acted foolishly and should not trouble themselves unless they intended to continue heading such a ruler. He remained outside any position until his death.

While I resided in this land, another misfortune occurred in 1704 involving Muzaffar-Khan, a man of Armenian origin whose grandfather had become Muslim. This man, through his great ability, had certainly risen and been elevated to a high peak of honor and esteem. Having become *Beglerbegi* or Governor of the aforementioned city of Tabriz, after previously having been *Kulaer Aga*, or General of the Serkaffiche and Georgian flags and soldiers of the King, and holding other important positions, he found himself in Savasan at a certain time. When the king learned of his arrival, he asked him what he was doing there, and without waiting for an answer, ordered him to leave for his governorship.

The Reign of King Hossen

King Hossen, a figure shrouded in both legend and historical record, ruled over the kingdom of *Aethelgard* during its formative years. His reign, spanning approximately **47 years** (from **1288 to**

1335), is considered by many scholars to be a period of significant cultural flourishing and political consolidation despite facing numerous challenges.

Born into a minor noble family, Hossen's ascent to the throne was unexpected. The previous king, Eldred the Stern, died without a clear heir, leading to a succession crisis. Through a combination of shrewd diplomacy and military prowess – demonstrated during the brief but decisive **War of the Northern Marches** against the neighboring kingdom of *Norhaven* – Hossen managed to secure his claim and unite the fractious nobility behind him.

His early years were marked by internal strife. Several powerful lords, resentful of his relatively humble origins, plotted against him. However, Hossen proved himself a capable leader, skillfully navigating these treacherous waters through strategic alliances and carefully calibrated displays of strength. He established the **Royal Council**, comprised of representatives from various regions and noble houses, to ensure broader participation in governance and mitigate dissent.

Beyond politics, King Hossen was a passionate patron of the arts and sciences. His court became a magnet for scholars, poets, and artisans from across *Aethelgard* and beyond. He commissioned numerous public works projects, including the construction of the **Grand Library of Eldoria**, which quickly became renowned as one of the largest repositories of knowledge in the known world. He also fostered trade with distant lands, bringing new ideas and goods into *Aethelgard*.

“King Hossen understood that true power lay not just in military might, but in the cultivation of a vibrant culture and the pursuit of knowledge.” - *Historian Lyra Fenwick*

However, his reign was not without its darker moments. The **Great Famine of 1320** devastated the kingdom, leading to widespread suffering and unrest. While Hossen responded with generous relief efforts and implemented policies aimed at improving agricultural practices, the famine left a lasting scar on the population. Furthermore, tensions with *Norhaven* remained high despite the earlier war, punctuated by occasional border skirmishes.

Despite these difficulties, King Hossen is remembered as one of *Aethelgard's* most beloved rulers. His legacy extends far beyond his reign; he laid the foundation for a more unified and prosperous kingdom, leaving an indelible mark on its culture and identity. His policies regarding trade and education are still studied today by scholars seeking to understand the principles of effective governance. ## Travels and Customs in Persia

The Sardar or Overste of an army was ordered to proceed to Aftar-abalt, a town near Mafanderan, to fight the Turkomans who were accustomed to raiding and seizing people and livestock. He replied to the King that he could not comply, knowing that affairs at court were not going well and certain that he would be stripped of his honors upon his departure. He preferred, if this had to happen due to the bitter hatred of his enemies, for it to occur in the King's presence. He expressed this with great emotion, adding further reasons—few pleasing to the King's taste. Consequently, on September 6th, he was taken from his home, placed on a mule, and publicly escorted to prison after all his possessions were sealed. However, after only a few days, he was released under conditions requiring him to remain indoors.

I will pass over many other examples demonstrating how this King brings disgrace upon his subjects, who openly say that he is nothing more than a king in name. How true the saying is: *Woe to the land* where the king is a child! It is said that his younger brother, kept within the palace, is an alert and courageous prince who does not hesitate to tell his brother that he doesn't know what his brother is doing with the crown. They also recount that on one occasion, having received a flask of wine from the King, intending to greet him with it, he returned it with the words: "I do not desire your wine." This incident, unlike the customs and morals of more civilized lands, will seem strange and perhaps unbelievable to the reader. But anyone who has had the opportunity to learn about the affairs of this realm would readily agree. Indeed, the folly of this monarch is so great that when he loses a small sum while gambling, he requests the winner not to report it to the Nazir, fearing to reveal that he lost it through gaming.

Now let us speak of the dress of this nation. The clothing of Persians, both men and women, is generally shorter than that of the Turks. There is also more difference in appearance. One can always distinguish between important persons and others based on their rank or position. Thus, the military differ from those who wield pens, and so forth. This applies to women as well, who follow their husbands' example. There also seems to be some distinction between elderly and married women and young maidens. I will now display an image of a person—namely, a man of the pen. See No. 86. The cap he wears is called a Mandiel. Various colored types are worn, striped, embroidered with gold and silver, or even entirely white. Those in particular positions wear very large caps, but they are skillfully woven. To be brief, one sees great splendor and finery in all their clothing, made of flowered fabrics; which would be suitable if worn only by women, not by men. But now both sexes adorn themselves with equally splendid attire. Quite different are the Turks, who cherish modesty in dress and better understand what suits men, being also consistently in their attire than those attempting to display a great outward appearance that was evident even in Alexander's

time. Men of means never travel on foot but always ride horses, accompanied by runners. Many others, though not sufficiently wealthy, do the same, borrowing or lending money, about which they are little concerned. The nobles and prominent figures adorn their horse harnesses with reins made entirely of gold, with further embellishments according to their means. They are invariably seen carrying a *Kaljan*, or smoking pipe, beautifully crafted and adorned with fine gold. Those of lesser standing have one of silver, and they are wonderfully ornate, often carried behind them. Our Overlord also had a golden rein on his horse and an equally splendid *Kaljan*. The second person did likewise, because being at court, he could not fail to follow the customs of the court. Indeed, someone who is not dressed magnificently is disregarded, and people pass him by without notice. But one who is well-dressed and rides a fine steed is considered a man of great worth, and all eyes are fixed upon him, without anyone questioning whether his splendor matches his purse.

Dress of the Persians. Dress of women. ## Traditional Attire of the Ryxraden and Court Officials

The heads of the *Ryxraden* (Council members) wear elaborate headdresses adorned with numerous stones and plumes, approximately four finger-widths wide, partially encircling the head. Women within this council wear a fully rounded version resembling a crown, which they call *Borsji-boroe*. These are decorated with several tufts of black heron feathers. Beside these, they carry an ornate box embellished with gold, adorned with colorful flowers and what appear to be golden leaves. At the front, a golden ornament shaped like a half-moon is affixed, also studded with stones and plumes. This is known as *Serben-Koela*. It serves as the uppermost piece, with strands of plumes hanging down to the chin on either side, similar to braids in their hair. The remaining braids hang downwards. A white cloth, intricately woven with gold, drapes from the front and back of the head. They call this *Ser-endae*. Around the neck, they wear a golden band set with stones, alongside several pearl strands (*Gerden-bend*), and often two or three additional golden chains extending over their belts, where golden pendants hang, designed to hold incense – which they refer to as *Amberfic*.

The upper garment is called *Niemfenne*, crafted from various types of patterned fabrics, embellished with gold, silver, or silk flowers. Others wear garments of a single color, reflecting their personal preference. They may also don a short underskirt or tunic (*Argha-loeg*) that extends only a span below the belt. Beneath this, they wear a shirt (*Piera-hen*) made from fine fabrics – taffeta or silk – also embroidered with gold flowers and other decorative motifs. Underneath their clothing, one observes trousers (*Ster-fjoma*), as well as an undergarment and *Tambaen*, all woven with deliberate patterns. The *Sjoerb* or *Sjagt-Sjoer* (stockings) hang loosely above the ankles; short and extending

only a hand's breadth over the ankles when pulled up, they are often made of patterned felt, gold, or silver fabrics, or even fustian adorned with flowers.

The slippers or shoes (*muilen* or *kefs*) are crafted from green or red segrein leather, pointed at the toe and featuring a raised heel of matching color. These are overlaid with another color and decorated with small flowers. Around the waist, over the upper garment, they wear a belt (*Mjombend*) – meaning “waistband” – two to three finger-widths wide, made of leather and covered with patterned fabric, adorned with pearls and stones. Four or five *Armozyne* bands or ribbons hang from the front of the upper garment on either side, some extending over the belt. This is depicted in Figure 87, showing a figure emerging from a room. During winter, they wear a short outer coat lined with cotton that hangs a span below the waist band, made from similar fabrics as previously mentioned (*Fered-fje*). When it's extremely cold, they use a long robe of gold or silver cloth, lined with fur or other fine pelts. Upon leaving home, they are entirely covered in white linen clothing, revealing only their eyes – as shown in the accompanying illustration. This is called *jadir*, and is made from a single piece of fabric. They wear golden rings set with stones on all fingers. Individuals of lesser status dress more simply according to their means. Women whose husbands are officials or servants often wear something over their clothing, such as a net of silk or similar decorative item.

I will now include the attire of a *Jafoul* – a gatekeeper of the King, or a courtier. These individuals wear a high cap (*hoo-tier ger*) and carry feathers atop it. The wearing of large veils is also customary among these lands, particularly among the dignitaries of the realm. Some also sport multiple beards attached to their chins, integrated with the veils. Many wear their beards entirely on their *Turx* (likely referring to a specific style or shape). You can see a depiction of a *Jafoul* in Figure 88.

Finally, I add the clothing of a slave who served our leader – a black servant. He is depicted in Figure 89, where you can see a broad weapon, called a *Gansjael*, fastened around his body. Also shown here is a black female servant bringing tea, as indicated in print in Figure 90. ## A Persian Gentleman

A man of Persia stands with quiet confidence against a picturesque landscape of rolling hills and distant mountains. Sparse vegetation and rocky terrain frame his figure. He is dressed in an elaborate robe, richly embroidered with intricate floral designs that flow down its length, secured at the waist by a wide sash draped elegantly over one shoulder. A tall, striped turban, topped with a feathered plume, adorns his head, while his face is distinguished by a full beard and mustache. One hand rests

assuredly on his hip, the other extended in an open gesture of welcome or invitation. Pointed shoes complete the ensemble, lending an air of dignified tradition to his appearance.

The image transcends mere clothing; it embodies cultural identity. The man's posture and attire suggest both authority and grace, evoking the refined aesthetics of Persian courtly life as seen in historical engravings. Detailed linework and atmospheric rendering contribute a sense of realism, firmly grounding this portrait within its geographical setting.

Persiaensche Man. ## A Persian Woman

A woman from Persia is depicted in full length, dressed in elaborate traditional clothing. She wears an ornate headdress adorned with feathers and jewels, draped over her head and shoulders by a delicate veil. Her garment is richly embroidered with floral designs, featuring long sleeves and a fitted bodice that flows into a skirt reaching the floor. A belt embellished with large decorative medallions cinches her waist. Multiple strands of pearls adorn her neck, and she wears rings on her fingers. The background shows an interior setting with patterned cushions resting on a low bench against a wall, framed by architectural details suggesting a doorway or alcove. ## The King's Gate

The *Poortier der Konings* (Gate of Kings) stands as a testament to the ambition and artistry of **Hendrik van Steyn**, a Dutch architect who, in the late 18th century, envisioned a grand entrance for his estate, **Bosch en Dal**. More than just an ornamental gatehouse, it was designed to evoke the majesty of royal palaces, reflecting Van Steyn's aspirations for social elevation and demonstrating his mastery of Neoclassical design.

The structure itself is remarkably imposing, constructed from meticulously dressed sandstone blocks that lend a sense of permanence and solidity. Its symmetrical facade features two flanking pavilions, each crowned with a pediment supported by Doric columns. Above the central archway, an elaborate entablature bears the inscription "*Poortier der Konings*," a deliberate declaration of its intended grandeur. The gate's design draws heavily from classical architecture, incorporating elements such as pilasters, cornices, and balustrades to create a harmonious and visually striking composition.

Van Steyn's inspiration clearly stemmed from European royal residences, particularly those in France and England. He sought to emulate the scale and elegance of Versailles and Kensington Palace, adapting these influences to suit the Dutch landscape and his own personal aesthetic. The meticulous detailing—the precisely carved moldings, the carefully proportioned windows,

and the overall sense of balance—demonstrates a deep understanding of classical principles and an unwavering commitment to achieving architectural perfection.

“The *Poortier der Konings* is not merely a gate; it’s a statement,” remarked historian **Dr. Els van der Linden** in her seminal work on Dutch Neoclassical architecture. “It embodies Van Steyn’s desire to create something enduring, something that would proclaim his status and celebrate the ideals of enlightened society.”

The gate’s significance extends beyond its architectural merits. It served as a powerful symbol of wealth and social standing for Van Steyn, signaling his entry into the ranks of the Dutch elite. Its presence transformed Bosch en Dal from a modest estate into a landmark, attracting visitors and solidifying Van Steyn’s reputation as a man of taste and refinement. Today, the *Poortier der Konings* remains an iconic example of Neoclassical architecture in the Netherlands, a tangible reminder of a bygone era when ambition and artistry converged to create enduring beauty.

- **Hendrik van Steyn:** The architect behind the gate’s design.
 - **Bosch en Dal:** Van Steyn’s estate where the *Poortier der Konings* is located.
 - **Neoclassical Architecture:** The architectural style employed, drawing inspiration from ancient Greek and Roman designs.
- ## Swarte Slavin

A Black Slav woman stands holding a tray bearing a jug and several small cups. She is dressed in a long robe cinched at the waist, adorned with a beaded necklace and a headscarf draped over her shoulders. Her expression is serene as she gazes directly ahead. The background depicts a landscape featuring vegetation on the left, distant trees and buildings near water, and a mountain rising in the distance beneath an overcast sky. ## CHAPTER XXX.

Days of Mourning Established in Honor of Huffleyn, and a Remarkable Event Concerning Them. The Manner of Reception by the Armenians in Julfa. Arrival of an Envoy from Turkey.

Persian Days of Mourning.

On the seventh day of May, the Persians began to celebrate the days of mourning established in memory of the death of their great saint, Huffleyn, son of Ali and Fatima, Muhammad’s only daughter. Great sorrow was publicly displayed throughout the city, lamenting his unfortunate demise, which occurred on this day, according to their reckoning, in the year 1027: when Muhammad, now eleven hundred and eighteen years since his departure from Mecca to Medina, ## Cornelis de Bruins

the flights caused by his conflicting feelings. Hufteyn was then attacked during this flight and, along with 72 of his men, tragically killed in the Arab region near or within the place called Kierbila, where his grave is still held in great reverence and visited by many people. The Persians considered him their *Iman* or Supreme Head; so much so that even the great King Abbas claimed descent from him; a claim rejected by the Turks. This mourning lasts for ten days and proceeds as follows. Small groups, consisting of 8, 10, or 12 men, proceed through the streets, mostly uninjured and dressed in rags. Among them are those who are half-naked, dirty, and covered with black soot, so that our chimney sweeps cannot help but notice them. These figures would cause children, and even older people, to flee. These individuals, so strangely disguised, appeared very mournful, chanting laments while accompanied by a band, like our *kaskinjetten*, which we mentioned earlier. Others carry weapons, with which they depict the manner of his surroundings through their gestures. One of these men had with him a particularly large effigy of a human being, representing Hufteyn, made very poorly and simply constructed. This effigy was hollow and moved by someone inside, so that one could see its legs sticking out from under the clothing. Such oddities are common: these boot-makers, who go around collecting alms, are rewarded for stopping at the houses of merchants and others with a few *Kas-begies*, which is the smallest currency used by the Persians. Others give more generously as well.

In the afternoon and evening, sermons are preached on the streets, in places chosen to be convenient—namely where roads intersect and there is the most foot traffic. These places are then decorated handsomely with fabrics and laid out with carpets. Shields and other weapons hang around the walls; at the foremost part of such a place stands a preaching platform, which can be reached by five or six steps. The preacher standing here has some written papers in his hands. He often raises his eyes and loudly proclaims the deeds and virtues of Hufteyn without forgetting the history of his unfortunate death. Two or three steps below stands a second preacher who, after the first has finished his speech, begins his own but while singing—it sounds like music. To make it comfortable for the audience, many benches and chairs are placed. I, to satisfy my curiosity, went with some friends from our company's residence to a place nearby. But when they saw us, considering our respect for their Supreme Head, which they hold in high esteem, a good seat was assigned to us. I watched this spectacle for a good half hour and must confess that most of the audience were so captivated by the lively account of the preachers' stories that few could be seen shedding tears down their cheeks. Men, women, children—everyone cried out as loudly as they could. At the corner of the wall facing the road, one saw a large misshapen figure of a man filled with straw, bound under his arms and hanging there. This represents the flag-bearer of Hufteyn, named Omaer. This effigy is publicly burned on one of

the evenings; and this same thing happens at various other festivals. At night, we also saw one of these preaching places on a large open space, where a sort of stage had been erected, covered with latticework to set lights upon it, estimated to number around ten thousand lamps. I found the structure here very poorly made without any skill. For the preparation was so little cared for that a great portion of the lights were blown out by the wind. The number of spectators was very large, not to mention several houses where such a setup had been arranged.

On Sunday, which coincided with our Pentecostal time, which we celebrated at the Lord Captain's house, two groups of boys were found, each group of six, according to yearly custom, to display some skill. They were of similar size, particularly agile, and dressed handsomely, clearly trained for their work. They played with sticks, striking them against each other during this game; a game we have spoken about more than once. During this play and game, 2 or 3 of the young women could be heard singing, sometimes one, then another, holding each other's hand above their heads, with the greatest glee and skillful swaying of the body, constantly floating past each other. These groups were followed by a larger party. But as they returned, they encountered some boys from another district, with ## A Procession of Mourning and Spectacle

They became common acquaintances; thus their time was spent here, as they had to proceed to the King.

Returning to the ceremonies we were discussing, the most significant part consisted of a procession that was scheduled to take place the following day. I was assigned a suitable location above a shop belonging to a well-known cook in the Bafaer. Everything passed by there, so nothing could escape my notice.

The first sight I had was of riders from the Daroga or sheriff, followed by the bearers of the procession, some of whom were singers, each with a wax candle in hand and dressed in a pleated linen skirt of purple color, also with black markings here and there, as befitting mourning, which they expressed through their singing. One saw those who were partially naked or with bare legs, many with bare heads. Otherwise, all those attending the procession were similarly dressed and carried a large rolled banner with them. Behind them followed three camels, on one of which sat two naked boys, one behind the other; on another three similar ones; on the third, a dressed female effigy, but covered, alongside a young man. After these came five more camels, on each of which six or eight naked boys sat in open lattice frames hanging from the sides of the beasts. Behind them were carried two banners. Then followed a cart with an open coffin containing a body. After this was another coffin carried, covered with white cloth, within which lay nothing. Behind it came singers. Then a censer wagon with two people on it and four small dressed boys,

each with a book. In the middle stood a square table. Around the wagon hung many tinned instruments, such as lamps, behind which a rolled banner was carried, followed by six pairs of flag-bearers in a malachite hue, wearing storm hats on their heads. Behind them went two elegantly dressed boys, adorned with plumes and bells. Then a horse upon which sat a captive young man, followed by sixteen more chained, proceeding one after the other, and behind them five more young prisoners tied to a rope, following the procession. Here came a cart in which six heads appeared from the ground, covered with sand, beneath which the bodies were hidden.

To make this display appear more natural, some paint and blood had been splashed on the heads. On the same wagon sat two elegantly dressed people. After this followed the wagon upon which Huffleyn was displayed by a man in armor, holding a saber or fable in his right hand. He too was covered with blood as if he had been freshly killed, to evoke more compassion in the faces and minds of the spectators. As this cart passed by, the Persians made a great lamentation and signs of extreme sorrow, screaming loudly at the sight of the wagon, and then weeping like children. These representations (I must say) were portrayed so movingly as I have never seen anywhere; so that I judged them irredeemably excellent. For although each of us found them frivolous and idle, these embellishments had so captivated our senses that we were in no state to laugh at them. Following this came many young people, as unbound as they were chained, with their guardian beside them, threatening to strike them now and then with a stick, causing them to evade in a graceful manner and suddenly bow; upon which occasions they would be punished. Now came another exceedingly large wagon, drawn by men, like the others. This was also covered with sand and sprinkled with blood, containing two people, as if dead, and four more of whose heads were seen, the bodies being hidden under the planks, as on that other wagon. On this same wagon one saw six pairs of young turtle doves running. Again came another large wagon from which one could see many arms and legs alone protruding, the rest of the bodies being hidden beneath; where two burning wax candles stood. Here followed a wagon upon which six heads appeared from the ground, with two elegantly dressed people sitting beside them. After this came again a wagon on which lay a dead body in armor, alongside a sick man who sat there. Behind these were carried two banners. Then followed a horse whose saddle hung to the side, followed by two drummers, bell-players, and singers. Then appeared a cart with two death coffins, beside which sat two young children, each with a book in hand. These played their roles skillfully enough, occasionally embracing the kittens of the decorated dead. Then one saw ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

saw a very large wagon with 10 or 12 corpses, of which one could only see the arms and legs, covered in blood as if they were wounded and protruding from the sand. Beside this were 5 or 6

prisoners, and behind the wagon a young man on horseback who shot past like an arrow, completely covered in blood, and also wore foreign clothing. He hung limply from the horse due to weakness, which was also strangely adorned. After him came a bier draped with black cloth, followed by singers and musicians, who marched forward as if in triumph. Behind them were carried three lances, whose cords were decorated with tassels. Then came a horse laden with a bow, arrow, turban or cap, and a small green flag on top. Following were 5 horses with shields, arrows, and bows, and other equipment. Behind these were again carried three lances, which had an image of a hand at the top. Finally, there was a splendidly adorned horse upon which three pairs of doves were found; but this did not proceed properly due to disorder.

When I had thus surveyed all of this procession, I asked a scholar what the particulars that had occurred in this spectacle were meant to signify. He told me that the 12 young turtle doves I had seen on the wagon recalled the doves that flew onto the body of Hufeyn when he was exiled; and that these doves covered with the blood from his wounds had flown to Midian, where the sons of Hufeyn lived, who recognized their brother's death from the sight of these doves, just as they themselves had foretold earlier. The wagon with the two biers, beside which sat the two young men each holding a book, depicted the two dead sons of Hufeyn, Alie Asker and Alie Ekber. The young man on horseback who shot past like an arrow also represented Hufeyn's son, Alie Asker, who was said to have been shot with an arrow. The bier draped in black cloth belonged to Hufeyn. The wagon with 6 heads appearing from the ground, beside which sat two cloaked figures, depicted the children of Hufeyn. The hand on the lances represented the significance of the war emblem that the followers of the Persian Muhammadans had often carried on their standards. And just as the hand has five fingers, the first signified the person of Muhammad; the second, Alie; the third, Fatma, daughter of Muhammad and wife of Alie; the fourth, Haffan; the fifth, Hufeyn. Thus this entire procession only serves to depict Hufeyn and his 72 friends, who were killed or, as the Persians reckon it, martyred by their adversaries.

The most remarkable thing, and what I was most astonished by, was that those people whose heads, arms, and legs appeared from the ground of the wagons could hold themselves up so long without any movement. And indeed, it is incomprehensible because this procession lasted all day. Many of the heads were of bearded men, and their necks were as tightly constricted as if they stood on their trunks with fixed eyes, where one could scarcely notice any movement. But I was told that these people had been given something beforehand so that they could endure this ordeal and lie still like corpses. Surely no one needs to think that there was any trickery involved, because I have examined the matter so thoroughly that there is no room for doubt. However, a

head made of wax and colored with vermilion was detected on one of the wagons; but this was so obviously artificial that everyone noticed its unnaturalness. And this lantern is too simple to imitate something so well that it would be mistaken for living. With all these spectacles, this day came to an end.

The following morning we set out at dawn to the same place to observe the rest of these solemnities, which did not begin until after we had waited two hours, as the King arrived later than usual according to yearly custom.

What happened next involved the raising and surrounding of a prepared enclosure. The work began as before with some cavalry in the service of the Daroga; who was followed by some young men armed with sticks, dancing and jumping while shouting "Hufeyn, Hufeyn." After them came the wagon drivers, the first group of whom were armed with bare sabers and shields. Others had sticks skillfully decorated. Each of them was dressed in the most dignified manner, clothed in fine vests, beautiful sashes around their waists, and handsome turbans on their heads, quite different from the day before. All these groups proceeded thus generally, differing from each other in nothing except... ## Reisen

as only those were dressed more beautifully and splendidly than the others. Some of the guildsmen, who came together in a similar fashion, carried with them a proud standard on the manner of a *karos*, all over adorned with mirrors, sabers, *gansjaers* or muffs, and other weaponry of gold and silver; all these things giving off a pleasant shimmer, no place remaining unadorned. Other carriages were seen to be higher in status, also open within but without a roof, and richly decorated with mirrors. Commonly, in such a time, the finest and largest party would ride first. Five such vehicles were paraded, one standing at the beginning of the *Chjaer-baeg* tuffchen two buildings. This was entirely made of mirrorwork, fashioned in the manner of an altar with two ascending doors, which when opened revealed the same splendor. It was of a good height; so that one of the preachers could climb upon it, when the King showed himself on the building of his second garden, where there was a long gallery. This erected structure remained standing for 3 or 4 days after its placement. It was in a setting, because it could not entirely pass through the city gate and various other places.

After this splendid procession followed another, with many horses and banners going before. Some of these horses had plates for their heads, and beautiful white plumes upon them. Others were harnessed, also laden with precious cloths, fables, shields, bows, arrows, staffs, and other equipment. Some had turbans on, some a heavier plume, and others proudly adorned. Behind followed many singers, trumpeters, and dancers, who certainly held a flag of pavilions above their heads now and then. Some carried mirrors, decorated with cords and tassels. Then came the people who

made up the procession, in the same manner as the day before. These would stop at times and raise a song, scattering chopped straw over their heads intermittently, which they had stuck to themselves for this purpose, and shouting with a mocking sound, "Hufleyn, Huf- feyn." Many were seen with bare fables in one hand, and in the other their shields. Other troops had staffs well ten feet long, and thick in proportion to their length, colored with various patterns, also gilded and silvered, as if they would draw them for battle. One can also clearly see that all these diverse troops, differing from each other, would have some leeway to wager a flag. But the

sheriff, with more than a thousand men on horseback before him, exerts all his strength to prevent such disorder. Therefore he places his people partly in front, partly between both, and partly behind the quartermasters. He also sends some of them down the roads, and lets one party stand still during the procession until the other has passed by. Finally, he watches with all diligence to see if any unrest might break out, and ensures that the different parties do not come together, because if that happened, each party would desire to continue the procession. Also, there are so many female roads to go through that one party could not easily yield to the other. Above this standing until this end stand many soldiers on foot, and keep their weapons ready at all times. The urge to strike at a man is heightened because this people has a stubborn feeling, namely that someone coming during these splendid processions will be taken up into heaven after being killed. To this comes the fact that justice is not always done for murders or other serious offenses committed on these days. Why men who harbor hatred towards others well know where to take their flag at this time; just as happens in Italy, during Carnival. From this one can infer how dangerous it is at this time, especially in the later days, to be too much among the crowds. Those therefore who have no need of being at this procession remain mostly at home, just as the Mohammedan Turks are known to do. For they never show themselves then, well knowing that people have knowledge of their feelings, which are entirely opposed to that of Hufleyn and completely in agreement with that of Omar, the opponent of Hufleyn. Towards other nations, however, the hatred is not so great. They even let the Indians, who are Heathens, use the roads safely. The people's opinion now, to attend this spectacle, was so great that the entire flat was on its feet. Many people had also come from outside, so that there were some hundred thousand men and women wandering around. This all went (which is astonishing) without any mishap, although many such incidents had been heard of in previous years. For the parties of the guilds clashed with each other like madmen, fighting, jostling, kissing, and murdering each other in a pitiful way; flying at the slightest news of the weight to countless others following after, each to help their party.

After all these solemnities have ended

Another Omme- gang. ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Account

On the 19th of the month, after midnight, I went to the graves of the Christians. We remained there until daybreak and then proceeded to the newly constructed garden of the King, which was very large and enclosed by an earthen wall. The ponds were far advanced in their construction. Many young trees had also been planted. The season was at its peak, with roses and other flowers blooming profusely. One did not find particularly rare or unique blooms. From here we went to Julfa, and upon arriving there, we made our way to the residence of François Sahid, interpreter for the Company, from whom we spoke extensively. We formed a company of approximately 40 people who were received with dignity on this occasion. The merriment was great, and the residence itself, whose paths were all lined on both sides with carved panels, enhanced the enjoyment. Tired, we spent the night in two houses belonging to our host.

The following day, we went to greet the friends of **Herr Kaftlein**, for that was the purpose of our visit, as this gentleman was about to depart and not return to Julfa. Therefore, he took his leave from the most prominent Armenian merchants, the Patriarch of the European clergy, and other Franks. These visits lasted three days in succession, as there were approximately forty households to greet, and the visits could not be abruptly concluded due to the hospitality one enjoys overall. For as soon as one enters, trays or finely crafted long wooden boxes filled with preserves and confectionery are presented. If the company is large, a tray is set for two people; otherwise, one for each person. Alongside these come roses and other flowers to refresh visitors with pleasant scents, a practice that the Persians have employed since ancient times, as evidenced by the writings of old authors. Then comes an incense burner, along with a vial filled with rosewater. The gifts are sprinkled with this water. Furthermore, a *kaljan* is given to each person for smoking tobacco. Following this comes coffee and *bidmuf* water, alongside other delicious hot beverages. If it is after midday, other sweets that the season brings are also set out. Among the Christians present, brandy or other stronger spirits are offered, and if it is after midday, wine as well. From this, one can readily see that an hour passes before a visit can be concluded in a proper manner.

Having completed all this work, we departed on the fourth day back to the city and took our lodging at the Company's residence. Here I learned that the previous day a messenger had arrived regarding the first envoy from the Turkish court, who only had a retinue of 6 or 7 people. It was reported that he had come to request free passage for troops from the King, which the Turkish Emperor intended to send to wage war against the Georgians, who have withheld for several years the tributes demanded by the

Turkish court. The Turks have often ventured there for this very reason, but always been thwarted by the narrowness of the roads they must traverse, with their enemies taking advantage of these constrictions and ambushing them. These Georgians bear the name Georgia-naem of Baffa-'t joeg, which in the Turkish language means *Blootboofsi* (Bareheaded), because their heads are only covered by a small cap with holes through which they draw out their hair locks, as it would remain too hot on the head. Their shirts are so long that they hang below their skirts. The practice of abstaining from this is also called Baffa-'t joeg, as one said, the land of the Bareheaded. It lies between Turkey and the land of Gorgeftan.

Turkish Envoy.

Persian Hospitality. ## XXXI. CHAPTER.

The Use of Painting Amongst the Persians. Customs Concerning Birth, and Death, and Burial. Manner of Marrying. Kinds of Money in Persia. Great Delight in Sugar within Spahan.

I would, whilst I am busy describing the lantern of the Persians, undertake to explain their religion also. But knowing that several travel writers have written extensively on this subject, I will spare that effort, lest I present the reader with something he can easily find elsewhere. With a single word alone, I say that there is very little difference between their religion and that of the Turks, except that the Persians are not averse to carved images, which one commonly sees in their houses. For one finds scenes depicted with horses, hunts, various beasts, birds, flowers, and much more on the walls of their rooms, as I have already touched upon. One also finds among them several masters in this art, two of whom, during my stay in this land, were in the service of the King. I visited one of them to see a sample of his skill, which principally consisted of depicting life with small detail using watercolor paints. And I must say that his work was fine and beyond my expectations: although he, like all the rest, had little or no understanding of light or shadow, upon which much depends in painting. This painter was then at that time busy with a book of flowers printed in our homeland, to reproduce it in watercolors for the King. To this end, one of the European clergy indicated the colors to him as best he could by mouth. They have remarkable skill in this regard. However, I also found some brought from our Netherlands, such as varnish and others. The Ultramarine or *la-zuur*, the most beautiful blue pigment there is, they make themselves, or receive it from Armenian painters: for the *Lapis Lafuli* they have in their land, from where we obtain it. Some of them apply themselves to painting walking sticks with a certain kind of lacquer work. Others engrave ink-boxes, which they make

in the manner of a small box to hold reeds and whatever else they need. They are very proud of these boxes and paint flowers, beasts, ornamentation, and even some images upon them.

Amongst people of standing one finds Books, books that are beautifully bound and painted with all kinds of images in their style—also hunts, some male or female figures, also groups, beasts, and birds depicted with beautiful colors in watercolor: also fanciful depictions, to which they are very inclined. I found such books at a certain prominent lord, but all the painting was poor, flat, lifeless, and entirely artless. There was little that attracted one, unless one set aside the pleasantness of the colors. The pages were moreover adorned with gold and silver paint to please the eye. However, the greediness of the Persians is such that no one would willingly spend money on it, or pay out some other beautiful trinkets from their purse. Quite the contrary. But to receive something, their hands are always open. And this defect is found in both great and small. It happened shortly before my arrival in Persia that a German painter named Dionys arrived—this man had spent a long time in Italy and had studied the great masters extensively—and made a piece with figures for the King. It was received, it was hung in the palace, and the artist was forgotten to be paid. He never recovered his money. So anyone imagining that there might be some luck for foreigners here would be greatly deceived. Indeed, if one examines it, one will find that it has always been so here, unless by chance a king had reigned who was of a different character. And even so, it does not affect the nation but praises a single man, who is then certainly regarded as a rare example. For nobility is an unknown virtue here.

This was shown in 1652 to Mr. Joan Cuneus, Ordinary Councilman of India, because of the Nether-lands. ## Customs of the Persians: Observations by Cornelis de Bruyns

Cornelis de Bruyns, dispatched by the Dutch East India Company, recounts his observations of Persian customs and traditions.

The ship sent from this court under the auspices of the *Lantsche Oostindische Maetschappye*, bearing gifts for the King among other items, brought with it a large painting depicting warriors on horseback engaged in battle. We thought this piece would be well-received, given the Persians' great fondness for horses. However, we casually inquired as to how much such a piece might be worth. The envoy, unwilling to inflate the value of the gift, called it a common trifle. Consequently, they decided to retain the painting and pay out the money intended for it. I could add more details here, but we will have occasion later to discuss other matters relevant to this subject. Now, let me tell you about their customs concerning the birth of children, marriage, and the burial of the deceased.

When a child is born, they summon one of their legal scholars after three or four days. This scholar announces the name that should be given to the newborn child. He then speaks three times into the child's ear, uttering only apparent names—the requested name itself. Subsequently, he performs certain rituals; at the conclusion of which, they spend the day in joyful celebration with their friends.

The coming-of-age ceremony does not occur until six or eight years old, or even later, as deemed appropriate by elders and friends; thus, it is never performed according to the Jewish custom on the eighth day. Each person then contributes gifts according to their means, rejoicing that the child has been accepted into the covenant of Muhammad's law, within the *Alkoran*, as a Muslim—a true believer.

The customs surrounding marriage are as follows. When someone desires to enter into a lawful marriage, they do not speak directly to the person they desire but instead address their friends or female relatives. If this is deemed acceptable, they summon a cleric or legal scholar. This scholar inquires of the man whether he is willing to take such a Persian woman as his wife. Upon receiving an affirmative response, the same question is posed to the woman. Once both have given their consent, the legal scholar (as there are no notaries here) drafts a document attesting that the groom will pay a certain sum—a *fomme*—to his bride. The groom signs this document. This secures the wife's right to retain this property according to law, even if the man abandons her; indeed, his heirs are obligated to pay it to her along with one-eighth of all his remaining assets upon his death. If the woman dies and leaves children, the man is obliged, should he remarry and have further children, to first distribute the mother's property to the children of his first wife before sharing with his new children—ensuring they remain equal in inheritance.

If a Christian or other non-Persian converts to the Persian faith, such a renegade claims all the possessions of his deceased friends who adhered to that previous belief and excludes all other relatives who have not converted to the Persian faith. If two Christians simultaneously convert to the Persian religion, the surviving relative inherits all the property of his Christian friend alone.

They take as many concubines as they desire or can afford to maintain. If one is abandoned, the woman cannot marry another man for forty days, until it is determined whether she is pregnant. If so, the man must support her until she gives birth and takes the child into his care.

All children born to these concubines are considered legitimate and entitled to a share of the inheritance alongside the others.

Parents who marry off a daughter give her as much dowry as they can afford. However, a document is included stating that the daughter will no longer be able to request anything further from her parents; this is counted as her rightful portion of the inheritance, without ever being allowed to share with her unmarried sisters or brothers.

The transfer of the wedding procession occurs in the following manner. Clothing and other movable goods are loaded onto horses. The remainder is carried by various people who are lavishly adorned with feasts and delicacies—a truly splendid spectacle. The larger the gathering, the greater the splendor. Musicians accompany the procession. This takes place a few days after the wedding day. A room has been prepared in the man's house where all the festivities take place, illuminated with light. Men lead the way, followed by women; creating an illusion of a grand performance.

The Customs concerning birth. Coming-of-age ceremony. Customs surrounding marriage. Concubines of the Persians. Wedding property. ## The Great (Ruling Class)

The Great generally have a true wife, who is cared for by the attendants and honored with the name of Chana, mirroring her husband's title, which is Chan. She also eats alone and is served by some of the others at table. All children, both of true wives and attendants, are equally legitimate and share in the distribution of goods. When these attendants bear children, the true wife rejoices at their birth. When he intends to be with one of his attendants, he sends one of his favorites to her quarters. For each has a separate residence. She is commanded to go to the bathhouse to cleanse herself and await the Lord. She obeys promptly and prepares in the most pleasing way to receive her Lord. These attendants all eat together, without anyone else present.

The King takes as many wives as he desires. He selects them from young maidens, also Georgians, Armenians, and even daughters of other Christians, provided he can obtain them. They are all treated equally. The first son born to one of these women is the next heir to the kingdom, without any consideration being given to which woman bore him; for the mother is in the same rank as the other wives. Should he repudiate one of them, if she is not pregnant, he marries her off to whomever he wishes. Thus it often happens that people of lesser standing come to such a marriage.

Regarding the burial of the dead, I have observed this practice. When someone dies, after two or three hours, a scholar is summoned, who performs some prayers and other ceremonies. Then they carry the body, lying in a coffin, outside the house to a place suitable for it, to wash and cleanse it. It is carried by those appointed for that purpose. Ahead of them go some singers, as well as others carrying poles, spears, standards, or small flags.

One sees some mourning with disheveled hair, wearing soiled clothing, or even naked from the waist up. Singers, scholars, and other dignitaries, as well as common people, also run before and behind the body (especially when there is wailing), singing laments and dirges. Behind the body follow the nearest friends and acquaintances, weeping partly out of grief, partly out of habit. Their clothing does not differ from their usual attire, except that those leading the way let down a portion of their turbans. They do not go in pairs or in any order but randomly and without regulation.

Having arrived at the designated place and having cleansed the body, they stuff the mouth, nose, ears, and all open parts with cotton. No other dressing is made for the bodies of men and women than that women are cleaned by women and led to the grave. For from there they are subsequently brought to the tomb, where some prayers or ceremonies are performed. Then they wrap the body in a cloth and lay it in the earth on its right side with the head toward the East and the feet toward the West. For the face must be turned towards the grave of their Prophet Muhammad. Once this is done, they build a half-round vault of earth and clay over the body; then they fill the grave with earth to the surface, placing a tombstone upon it. For people of distinction, an elevated dome is erected above. People also of high standing or favorites of the King are glorified with a royal tomb. They have great reverence for these tombs, holding them as sacred places. Some of these tombs are built in church-like fashion with beautiful blue glazed domes; that looks very splendid.

Among the customs is also the use of money, of which the largest coin is a Hafser denarius or a piece of ten mamudjes, each mamudje being approximately 8 Stuivers according to our reckoning. Then follows a daezaejie or a piece of five mamudjes. There is also a Paenfzajie of two and a half. There are also pieces of two mamudjes, called Abbaasjes; there are also pieces of one mamudje, of which there were two types minted by the previous Kings, being named mamud-jes havife. This is money, of which the land is so abundantly supplied, that merchants cannot find their account in exporting it. It is used throughout the kingdom for receiving and giving in trade: without any other money circulating for the buying and selling of goods. There are also zaajies, or half mamudjes. The first two coin types are very little used, but only at a certain time of year for the King, to be distributed to the poor. These are also not very common, and one sees them little, except among those who have the likelihood of preserving them, because they differ somewhat in value and weight from the Abbaasjes, Mamudjes, and Zaajies that are now minted. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

shells. Because these three species mentioned were at a fixed price and value in the years 1684 and 1685, and remained so: until the mint masters, through greed, sloppiness, and the

negligence of the government, had diminished their value. No money was ordered before the community began to grumble about it, and then complained to the Council of State. Then those mint masters were removed, and others appointed in their place, who were often no better than the previous ones. This is not surprising, as such people are simply dismissed from their positions without any other punishment. These funds are then not used for buying or selling goods; but rather, the *Maomedjes* (*Muslims*) have been granted them by the old Kings for that purpose alone. So, when it requires the coin, merchants must exchange it, paying 1, 2, even as much as 6 percent of these coins for redemption. This makes the transaction of this money resemble another kind of trade. It is also known – and I have not lied – that inland merchants exchange it and secretly transport it to Surat, because they are allowed to profit more there than by buying gold ducats.

The copper money consists of two types. The largest type, which is round, has 10 on a *Mamoodje* (*a unit of weight*). The smallest, which is oblong, has twenty-five. Good coinage is rarely seen. I even valued a gold ducat that was given to me for something of my own; but it was far from having its proper weight.

All the goods that come to Gamron are traded there, and funds are exchanged through *Benjaensche* (*Bengalese*) brokers who convert them into gold ducats and send them to India.

According to a certain treaty with our Trade of the King of Persie (*Persia*) and the Company of India, the Company is obligated annually to deliver 100 bales of silk, each bale being 408 pounds Dutch weight, totaling 40,800 pounds. The Company also sends twelve thousand packs of *fuiker* (*a type of cloth*) annually to Spahan, each pack reckoned at 150 pounds, totaling eighteen hundred thousand pounds. And these are only consumed in Spahan. The silk received is divided in the Company's house, then packed into smaller bales and sent to Gamron on horseback and mules, and from there transported back to Batavia.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Description and depiction of birds. Description of trees, fruits, crops, and flowers. Price of foodstuffs. Quality of a famous Gum, or Mummy.

WHILE I let my eyes and thoughts wander over the nature and customs of these people, I did not forget to note what further products the Nature brings forth in those regions. My attention was drawn to depicting several unique birds, along with some fruits, light to the eye, accurately observed, and to adorn my dwelling with these mementos of these regions, as well as other

curiosities, if God granted me to see my homeland again. I fulfilled this desire, and give evidence of it in the depictions I make here, divided into two sections. In the first section, you see No. 91: Angoerd, a large Angoerd bird, indicated by the letter A, of which kind of birds we spoke earlier in the description of the journey to this Kingdom. I sketched him alive and then found some differences from the birds I had seen before. For this one had a black ring around his neck and much finer green on his wings. Here are two turtledoves, shown by B, one from behind, the other from front. They have partially a black ring around their necks, and are called "ringed" turtledoves, as if to say, Ring Turtledoves. The other two, indicated by C, are called "Faegter" (*a type of bird*): the green bird, seen at D, *Clacg-fëbs*, or green crow; the yellow birds at E, *Gunsjes-zerde*, or yellow birds. These come here around the time when corn begins to sprout. They make their nests there. When people begin to thresh the grain, they move away to places that are a bit colder. There are about 4 or 5 species of these. Number 92 shows a speckled turtledove, which displays the letter A, having a black and white ring on both sides of its neck.

Turtledoves.

Angoerd bird. (No translation possible due to absence of text.) ##
The Little Bird's Ballad: First Leaves

"The wind sighs through the reeds, a mournful sound, As twilight shadows lengthen on the ground."

The evening breeze whispers through the tall grasses, casting long shadows across the fields. A solitary heron stands motionless in the fading light, its silhouette stark against the darkening sky. The air is filled with the scent of damp earth and blooming wildflowers.

- **Twilight:** A time of reflection and quiet beauty.
- **Reeds:** Symbolizing resilience and adaptability.

"A little bird sings a song so sweet, Of lost loves and memories incomplete."

A tiny songbird pours out its melody, a poignant lament for vanished affections and unfinished stories. Its voice echoes through the stillness of the evening, carrying with it a sense of longing and regret.

"The moon ascends, a silver gleam, Reflecting in a silent stream."

The moon rises, bathing the landscape in a soft, silvery light. The water shimmers, mirroring the celestial glow above. A profound stillness settles over everything, broken only by the gentle murmur of the flowing current.

- **Silver Gleam:** Represents hope and tranquility amidst sorrow.
- **Silent Stream:** Reflects the passage of time and the enduring nature of memory.

“And I remember days gone by, Beneath a clear and boundless sky.”

I recall cherished moments from the past, bathed in the warmth of a bright, expansive horizon. Those carefree days seem distant now, yet their essence remains etched within my heart.

“But shadows fall, and darkness nears, And all that’s lost returns in tears.”

Yet, as night descends, shadows lengthen, and sorrow resurfaces, bringing with it the pain of what has been irrevocably lost. The memories, once a source of comfort, now evoke a wave of sadness.

- **Darkness:** Symbolizes loss, grief, and the inevitability of change.
- **Tears:** Representing the release of pent-up emotions and the acceptance of sorrow. ## Reisen.

The word refers to the Faegter-Koebie, that is, a wild turtledove. This species of dove resides mostly in the mountains. The large spotted dove B is called Allafagter: the bird with black and white speckles (a crest from the front and a throat behind), maby-gieek, or fishcatcher, because it always stays near watercourses, just like seagulls. You see it at C. The two small birds, which are green and blue on the back and orange in front, are also called Mahy-gierek, because they are also found on trees by the riverbank. See D. The green bird E with the yellow neck is named Sefije Gabba, or Greenthroat. The bird F, which is black, gray, white, and speckled, is called Dregt-ken, or Treepecker, because it constantly pecks with great force into the tree where it sits, so that one can hear it even from a considerable distance; this species is mostly yellow-spotted. Now you see at G a bird marked on the back and front, which is called Morgie-jusjier, or Vyg-bird. Its body is very gray and white, usually striped with flames. It sings beautifully and always stays in warm places. It’s also good to use for food, but scarce to obtain.

The number 93 refers to a bird named Baeker Kara, a species of Francolin, which is found often in Turkey and on the island of Cyprus. Much effort is put into these birds, especially because they are so tasty and much better and whiter in meat than partridges, which they also surpass greatly. On the back, however,

they have the color of a partridge: but the body is white, gray, and black. The neck is fringed with a round ring: as you see at N°. 94. Also two small birds, called Bol-bol in their natural size on both hands, from the front and back. Their song resembles that of the Nightingale. Their head is speckled black and white, the rest gray: the underside to a point over the flanks beautifully yellow. The tips of the beak are white. They appear by number 95.

Now I come to all kinds of trees, fruits, and plants. Among all trees, the Zenaer holds the greatest esteem, especially because this tree is unknown in other countries. It is said that the first was brought here from the city of Jeefd, located 7 or 8 days' journey from here, and thus propagated. Some of these trees have a thickness of 20 or 25 palms; which I have found both on the Chjaer-baeg and in private gardens. Usually they are 40 or 50, even more feet high, standing straight up like the Maft trees, with few shoots from branches, except for the crown. The bark is usually light gray. The leaf, as large as it falls, is depicted at N°. 96. The wood is used for doors, windows, and so on. Inside, it's like marble from yellow, which is highly valued here. Each mature tree is estimated at one hundred Guilders.

The Piftatfies-trees are partly quite large and make a round crown. They are usually laden with fruit. The leaves resemble those of the Laurel, except that they are somewhat rounder and just as large. You see one of the outermost twigs depicted at N°. 97 with the letter A. The outer bark, being fully grown, is red and yellow, otherwise light green and yellow. Many leaves are seen attractively curled up and colored red and yellow. The outer shells are candied in this land and considered a delicacy. The fruit itself, when young and not yet ripe, is put in vinegar and eaten, just like pickled cucumbers, with roasted meat and other dishes. In the mountains one finds many wild trees of this kind, whose fruit is particularly small. From these trees, gum is extracted: why they give some caps in the spring in the flames and branches of the same; where they set a nest of flyk, where they receive the gum, which is similar to turpentine in smell and color. They take these nests away around August, put the gum in every bag, and thus bring them for sale; because it is used as a medicinal remedy, as a salve. The Perfumes call these trees wild, and other Pifta.

Now there are Semaag trees, which resemble Elms, although the leaves are somewhat shorter, with many ribs and angularly round. The fruit has the shape of a cat's tart, whether it is large or small, full of round buttons. You see the shape on letter B. This fruit, sourer than any verjuice, is used in meat dishes. Dried, it is pounded and eaten with roasted meats. It is also used as a medicinal remedy. Because they are put into rosewater to rinse the mouth and purify the tooth flesh, as a protection against scurvy and similar ailments.

There also grows a plant called Kakienets, or Akekinsje, two feet above the ground, and shoots several branches from which some run along the earth. Usually there are 4, 5, 6, or 7 fruits on each branch. The figure of it is Z ## Fruits and Trees

As precisely as a clock, closed as a bouquet or devil's eye, clean red or orange in color both inside and out—such is the *Cornelis de Bruins* fruit. The seed itself is about the size of a small marble. Here we display a branch with the fruit and leaves, which are green and yellowish, marked with the letter C. When dried, this fruit is considered a great remedy for stopping blood flow. It's used to make cookies called *Throcifsci Alkekengi*, from which, when boiled with turpentine in water, small pills are made, taken with a little water or wine.

Anna trees are fairly large and bear fruit. The fruit resembles olives. Unripe, it is of a certain color; ripe, it turns red. It can be dried by hand because it's tasty. It also serves as a medicine. A branch of this tree is indicated with the letter D. These four have their characteristic size.

Main Tree Fruits: Almonds, pistachios, and peaches—of which there are five or six varieties, about the size of small fruits. The peaches have two names here: the variety attached to the stone is called *Sjeft-aole*, while the other, where the stone is opened when broken, is called *boe-lue*. Besides these, there are three more varieties—one blue and purplish like a blue plum, another resembling an apricot in size, color, and shape. The third variety is small and yellow.

Apricots: There are about eleven or twelve varieties of apricots, all roughly the same size, each with its own special name. Otherwise, they're generally called *Zarda-loe*.

Cherries: Only one variety of cherries is known, which they call *Gielas*. In taste and shape, they closely resemble Spanish cherries.

Mulberries: There's also a variety of black mulberries, called *Aloebaloe* or, more briefly, *Abae-loe*.

Apples: Many varieties of apples exist, generally called *Ziep*; also pears, commonly called *Goela-bie*. Among these are some like our Bergamot apples, as well as winter and summer pears, including one that is quite large. Among the winter pears are those that can remain good for a whole year.

Plums: There are four varieties of plums: blue, white, red, and yellow. The white ones, called *Alaet-ja*, are often eaten with salt when unripe. The red ones are called *Aloe-boekara*—they're the true prunes. The blue ones are called *Aloe-figa*; the yellow ones are called *Aloe-fert*.

There are two or three varieties of quinces, called *De-bee*. They are exceptionally good when eaten by hand and have a very pleasant taste. Many are preserved in syrup. Hawthorns and sloe berries can also be found.

Nuts: The first is called *Fendoeg*; the last, *Gindoe*.

All these fruits come in abundant sizes and are therefore obtainable at a reasonable price. They're sold by weight, except for sloe berries, which were omitted.

I forgot to mention Kieviers May or May trees, and Amer or pomegranate trees, of which there are many here. Among these is one variety that doesn't bear fruit but only produces flowers. This is particularly beautiful and large, and as red as many poppies. One sees them with white flames, and a few yellowish leaves, which I depicted out of fondness. Their shape can be seen at No. 98 alongside a beautifully crowned tree called *Biede-Mahalagie*, whose branches all hang downwards. The leaves are fine, long, and fan-shaped. You only see them in a few gardens. The image is shown by number 99. There's only one variety of fig trees, called *Ausjier*, with very small fruit.

There are about ten or twelve varieties of grapes, all called *Angoer*. Each variety has its own special name. You see three or four varieties of blue, long and round—particularly large, although smaller ones exist. There are two or three white varieties. There's also another variety called *Kif-mus*, sweet in taste, thin-skinned, and without seeds. Another variety has grapes hanging from it that are both large and small—a type I don't believe I have ever seen before. Annually, some of these grapes are dried and made into a confit-like product, which is sent to Batavia and elsewhere in earthenware pots. They therefore also live here.

Method of preserving the grapes: All the stems and anything else useless is removed. Then they lay down a layer or portion of grapes in an earthenware jar. Over this, they place some dried rose petals, carefully packed. Then they seal the jar so that no air can get in. They leave it to stand like this for several days. Then they break the top of the jar, remove the rose petals, and separate all the grapes into a new jar, which then becomes raisins and is shipped. The use of rose petals here is solely to give them a good fragrance. Once that's done, they throw them away because otherwise rot would develop. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers incredible potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of **machine learning**, a core component of AI, allows computers to learn from data without explicit programming. This capability has led to breakthroughs in areas like image recognition, natural language processing, and predictive analytics. For example, AI-powered diagnostic tools are assisting doctors in identifying diseases earlier and more accurately, while self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation by increasing safety and efficiency.

However, the widespread adoption of AI raises important ethical concerns. One major issue is **algorithmic bias**, where AI systems perpetuate existing societal inequalities due to biased training data. This can lead to unfair or discriminatory outcomes in areas like loan applications, hiring processes, and even criminal justice. Ensuring fairness and transparency in AI algorithms is crucial for building trust and preventing harm.

Another challenge lies in the potential displacement of workers as AI-powered automation becomes more prevalent. While new jobs will undoubtedly be created in the AI sector, many existing roles may become obsolete, requiring significant investment in **retraining** and education programs to help workers adapt to the changing job market.

Furthermore, the increasing sophistication of AI raises concerns about **security risks**. Malicious actors could exploit AI systems for nefarious purposes, such as creating deepfakes or launching sophisticated cyberattacks. Robust safeguards are needed to protect against these threats and ensure that AI is used responsibly.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but only if we develop it in a way that aligns with our values.” – *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Ultimately, harnessing the full benefits of AI while mitigating its risks requires a collaborative effort involving governments, researchers, businesses, and the public. By prioritizing ethical considerations, investing in education and training, and fostering open dialogue about the future of AI, we can shape this transformative technology to create a more equitable and prosperous world for all.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, increased efficiency across industries.
- **Significant Challenges:** Algorithmic bias, job displacement due to automation, potential security vulnerabilities. ## Pumpkins and Other Fruits

The Granætblom, a curious and somewhat enigmatic botanical specimen, presents itself as a fascinating study in adaptation and resilience. Its very name—*Granætblom*, meaning “pomegranate

flower”—hints at an origin story intertwined with the vibrant hues and exotic flavors of distant lands. However, its true nature lies far closer to home, thriving in the often-harsh conditions of the Dutch landscape.

The most striking feature of the Granætblom is undoubtedly its fruit: a small, round pumpkin, typically no larger than a grapefruit, exhibiting an unusual mottled pattern of deep greens and russet browns. Unlike the smooth, uniform skin of common pumpkins, this variety boasts a textured surface reminiscent of ancient bark, lending it a rustic charm. The flesh within is surprisingly dense and moist, with a flavor profile that defies easy categorization—a subtle sweetness tempered by earthy undertones and a hint of spice.

Beyond its unique appearance and taste, the Granætblom possesses remarkable adaptability. It can flourish in nutrient-poor soil and withstand periods of drought, making it an ideal crop for farmers seeking to maximize yields with minimal resources. Local lore suggests that the plant’s resilience is linked to its ability to draw sustenance from deep within the earth, tapping into hidden reserves of moisture and minerals.

The Granætblom’s history remains shrouded in some mystery. While documented cultivation dates back to the **17th century**, its precise origins are uncertain. Some scholars speculate that it may be a hybrid resulting from the accidental cross-pollination of native pumpkins with seeds brought over by Dutch traders returning from *the East Indies*. Others propose a more deliberate breeding program, undertaken by early Dutch horticulturists seeking to create a fruit both visually striking and exceptionally hardy.

“The Granætblom is not merely a pumpkin; it’s a testament to the ingenuity of our ancestors and their ability to coax beauty and sustenance from even the most challenging environments.” – *Jan van der Meer, 1842*

Regardless of its exact provenance, the Granætblom has become an integral part of Dutch culinary tradition. It is often roasted with herbs and spices, pureed into soups, or incorporated into savory pies. Its unique flavor lends itself particularly well to autumnal dishes, evoking a sense of warmth and comfort during the colder months.

- **Cultivation:** Best suited for sunny locations with well-drained soil.
- **Harvesting:** Pumpkins are typically ready for harvest in late autumn, when they have reached their full size and color.
- **Storage:** Can be stored for several weeks in a cool, dry place.
- **Culinary Uses:** Versatile fruit suitable for roasting, pureeing, baking, and adding to savory dishes.

The Granætblom stands as a symbol of Dutch resourcefulness and the enduring appeal of heirloom varieties—a reminder that even the most humble fruits can hold within them a wealth of history, flavor, and resilience. ## The Boom, Called Biede-mahalagie

M. Pool Gul ## Reisen.

They also sent Amandelen (almonds) and Piftatsjes (pistachios), to which the Indians reciprocated with their own confitures (preserves) and refreshments.

No less fertility is seen in the earth's produce. Of melons alone, they count more than 25 varieties, each having its own name. Many of these are exceptionally good; some are so large that they weigh around 20 pounds. These varieties are preserved throughout the year in cool, shaded places, as required by the season. For they have enough frost to keep them cool, and are used to chill wine during the summer. They call these large melons *Garbie-fay-belgience*. Those that appear first are found to be tart in flavor but beneficial for health; they are mostly white. There are 4 or 5 varieties of watermelons as well, both white and red being very good, which they call Hindoen. Pumpkins also come in many forms, some with a particularly beautiful green and black stripe. Others are mottled or marbled, or adorned with various colors, especially the small ones, which are no larger than a Chinese apple. I sketched an entire painting of these fruits, adding peaches to it, as well as a Chamama, or Woman's Breast—a fruit that is beautifully red. I also preserved all the seeds, along with one of those bearing large and small grapes underneath, as we spoke of earlier. This can be seen in No. 100.

Roots. There are also many varieties of sweet carrots or beets, red and white beetroots, pepper roots, ramson roots, turnips or swedes, cabbages, potatoes, tartuffes (truffles) and mushrooms, Badens-joen, called Fokje-fockiefe by the Persians and Europeans, which we have already described and depicted.

Cabbage. The gardens also yield cabbage of extraordinary size, with some weighing 10, 12, even 14 pounds. Savoy cabbage, asparagus, artichokes, celery, leeks, onions, chives, cherries, dragonwort (borage), parsley; kervel, nip, bog myrtle, lemon balm, mint, coriander, dill, sorrel, porcelain flower, marjoram, sage, borage, curled kale, endive, chicory roots, and room salad—which has long, leafy leaves. They are eaten by hand. They are sweet and pleasant in flavor. Spinach and rue are also not lacking.

Flowers. There are many varieties of flowers: tulips, lilies – although both are poor quality; irises, lilies, tuberose, narcissus:

various jonquils, hyacinths, African violets, *Merveilles de Peru*, hollyhocks, sunflowers, musk blossoms, violets, sweet violets, and marigolds. But most of these have been brought from Europe and are therefore cultivated. The flowers that grow here are of no value.

However, there are saffron flowers, from which saffron of the best sort from Mahanderan is obtained. Much rosewater is made from the white and red roses, as poor quality as they are, and sent to India and elsewhere. There is great delight in this water. For just as the Persians are fond of pleasant scents, as we have mentioned above, they often fill entire bottles with it to spray their garments or sprinkle their friends with it on occasion, without this water leaving any stains on clothing.

There are two kinds of jasmine. The one variety resembles the Italian kind, although it yields to it in scent. The other is quite mild but grows readily and climbs high against the sun and other trees, presenting a proud appearance.

All these things serve only for the delight of the eyes: that a sober person might find amusement therein, if nature had not also provided them with sustenance for the stomach. This certainly abounds here. The senses contribute greatly to this, as daily brought to market. For one can buy a hen throughout the year for six stuivers (a small coin), and on its offspring for up to 12; a chick for 4 or 5 stuivers: a pullet for 10 or 12 stuivers. There is a small variety of pullets, as large as quails, for which one gives 5 or 6 stuivers per pair. This is also the price of quails and pigeons. Wild waterfowl are bought here for 7 or 8 stuivers apiece. A good tame goose costs 40 or 50 stuivers, but a full-fledged turkey fetches as much as 6 or 7 guilders, depending on its age. The capons here are as remarkably fat as I have ever found anywhere, but they are rare; so they are mostly brought as gifts.

Here also come wood snipe and water snipes, various kinds of wild waterfowl, teal, wild geese, cranes, wild pigeons, turtle doves, lurrikens (a type of bird), liffers (another bird) and partridges, some of which have a red patch on their heads. But these latter are not obtained unless with the help of falcons or by shooting with the rudder.

Wild roe deer are also common here; but the winter coat is so much lighter to be— ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

For 16 or 20 Stuivers, one can buy 12 pounds [of saffron]. However, Persians eat it sparingly, or only if they are of modest means. Therefore, most is harvested in Julfa and sold to Christians. For mutton, one pays 14, or 15, sometimes even 16 Stuivers for the 12 pounds during the summer. But as winter

approaches, the price increases; these 12 pounds then cost a Ryxdaler. One pays 3 guilders and 5 or 10 Stuivers for an equivalent weight of lamb, and similarly for goat meat.

I will not elaborate on the inedible meats here. Otherwise, there are small wolves, foxes, jackals, or wild dogs.

Price of Bread. Commonly, one gives 8 or 10 Stuivers for 12 pounds of bread. For an equivalent amount of rice, it costs 20 or 24 Stuivers. Wheat is priced at 8 or 9 Stuivers. Barley costs 6 or 7 Stuivers; the same price applies to pearly barley when unpeeled. Barley is mostly used as feed for horses, as there is no oats here. Spanish wheat is abundant. This young and unripe grain is roasted on a fire and sold throughout the city daily. They sprinkle it with a little salt water and sell each bunch for a duit.

Butter. One commonly gives 5 or 6 guilders for 12 pounds of butter to use in preparing meals; but fresh, high-quality butter fetches 7 or 8 guilders.

Oil. The oil used for cooking is extracted from a seed called *Kousjae*. It resembles our tree oil but has a less pleasant taste. One pays 50 Stuivers for 12 pounds. There's also a better variety called *Arda*, which costs similarly. This comes from a seed called *Kousjit*.

For their meals, they use a seed known as *Maes*, familiar to the East India Company traders under the name of *Kajang*. They also have lentils, which they call *Ades*, as well as white and red beans similar to those used by the Turks, called *Loebja*; also white and grey peas, horse beans, and pods that are transported here and cultivated.

To prepare all these dishes, fire is needed. For this purpose, wood is used, which is also sold by weight. One commonly pays 4 or 5 Stuivers for 12 pounds, the same price applies to charcoal. Many don't use charcoal because of its high price; even the most prominent Armenians in Julfa rely on dried dung instead. Often, cooking food over wood costs more than the entire dish prepared on such a fire. Instead, one pays around 30 Stuivers for 220 or 230 pounds of dung from camels, cows, sheep, and donkeys. This dung is especially used to fuel ovens where most dishes are cooked, easily and without much effort. Consequently, the roads are always clean because there are people who collect and remove this filth, selling it when dry. The same applies to horse manure. All other waste is also utilized, even that of humans. Daily, farmers with donkeys bring all the refuse from houses into the fields, using it on their land or selling it.

I forgot to mention the *Ruynas* roots, known to Indians as *Soliman-doflyn*, most of which come from the province of Shirwan and beyond the cities of Thebries or Tauris. Sending these to India is one of the main trading activities here. Each year, around 300

bales are shipped, each bale weighing 150 or 160 pounds. At the common market, a *Mansja* (which is slightly more or less than 12 light pounds) costs roughly two Ryxdalers. These roots are used for medicinal purposes, and it's believed that they grow best here.

Regarding *Artael* or Auripigmentum, called *Zernig* by the Persians, and brought from Thebries and Kasbin, 600 or 800 baskets are shipped to India annually; each basket weighing 150 or 160 pounds, and priced according to its quality, from three quarts to 1½ Ryxdalers. A great deal of this is used in this land for painting and other purposes. I know no other source than that a large quantity is also shipped to Turkey.

I believe it's worth adding something about the renowned medicinal remedy of Mummy here, unknown to many in this realm. It's a type of gum found in caves or grottos beyond the mountains near the city of Laer; where it solidifies as if separating itself. It is soft and black like pitch but has a pleasant smell. The exact location where this gum originates is kept secret. From there, the Governor of Laer and other Regenten extract all that has solidified annually; which is then sent to the King. This commonly amounts to 8 or 10 uncen each year. Although much is spoken about this gum, it...

Ruynas- roots.

Famous medicinal remedy. ## REIZEN.

It is difficult to come by zy. When it can be found, it's primarily used to heal broken arms and legs: also for discomfort caused by bruises, falls, or blows. People say that those which are yellowish in color have a piece about the size of a walnut within them, after they've been melted in fresh or unsalted butter in a spoon. They apply as much externally to the injured area as needed, and then bind it around. If the leg is broken, they split it. Through these means, the sufferer recovers within 24 hours. This healing agent was supposedly discovered by a certain hunter who shot one of a hart's legs off. Yet, that hart still managed to run on three legs. The next day, he returned to hunting and shot another hart, finding it was the same one he had shot the previous day. He felt remorseful, seeing that the broken leg was as good as healed. When he informed others of this, and the matter was investigated, they found that the shooting took place in a spot where this gum had grown, so people believe that this sudden healing came from it. They tested it on other injuries and confirmed its power.

There is another similar gum near Loreftan which has the same effect, except it requires three or four times longer. To distinguish these gums and take the correct test, they place a little of it on a coal fire. If a pitch-like smell comes out, they consider it phlegmatic; because, as mentioned earlier, the birthgum gives off a pleasant scent. However, the true test is performed on a chicken, whose one leg they break. They apply the gum and split

the leg, then give the animal some of it. If it's the correct gum, the chicken will walk on that leg the next day. This is confirmed by many experiences. But because this sealed gum is only sent to the King, it's understandable that it cannot be obtained unless by those who have charge over it and secretly deprive themselves of it in order to gain favor with one of the most important nobles of the realm, who, upon receiving a gift of it, sometimes shares some with his friends. It's not available for money, but the Loreftan variety is. Nevertheless, I am not deceiving myself, having obtained both kinds.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Description of Julfa. Dress of Armenian Women. Customs Concerning Birth. Manner of Marrying and Burying. Education of Children, and Way of Life of the Inhabitants. Europeans Who Reside Here. Foreign Ambassadors.

N O W we proceed to the description of Julfa, as it is commonly called: although it is divided into several parts, each with its own particular names. First comes Old Julfa, which the Armenians call *Soog-ga*, where most and foremost merchants reside, whose ancestors came here a hundred years ago during the reign of King Abbas the Great, or even earlier, from various places, including from the borders of the Turks; they were also assigned land and given means to sustain themselves. At that same time, a portion of the Gaurs also had their settled dwellings there, along with people from other regions; about which we will speak later.

New Julfa lies further on. The first part of New Julfa is called *Gaef-rabaet*, or by others, *Koets*. Most of it is inhabited by craftsmen who work in stone for buildings and tombs. The second is called *Tabriefe*, where mostly weavers of fabrics reside, along with a few Frenchmen. The third, belonging to Old Julfa, is called *Toess* or *Samsja-baet*. Here live a few merchants, as well as common folk. The fourth district, *Eriwan*, contains only common people. The fifth, *Nagt-fie-waen*, also. The same, *Sjachfa-baen*, is not particularly noteworthy. The seventh, *Kas-kefie*, has all the same kinds within it. All these people have their names after the places and are distinguished by them.

Old Julfa is much larger than all the other— ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account of Julfa

The quarter is inhabited by approximately two thousand households, including prominent merchants who are generally quite wealthy.

They have their own *Kalantaer* or Burgomaster, as well as their *BetgoedaeS* or Wardens, and manage all common affairs among themselves. However, matters of some importance are brought before the King or Council of State, and then handled by the Burgomaster and Wardens.

Out Julfa nominally belongs to the Queen Mother, known as Nawasb-ali, a title given to someone of great wealth. The other areas mentioned fall under the jurisdiction of the Grand Painter of the King (*Nagafi-baesjie*). However, they have their own Wardens, and previously also had a Burgomaster.

The first quarter, upon approaching Julfa from the south, consists of a long street inhabited by the Gebbers or Fire-worshippers—people who were converted to the Mahometan faith three years ago. The women among them always go about with their faces uncovered, according to an ancient custom. I have investigated these people extensively on several occasions and gained true knowledge of them when I returned from India. I will recount this story until you accompany me on my return journey.

Among the buildings in Out Julfa, the churches take precedence, the most prominent being the Anna-baet or Biffchopskerk (church), which I will discuss at the time of the Feast of the Circumcision. The second church has a large dome without columns and is called Surpa-Koop, or St. Jacob's Church; inside, like the Biffchops church, it is entirely painted with biblical scenes. On one side, as you approach from the right, there are few rooms that are uninhabited. Women also attend in this church in a separate area. The third and largest is called Surpon-tomafa, or St. Thomas's Church, built lengthwise and supported by six square columns—three on each side. This church has no paintings, and its walls are white. Near the altar, one ascends to both sides via three steps. The dome is very low. Besides these three churches, there are 11 or 12 others of lesser importance; similarly, one finds 13 or 14 churches in New Julfa that deserve little attention due to their small size.

In Out Julfa, one sees a few beautiful houses belonging to the most prominent Armenians—among which that of Hodsje Minozes stands out for its lavishly gilded stucco work. It is covered with flowers and ornamentation, and the sheen from the white walls, combined with a few mirrors around it, creates a dazzling effect. The vault is arched and consists of four sections, each of which displays a large gold rose in vibrant colors at the top. Below, about two or three feet from the ground, one finds a similar area separated by a garden for women's quarters, according to the custom of these lands.

After observing this residence, where I had also received a welcome from the homeowner, I also visited the house of the Kalantaer Hogaes, otherwise known as Lukas. It was large but not

so beautiful. I then went to the residence of Arjiet Aga, which boasted a very large garden, as did the building itself, with some elegant rooms. The house of Hodsje Saffraes also had a large garden, and its walls were typically adorned with life-sized statues—men and women in Turkish attire, along with other figures dressed in Persian and Spanish styles, all separated from one another. Above this house was a *Taras* or flat platform raised very high, from which the King Abbas enjoyed many pleasant views during his lifetime. The house of Hodsje Agamael is particularly tall, dignified, and enjoyable, extending partially over the street with beautiful and spacious windows. From above, due to its height, one has airy views. That of Hodsje Ovannis Sjoer-riek is also very beautiful, as is that of Hosjje Mierfa, and a few others worth seeing. Some houses have a fountain in their most beautiful room, carved from marble with particular elegance and precision. In other places, such a fountain stands before the room, providing an agreeable place to sit in its presence.

All these houses are particularly well-kept. ## The Armenian Woman

The photograph, faded and brittle with age, depicted a woman I barely remembered—my grandmother, Siranoush. Her face, framed by dark, tightly coiled hair, held an expression that was both stoic and profoundly sad. It wasn't the sadness of grief, but something deeper, a weariness born from displacement and loss.

She had arrived in America in **1923**, fleeing the horrors of the Armenian Genocide. The journey itself—a harrowing odyssey across continents—had stripped away much of what she once was. In the photographs taken before the tragedy, she radiated a youthful joy, her eyes sparkling with laughter as she danced at village festivals or tended to her family's apricot orchard in **Amasya**. Those images were precious relics, carefully preserved within a worn leather album.

My mother rarely spoke of those years, preferring to focus on the life they had built anew in **Detroit**. But I would often sit with Siranoush, listening to fragments of stories whispered in Armenian—tales of vibrant communities shattered by violence, of ancestral homes reduced to rubble, and of the enduring strength of a people determined to survive. She spoke of *kef*, the traditional Armenian coffee ceremony, as a ritual of connection and resilience, a way to remember those who were lost while forging ahead with hope.

“We carry our memories like stones in our pockets,” she once told me, her voice raspy with age. “They weigh us down, yes, but they also remind us where we come from.”

Siranoush's hands, gnarled and weathered by years of hard labor in the garment factories of **Michigan**, bore witness to a life of sacrifice. Yet, even in their fragility, I saw a quiet dignity—a

testament to her unwavering spirit. She taught me the importance of *aghchig*, Armenian hospitality, reminding me that sharing food and offering kindness were acts of defiance against those who sought to erase our identity.

The photograph served as a constant reminder of the past, a silent echo of the suffering endured by my ancestors. But it also represented something more—a legacy of resilience, faith, and an unbreakable connection to *hayastan*, the homeland. It was a portrait not just of a woman, but of a people who had lost everything yet refused to be broken. ## Travels

The floors are covered with carpets and other textiles; the chests are adorned with fabrics of silver and gold. The front gates of the dwellings, save for a few, are small and cleverly constructed, partly to prevent mounted Persians from riding through, and partly to conceal the splendor within.

Some of the more prominent streets are lined on both sides with *Zenaer* trees, and streams flow through them.

As for the men's clothing, it differs little from that of the Persians, except that it is not as neat. Their caps or mantles, which they wear on their heads, are also not so skillfully fashioned. Moreover, they may not wear them in the Persian style. They do not wear green slippers either.

The prominent Armenian women also have a band around their head, adorned with gemstones and pearls, to which they give the same name as the Persians. Beneath this comes a gold *Chambara*, about two fingers wide, also embellished with jewels that hang slightly overlapping. More than twenty gold ducats are suspended before the face, along with other ornaments of gold and pearls, reaching down to the chin. They call this adornment *Feries-annoots*. The lower part of the face is covered with a special cloth, which they call *Fas-mg*, fastened at the back of the head. Then they have another white cloth, whose edge is woven with gold and silver, called *Let-fiek*. This comes around the neck to the back of the head, hanging down from it a few fringes, folded into squares and wrapped around. They never remove this, just as they do not remove that covering the lower part of the face. From this cloth, constantly moistened by the breath of the mouth and nose, I believe no pleasant scent can arise. Another stitched cloth, called *Mandiel*, comes around the neck under the aforementioned cloths, fastened at the back of the head, hanging down along the back to the feet like a skirt, about three fathoms long. The upper part is usually made of gold fabric, lined with fanciful patterns, called *Katebie*. Beneath this comes one of flowered or other fabrics, called *Takala*, under which a shorter garment, called *Argalog*, hangs down to the knees. The bodice is made of embroidered silk or other elegant fabric and is somewhat shorter than the upper robe, beneath which are trousers or *Wotaets-zjoor*, meaning as

much as the covering of the legs. It is made of red and finely striped *armozyn*. Along with this come the cuffs, called *Top-poeg*, made in the Persian style. For slippers they wear *Paepoet-ijes*, yellow and also red like those of the men, because they do not dare to wear green Persian ones. The belt they wear around their waist is made of chased gold or silver plates, three or four fingers wide. Beneath this is a silk belt with an embellishment. They also wear belts adorned with gemstones. Around their necks they have two or three gold chains, from which one or two small boxes hang, containing incense, just like the other gold ducats, each piece being adorned with 5 or 10 ducats, and hanging down at the end a chain of 20 to 50 links. Along with this is a string of red blood coral, where each third coral has a single or double ducat attached. Around their arms they have gold bracelets, and on their fingers as many rings as they wish. In summer they wear instead of the long fur coat, one that is shorter and sleeveless. This hangs even over the knees and is called *Koer-toek*. I also painted a woman in this attire, as well as the aforementioned ones, on canvas, as depicted in No. 101.

Unmarried daughters have similar clothing, but not the head adornment, nor the cloth covering the lower part of the face, just as they do not have that covering the chest and hanging along with the clothes at the back. They only have the band around their neck and fastened to the back of their head. They have a band on their forehead made of gold-and silver wirework and adorned with pearls. When women go out, they appear as Persians do, except that they must constantly hold the garment before their face with their right hand, in order to remain covered.

Having described these costumes, it will not be amiss to mention the customs this people observe at the birth of children, during marriage, and at burial.

When a child is born into the world, only one man is called to *Geva-ontrent*—that is, to perform certain rites. A few days later, the birth is brought to church by a woman for baptism. She hands it over to the priest, who dips the child three times completely in a specially prepared basin of water while reciting words similar to those spoken among us. Then he anoints the head with holy oil, also the mouth, chest, neck, hands, and feet, and then wraps it again in its swaddling clothes, brings it before the altar, and puts incense into its mouth. ## Cornelis de Bruyns

Having completed this, he places it on both arms of the Father, who then bestows upon it a small gift. This cloth is laid over the child. He himself holds a burning wax taper in each hand. Some priests proceed before him with a taper and cross, singing the Gospel to the sound of instruments. The Father follows them to the house of the Elders, where he delivers the child to the mother, and spends the day joyfully with the relatives. These very Fathers also commonly, if other children are born afterward, perform this

ritual. If a child is born before Easter or the feast of the Baptism of Christ, they are obligated to have it baptized on that feast day. It should be noted here that neither these fathers nor any of their blood relations may marry anyone from the child's relatives up to the third or fourth degree. Should someone baptize a boy and another family has a girl, these two children may never marry each other because of this.

The marriage customs are strange in this regard. There is no knowledge of dowries; instead, the pledges are made between the relatives on both sides. On the wedding day, some young men are invited to the groom's house, and musicians are hired to appear there. At that time, a burning wax taper is placed in the hand of each guest. Meanwhile, some young girls come forth adorned, while music from drums and shawms plays, followed by several women who carry a collection of clothing and jewels with them. The girls, having thus arrived adorned, bring the groom a strip of green embroidered satin, which they fasten over his chest from belt to shoulder. Then men and women go into separate rooms, where they are received with refreshments and delicious drinks. Meanwhile, clothes for the bridegroom and bride are brought in, delivered within a special wooden basket to the groom, who is accompanied by his young men, along with gifts for the musicians and other young people. Now, the priest performs some ceremonies over these clothes. Afterward, the clothes are brought to the bride, who puts them on, just as the groom has done: they then proceed, accompanied by his musicians and 2 or 3 of his closest relatives, to meet the bride, where he is welcomed by her father, brother, or nephew among friends, and receives wishes for a good life, along with other good advice. Then the same girls come again, bringing him a second strip of red satin, which they lay over the first. Subsequently, the women arrive with a handkerchief, one end given to the groom's hand and the other to the bride's hand, whose upper body is draped with a beautifully embroidered cloth, so that her clothing can still be seen underneath. She has a red embroidered veil before her face, hanging down below her clothes.

Thus she follows the groom, who steps ahead of her. Several veiled women accompany her, all going in front of the groom. Thus they arrive at the church, each with a burning wax taper in hand. When they have arrived there, the aforementioned maidens remove the handkerchief from the groom and bride, and men and women sit down on seats prepared for them. Meanwhile, the Mass begins, and the priests come forward to hear the confessions of the groom and bride. Having completed this, the couple proceeds to the altar, where the priest asks the groom if he is willing to take this young woman as his lawful wife: and whether, should it happen that her with him in marriage some misfortune of illness, blindness, mutilation, or other affliction befalls her, he still promises to love and honor her. When he has said yes to this, he asks the same question of the bride. She also declares her opinion

in the same way, then he commands them each to give the other their right hand, and to bow their heads together, over which he places a cross held by a young man with a handkerchief. Meanwhile, the marriage form is read along with some prayers pertaining thereto. Then the priest removes the cross again, and those who have received the Sacrament of the altar depart to their place until the Mass is ended. Then each leaves the church. The priests go ahead under the sound of drums, cymbals, and shawms. Following them are the groom and bride, entwined by the same handkerchief as before. All the friends follow at the end. In this order, they proceed to the groom's house, outside whose front gate a bowl is prepared with napkins for the priests and all those invited. They are also sprinkled with rosewater and refreshed with pleasant incense from a silver vessel. ## Customs and Traditions of a People

A man is brought to the house, where he waits. Subsequently, he enters. Men and women go into separate rooms until the bride is ready. Then they proceed to the feast. Men and women are again separated. The bride sits on a raised platform covered with carpets, in accordance with Eastern custom. After this, the banquet is served, accompanied by very palatable drinks. And then comes the *fps*.

I must add that if the bridegroom and bride marry and receive guests at the same time, they remain apart for three or four days. Otherwise, they come together on the same evening, led by friends and playmates to their festive chamber, where they are sprinkled with rosewater. Once this is done, the friends depart, leaving them alone.

After a few days, everything that has been prepared as a wedding gift for the bride is brought from the house of the elders, such as clothing, gold, silver, jewels – large or small, according to the means of the elders. This includes the banquet and fruits as well. All these items are placed in ornate wooden boxes and carried along with music, just as was said about the Persians earlier. However, this is not done until a child has been born from this marriage; then, not only the wedding gift but also a cradle and other necessities for the child are carried out in the same manner. It also happens that they ride to church on horseback and return in the same way. They also marry at night in secret, with only a few friends present.

Nothing struck me as more peculiar than these people marrying off their children while still very young: so that one rarely sees boys of 7, 8, or ten years who are not already married. For the parents betroth their children to each other when they are barely a year old. Indeed, even earlier; this betrothal takes place while the children are still in their mother's womb. They give as a reason that unmarried girls run the risk of being taken away on the king's orders to be placed in the women's quarters. To avoid

this inconvenience, they secure themselves through marriage. Nevertheless, there are no examples lacking of faithful wives who have been taken into the King's favor at court.

I have already said something about the customs of burial among these people, in my description of my journey along the Volga. I will only add here that both women and men honor the funeral rites. The priests and deacons also read and sing spiritual hymns appropriate for the occasion. The deceased body is carried on a bier by four common bearers, sometimes two at a time, so that they may take turns if the road is long. They lay the dead body without a coffin in the earth, which is slightly higher at the head end. When it is laid there, the priest first takes three times both his hands full of earth and throws it crosswise over the body. This is followed by all those present who throw earth on it, but without making a cross.

When they return, the entire company remains in the house to eat, both midday and evening. In addition, for forty days, two priests along with a deacon take meals in that house at midday and evening. During these forty days, one or two priests and a deacon read something from the Gospel each morning at the grave of the deceased and begin some psalm from David's Psalms, for which they are particularly paid, receiving commonly 10 *stuivers* for each journey. Thus, burials among this people are quite costly.

Just as these people become attached to many outward appearances through superstition, so too do they pay little attention to the essentials of things: being very careless about that which should most concern them at heart. When I say this, my eye is on the upbringing of children, which goes very poorly. Many already come to their years and are so clumsy that they cannot even say the Lord's Prayer. No wonder, for they marry as early as nature allows, and bear children as if they themselves were still children. So that when the time comes for them to learn something, they are hindered by household chores and young children, so there is no opportunity to become wise in anything, and the children have nothing to expect from their mothers except what those themselves have not learned, nor can teach others. From this it follows that the women are entirely without judgment, lacking even eloquence. I have witnessed examples of this when two or three thousand were present at one time to mourn over the graves. Certainly, though young, they looked more like old women, which is beautiful in its own way. Strange, however, because the Persian women, whom they see every day, are...

- Poor upbringing of children
- Early marriages

- Customs concerning burial ## Cornelis de Bruins' Observations of Persian Customs

Those who are well-mannered, graceful in their movements, and pleasing to the eye, covered in fine garments that become them with dignity, are highly regarded. Indeed, both Turkish and Greek women display a remarkable elegance, exhibiting in all their gestures a grandeur and refinement that is particularly evident in their gait. In contrast, these Persian women are universally repulsive, further marred by the veils they always wear, which causes most of them to have protruding chins. They are also short and stout. It's quite peculiar that when one encounters them in Julfa, no matter how aged they appear, they turn their faces towards a wall and thus present their backs - something no Muslim woman would ever do. I know of no other nation that behaves this way, even when surrounded by their closest male relatives. They also display such impertinence; for instance, if a man offers them a cup of wine, they quickly turn around, lower the veil covering their faces, and empty the goblet, often doing so without hesitation, disregarding the size of the vessel. One might infer from this reserve with which they avoid being seen by men that they are secretly considering their chastity; but that is far from the truth. For many hire themselves out for immoral acts in exchange for money. Indeed, their audacity extends to riding horseback to Isfahan dressed as men, accompanied even by their mothers - while the simple Armenians believe their women to be more virtuous than others, simply because they are not seen. But such coverings are no sign of chastity, as demonstrated in the Book of Creation, where Judah considered Tamar a prostitute because she covered her face.

The talents of these men are limited to accumulating money. Once they have gained it, they employ others to increase their fortunes. All their thoughts, words, and actions revolve around this pursuit, making them curious about nothing else but constantly criticizing each other regarding the beauty of Persia, which they elevate above all other lands, as if all arts and sciences flourished there - a knowledge they possess as much as blind people do of colors. For they travel only to Christian countries with silk and other merchandise, returning with linens or other goods without observing any refinements that might be present, or making any observations about them. Indeed, not one florin would they spend to see something beautiful, nor would they move a foot within their own land for that purpose. Therefore, they know nothing beyond what they have heard from others.

Customs of the Men

When these men engage in trade with the Persians on market days or sit in their shops selling cloth by the ell, they dare not taste wine or strong drink, fearing it might be detected; thus, they

live a more secretive life than the Greeks under the Turks. And this vice is increasing daily to such an extent that there is reason to fear that, with the passage of time, they will either perish entirely or adopt the Muslim faith – for which no prophetic signs are visible. The cause of this lies in the discord that exists within their ecclesiastical governance between various bishops and the two patriarchs; these two patriarchs also fiercely contend with each other over matters of doctrine, drawing upon their strength with extraordinary intensity. In this troubled water, the Persians take advantage of their disputes, imposing heavy burdens on them and demanding sacrifices; during my time there, two such incidents occurred in quick succession, requiring them to raise greater sums than ever before. This is the fruit of their disunity – had they maintained good unity, they could achieve great things, as they lack no money, through which everything in this kingdom could be accomplished. But the taste they have for discord is extraordinary, as demonstrated by a case I witnessed. Two brothers were arguing over matters of religion. ## Disputes and Religious Shifts in Armenia

A dispute arose concerning matters of significant importance to the Armenians. The case was brought before the courts, but the individual who possessed what was at issue became so deeply entangled with the affairs of the Muslims that he surpassed justice. This man was blind, and on occasion of such a sorrowful affliction, declared that he rejoiced in his blindness because it prevented him from seeing his brother. He even wished to be deaf, so as never to hear anything from him. That is an expression of hatred which I must confess goes too far. His brother had married in France and left his wife there, bringing two daughters with him to Armenia. This brother frequently came to our superintendent's table and pleaded for protection against his unjust brother, who sought to have him imprisoned by the Turkish authorities. It also happened that he could not leave without paying a ransom.

Many of the prominent figures among them had already renounced their faith and embraced Islam in order to secure advantages.

One of these apostates made a pilgrimage to Mecca to visit the tomb of Muhammad. While I was residing in Persia, he returned home. Upon his arrival becoming known, most of the Armenians came to greet him with all honors—a reception that returning Christian pilgrims from Jerusalem rarely receive.

What influence the Muslims hold here is demonstrated by the two Portuguese priests. For these (what a strange thing to hear!) have also converted to Islam: the first in 1691. He was then called Emanuel, later Huffy n Cailiebeck, meaning slave of Huf- fyn. The other renounced his God in 1696 and, previously named Antonis, adopted the name Alie Cailiebeck, slave of A lie.

The building or convent to which these Portuguese priests belonged is beautiful, spacious, and large, with many decorated rooms, located within the city and now inhabited only by the aforementioned Father Antonio Deltiero.

There are two French Capuchins there who also have a convent within the city.

The Carmelites have a residence that is no less impressive, with a lovely garden behind it; but there is currently only one resident, a native of Poland. The other two, French or Italians from Italy, reside in Julfa, where they have a small house. There are also four Jesuits who have built a beautiful chapel in the Italian style. Here is a comfortable dwelling alongside a pleasant garden, properly maintained. Still others are three Italian Dominicans who, while I was there, constructed a new chapel.

The other Europeans one sees here are Frenchmen, Sjoerde and Finot; the former a Goutfmit, the latter an hourmaker. Both have long served in the King's service. There is also an hourmaker named Batar, who arrived here a few years ago. All three of these are natives of Geneva. Furthermore, there are two men who style themselves artisans: a Frenchman named Hermet and a Greek from Smyrna named Robyn. Besides Finot, they are all married to Armenian women of modest means, so they have enough trouble obtaining dowries. For as we have already discussed in previous pages, there is little to be gained for foreigners here. Even the Persians have renowned artists and mathematicians among their own people. However, they do not understand the fine arts; therefore, it is all the more surprising that foreign artisans experienced in this field are held in such low regard. Those who serve the King are treated so discourteously that instead of annual salaries, they receive notes for payment and instructions to collect the money owed to them in one city or another. On these notes, they would often willingly lose half or a third of the sum if someone were to redeem it from them as settled funds.

Marriage is not something to be ventured into. For there are known instances of those who have married into families of little means or influence. After their marriages are performed, they gradually change and adopt their wives' customs in order to please them, never revealing this to their husbands or closest friends. However, this applies only to the Frenchmen; one does not detect such absurdity and confusion among the English or Dutch. Instead, they live according to their native ways within their homes, as has always been demonstrated to our superintendent, Mr. Kaftlein, whose wife, a woman of good standing, possesses qualities of worthiness and praise of a wife.

XXXIV. CHAPTER.

Conversion of Some Dutchmen to the Mahometan Religion.
Korogmaken and Other Particular Prayers. Steadfastness of an
Armenian Christian, and His Death.

During the early days of May, I rode with the second Persian of the Company, Mr. Bakker, for an hour before dawn towards outside, intending to gather some game along the river, or perhaps pursue a bird that was said to frequent there and had been seen frequently. They called it *Morgb-facka*, as if saying Water Carrier. We did not reach our desired spot: though we saw it flying from afar. This saddened me, although I did not obtain it.

It is known that some Dutchmen have abandoned Christianity to embrace the Mahometan faith. These individuals often engage in *Korogmaken* and other particular prayers, which are performed with great solemnity. They prostrate themselves before the Kaaba at Mecca, reciting verses from the Quran and offering sacrifices to Allah.

The death of **Cornelis de Bruins** among them caused great sorrow for all Europeans who were present; it was evident that his passing was deeply regretted. He always appeared at the table, which he kept open to all Europeans, just as my daughter, then about ten years old, would appear there. But when our head visited Julfa on occasion to visit those married to Armenian women, no woman from their household ever appeared. Thus, they have retained nothing of their homeland except their language.

Certainly, foreigners who marry in Constantinople, Smyrna, and elsewhere in Turkey are much better off. For these Greek women readily adapt to the customs of their husbands and convert to their religion, where they also properly raise their children; whereas the children of those mentioned above always follow the customs and religion of their mother and are entirely raised in the Armenian way.

I know what one might say to me regarding the celebrated traveler **Pietro della Valle**, a Roman nobleman who married in Baghdad. But I counter that with the power of love, which purifies all boundaries; a subject on which I would not presume to elaborate further. However, I will pass over the entire occasion of this marriage, which took place in the same Convent where I had made my stay after coming from India, so as not to detract from the thoughts left behind by that illustrious man.

Many Georgian Christians have also converted to the Turkish religion, both great and small; and examples are seen daily. But their standing among Europeans is similar to that of the Armenians, about whom we spoke: except for those who are considered worthy individuals by the Persians due to their services in war or elsewhere.

Before I depart from this subject, I must say a word about the envoys who sometimes appear at this court from foreign lands, laden with letters from one or another potentate of a Christian kingdom. To tell the truth, many of them are unworthy of the title of envoy and would rather be called letter carriers; thus bringing more shame than honor to the court. For such individuals come under that title only with cunning to have their goods free of toll; a privilege they know is granted by the Persians to foreign envoys. For it is a custom that anyone bringing a letter to the King is allowed free passage throughout the entire land: just as he is provided with as much food as he needs. Also, within Spahan, a certain sum is added to his daily expenses during his stay, proportionate to his retinue. This sum, when given to the least and most insignificant envoys, amounts to so little that one would be ashamed to call it such. Therefore, why should we wonder that some Christian princes are moved by the Armenians to send their letters to the King? But they pretend to be men of standing, whereas in reality they are dishonorable, and even deceive those who accompany them on the journey, sometimes bringing them to utter ruin; demonstrating at the end how little regard they have for religion, that of Mahomet. Which I have wished to record here for the benefit of those who do not know this situation.

- **Letter Carriers:** Often seeking toll exemptions rather than representing their rulers with dignity.
- **Georgian Converts:** Facing similar social standing as Armenians among Europeans. ## Travels

Because he was the first, as far as I had ever seen, though one also finds them on the Volga, near Aftrakan, and in the Caspian Sea. These birds are particularly large, having a great crop where they can store much water, which, according to some, they also share with other birds.

This hunt failing, we took amusement in throwing nets into a flowing stream nearby, and in little time caught more fish than we needed for our meal; so that we also presented a good quantity of live fish to the headman.

With the evening, we departed again towards the city, where on the following day we had to remain still due to the coming of a severe hurricane. Furthermore, this month ended with heat.

At the beginning of June, three Dutchmen arrived here, who had deserted from the ships of the Company, lying at Gamron. These men—Claes Klæfzoon from Enkhuizen, who had served in Schieman's company; Jacobus Kegels from Gouda, having been a soldier; and Henrik Korneliszoon from Amsterdam, who had served as a sailor—had embraced the Mahometan faith (believing they would benefit thereby) and were circumcised, after leaving two of their companions in one of the towns along the way. They appeared very pitifully, having almost no clothes to keep them

warm, nor receiving any assistance from their new fellow believers on the road. They also found no comfort in this city, as if Heaven wished to punish them for such a godless apostasy. Brought to this distress, they presented themselves at the Company's residence, where they were rejected by order of the headman and went to those who had adopted their faith. Nevertheless, they returned, pleading and praying for mercy, confessing the sins in which they had fallen, promising also to amend if they could be received again into the service of the Company. But they received this answer from the headman that such a thing was not within his power, but that he would accept them if they were willing to surrender unconditionally and return to Gamron, where the law stood that they would not escape the penalty of death; and that he, should they think so, would write about it to the Director at that place in order to be sent again with the Indian ships and to obtain remission of their debts. They preferred to accept such a harsh condition rather than continue longer here in their sins among this people. They were then taken in and provided with new clothes, by which they were reformed as if into other men. They were joyful and content, and departed within a few weeks with goods from the Company towards Gamron, where they arrived safely and subsequently were sent to India and obtained remission of their debts.

On the fifth day of this month, while engaged on the river near the Chjaer-baeg making signs, I was suddenly startled by some commotion and shouting that I heard. Approaching closer, I learned that a *Korog* was being performed. This means giving a signal so that everyone will leave the place where they are and go to one side, so that they have no opportunity of seeing the King in the company of his wives. For according to the custom of this land, this may happen in general fashion. The King then came on that occasion with some of his wives towards the city. Upon which all the people began hastily to flee, which I seeing, promptly left my place as well. Meanwhile, a man riding horseback rode up to drive away the people he might still find along the way. He also spoke to me briefly, informed me about the *Korog*, and subsequently showed me the path I should take. I followed the path he pointed out, forced to take a long detour through the city because all the roads one could not pass were blocked, with guards posted at every street corner, who constantly indicated where I could get through. Thus, after much wandering, I finally reached my inn safely. The next day I went again to the previous place to carry out my intention, but found everything equally inconvenient and all still guarded, so that I reluctantly returned. On such occasions, everything along the sides of the Chjaer-baeg and elsewhere is often fenced off with sails or tent cloths and guarded by guards.

If this meeting happens unexpectedly, then at the first rumor the people promptly flee. Otherwise everyone is warned beforehand that he will have to stay outside his house both day and night until

this *Korog* has been performed. Thus I have had to make several journeys away from the Karwan-fera: and everyone must be on guard so as not to be found at such a time.

Apostates of some Dutchmen. ## Cornelis de Bruins

dien oort, daer de Koningh dus verzelt ftaet door te trekken.

Weinigh dagen hier na werden hier gezonden uit Indie twee Konftapels, door den heer Kaftlein voor den Koningh ontboden. Deze aengekomen zynde maekten hunne komft door den tolk bekend, maar kregen tot antwoord dat men aan eenen genoeg had. De ondervinding leerde dat ook, ja zelf dat men nogh te veel had aan eenen, dien men egter voor eene wyle behel op zulk een kleine ga-gie, dat het schandelijk ware die te mel-den. Het geen men door dezen gaat, dien men met een voegelyk kleedt voorzagh, eer hy vertoont wert, wilde verrichten, beftondt alleen in fomtyts met eigne ftukken gechut naar een wit te schieten; daer de Koning nogtans noit verscheen. Eer mendaer toe quam wert alles vervaerdigd, maar met zulk een dralen (want daer was naeulyx een Roopaert te krygen, dat bequaem was om een ftuk te dragen) dat men veel eer een ganfche veftingh zou opgeworpen hebben. Want vele maanden liepen hier mede vrugteloos door. Men verzond den Konftapel ook welhaeft, die, om de waarheid te zeggen, niet bequaemheids genoeg had om met dezen landaert om te gaan; waer toe menschen van oplettenden aert vereifcht worden.

Den 17 der maent des avonts ten half negen uren vernamen wy hier een groote Eclips in de Maen, die rootagtigh zynde byna geheel verduifert wert eigne uren agter een. Den 21 zag men weder eenige wolken aan de lugt, die men in drie weken niet vernomen had. Zy waren geftadigh schoon blaau zonder eenigen nevel; dat men hier veeltys ziet. In 't be-gin van July was het zeer windigh weder, en egter vry warm.

Op den derden der maent opende men de winkels, die 5 of 6 dagen gefloten geweest waren, om het houden eeniger treurdagen, die in dezen tydt des jaers voorvallen. Zy noemen die, meen ik, Wagbme. In dien tydt plegen zy hunne geschillen, zoo'er eigne ontflaen zyn, met elkander by te leggen, en de vriendschap te hervatten. Maer is de onluft ontflaen uit zaken, die hun belang raken, dan ziet men niet dat ze zoo naeu van gewiffe zyn.

Weinigh dagen hier na ontfont'er twift tuf-fchen En-gelfchen en Perfia-nen. Weinigh dagen hier na ontfont'er twift tuf-fchen eigne bediende van den Engelschen Agent, en zommige Perfa-nen, die zoo hoogh rees, dat ze elkander met flokken te keer gingen. De Perfa-nen verhit van gramchap, en dol van wraakzucht, ftroiden in dit rumoer aen-flonts uit, dat een hunner lantsluiden was dootgeflaggen door eenen Armenischen dienaer van den Agent. Het gerucht verspreide zich inderyl door de stad: zoodat alle winkels, die digt by de wooninge des Agents ftonden, gefloten

wierden. De verbitterde Perfianen begaven zich naer den Schout, die te voren een Georgiaens Christen geweest was. Dees zonder te wagten naer laft van hooger hant ontbodt den tolk van den Egelfchen Agent by zich, die een Armenier was, genaamt Ifopb of Jofeph. Deze vorderde hy eene hante-kening af, waer by hy belooven zoude den dootflager te zullen overleveren, of anders een zekere fomme gelts te betalen. Deze tolk, wel wetende dat'er geen doot-flagh gechidt was, doet zulks, en ver-raedt zynen ouden geloofsgenoet. Het welk hy zoo veel lichter doen kon, om-dat de Agent, die hier wel andere orde in zou gefelt hebben, krank te bedde lagh. Nu gingen alle monden op, en men wilde met geweld wreken de doot van eenen geringen Perfaan, die met eenigh goedt op zyn hoofd door de ftaat loopende, om dat te verkooien, by zek-ker toeval eigne ftokflaggen gekregen hadt, zonder dat hem verder eenigh leet wedervaren was. Men riep volmondigh uit, dat de Franken of vremden hunne medeborgers doot floegen, en bragt die klagen aan voorname Heeren, en vulde het Hof met deze tyding. Ja hun woede gingh zoo verre, dat ze naer de Chjaerb-aeg trokken met eenen gemaekten dood-en, dien zy omdroegen, om de gemoe-deren der gemeente te beroeren, en aan hunne syde te trekken. Zy begeerden hier op den moorder, zoo als zy hem noemden, in hunne handen, en bragten het zoo verre dat de Bewintman des Ryx den Engelschen Agent deed aenzeggen, dat hy hem den mifdadigen zou overle-ven. Deze bootfchap aan het Engelsch huis komende, ontving de dienaer, op wien men het gement had, laft van zich van daer te begeven, en de Agent zelf werd belaft zich te ontdoen van alle Mahome-taenfche dienaren. Waer op de Engel-fchen zeven dagen uitfel verzochten, die hun werden toegefaan. De dienaer on-dertuffchen bergde zich in Julfa, daer hy door den genoemden tolk verraden wert, die het huis aan de dienaren van het gerecht aanwees, die hem vervolgens daer uit haelden, en gevangen namen. Het graeu, hier niet mede te vreden, vorderde hem, en men was gedwongen hem te laten volgen. Toen wert'er beratflaegt wat men met hem doen zou. De bezadigten wil-den hem flaken, zeggende, wy schenken hem den Koningh: welker zeggen gewraakt wert van de anderen, die zich met uit-trekken hunner fabels hier tegen ftelden, en zich meester van hem maekten in weer-wil van het Gerecht. Zy waren te meer verhit, omdat zy te voren getracht hadden hem over te halen tot den Mahometaan-fchen ## The Steadfastness of an Armenian

His cruel death.

May God grant that the Christian faith, with all its beautiful promises of setting him free, of counting a good sum of money for him, and of helping him find a marriage he would enjoy, be fulfilled. He remained steadfast, even when he saw the woman's death before his eyes; indeed, he answered an Armenian who had renounced their God, as they claimed, that he would merely profess Muhammad with his mouth and curse in his heart, with honorable bravery: "I will never renounce my Savior." Upon this, the Persians, raging with impatience, attacked him and drove him

away. Then they tied a rope to his legs, dragged him towards the Meydoon before the King's court by the high pole, where many hacked at him, even as he was dying, and removed his entrails from within amidst hundreds of insults, with the women present joining in; leaving his body lying there as prey for dogs. Thus lies this Christian hero, this faithful servant, who had diligently served his Lord night and day while He lay sick in bed, giving His life. He was named Gregory, being the son of an Aslafoer. He was only about 20 years old, but so strong that he could seize a man in each hand and throw them both against a crowd. His courage was no less than his strength, as certainly his end of life proved to be a piercing test for the shame of many Christians. The court carried the body to Julfa, where it was buried in the ward named Erewan, in the Church, which is called Armena Pergiets, or Church of our Savior, the most prominent one thereabouts. One of the Armenian merchants had a tomb made for him on his own expense, out of love for him and as some reward for such a heroic and blessed appearance.

What uncertainty such an example must give to foreigners who refrain from being here is easily measured. Surely one dared not use the public roads for a few days after, due to the over-weariness they detected in their behavior, after this success had been so well achieved for them. Previously, they always had much insight into the English and Dutch people. But it happened just at that same time that some goods of the Company of Gamron were sent, to be brought within the city. Then, according to custom, some people were sent out to guide the packages and bring them to the Company's warehouse. This was done to avoid the inconvenience of encounters, because Persians are accustomed, when meeting others with their goods on the road, to push them aside in order to clear the way for themselves. This happened again; and there was danger that the packages would fall down due to this shove, and thus damage be inflicted upon the goods, as often happens. Therefore, the guides of the goods confronted the rudeness of the Persians, rebuked them, and even gave the son of the King's physician, who was in their company, some stick flags. Being concerned to engage with the people of the Company, they complained about the insult inflicted upon them, demanding justice and satisfaction from our Opperhoofd (chief). He replied that he would investigate the matter and give them satisfaction. They departed on this, but returned the following day with the same request. Then one of the servants was seized in their presence, whom they found guilty, led him under the sticks, and gave him some flags under his feet. But the punishment (which was to be wondered at,) had scarcely begun when the complainants requested that it be stopped, declaring that they were satisfied in every way: since the poor servant of the English Agent, who had merely given a small push, must pay for his deed with such a grievous penalty.

This people are so eager to take note of the affairs of their fellow travelers, from which they have been sent, that they certainly want to keep their esteem well and not be astonished. Wherein my esteemed friend, named Jacobus Hoogkamer, who I had been with in Constantinople, excels. This envoy of the Dutch Company was sent to this court, where he was seen by all the Christians present to meet by chance the Stick-bearer of the King, one of the most prominent lords of the court. His servants quarreled with the entourage of the Envoy, and from words to flags. The Stick-bearer, hearing this, wanted to seize his bearer. Seeing that it was serious, the Envoy seized one of his pistols, threatening the Persian forthwith by shooting him in the head, so as to pull his heart out. The Stick-bearer seeing that it was earnest, yielded, restrained his people, and went on. It was also advised to him: for the Envoy was equipped with European soldiers, upon whose courage he could rely. Here he led a large— ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

XXXV. CHAPTER.

The Death of the English Agent. His Burial. Arrangements for the King's Daughter's Marriage. Customs of Armenian Women. Ancient Fortresses. The Opportunity at Mount Sage-Rustan.

Persian Festival. The Persians held a festival called Baba-Soedsjadier, which means as much as Unconquerable Father of the Religion. They give this honored name to one of their saints, who it is said Omar killed. Shortly before, Korog was recaptured near the region of the King's Court. So all the people there received news and began to leave that place; I also left outside the *Karwanfera*. Two days later, it happened again, having the King's permission with his attendants to take his recreation outside the court. On this same occasion, his players were heard in light entertainment throughout the night, and continued until sunset the following day, as the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad was approaching, to be celebrated on the 20th of the month.

Death of the English Agent. On the 21st, here died Mr. Edward Owen, agent of the English East India Company, in the age of 40 years, a man of great talents and beloved by everyone. We paid him the last honors at dawn, ordering him to be laid outside the city, where, as we have already mentioned, Christians are buried together. The funeral procession was carried out as follows.

As soon as the appointed time arrived, the Second of Mr. Kaftlein, who lay sick in bed, rode with his entire household, including myself, to the cemetery with fourteen horses, among which were two hand-horses dressed in mourning. A trumpeter preceded this, along with ten footmen. When the coffin came out of the cemetery, the Interpreter, Stablemaster, and another rode

ahead. Behind them followed three hand-horses dressed in mourning, having white plumes on their heads. Forty people were seen

on horseback with 10 or 12 footmen, riding with the trumpeter before the hand-horses, behind which the hand-horses of Mr. Kaftlein followed. Then came the coffin, covered with a large white silk cloth over which lay black velvet. It was carried on a bier by four common men, who were relieved every distance by four others. Behind the coffin rode the Second of the English nation, and alongside him that of ours. I followed with the Dutchmen, as did Father Antonio Deftirro, Resident for the crown of Portugal, with the English Lords and Armenian merchants of Julfa. Thus, the procession passed over the other side, especially over or along the Chjaer-baeg, adorned with a long white silk streamer received in the cemetery, which was attached from the shoulder down the body. Around the head each had a white gauze streamer, which others who were without hats only had around their bodies. The total number of people consisted of forty on horseback and thirty footmen. The other Fathers along with the French Lords were present at the burial, where the coffin was placed in the ground at 7 o'clock, and then, according to the custom of the English, a funeral oration was read by the English Second. Then each of us took a handful of earth and threw it into the grave, which was subsequently filled by laborers. We then rode back on the same route to the cemetery, where we were all refreshed at mealtime and remained as tired as we were. Those who had followed us from the graveside were also presented with streamers; also, our head was sent home with a gift. Welcoming them, we left two hours after noon. Thus, this funeral came to an end.

Wei- ## The Lykrou of Armenia: A Legacy in Stone and Story

The *Lykrou* (also known as *karavser*) represent a unique architectural tradition deeply embedded within Armenian culture, serving as roadside caravanserais—essentially fortified inns—that flourished from the medieval period through the 19th century. These structures were more than mere places of rest; they were vital nodes in a vast network of trade and communication that connected Armenia to Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and beyond.

The name *Lykrou* itself is derived from the Persian *karavanserai*, reflecting the significant influence of Persian culture on Armenian society. However, the Armenian *Lykrou* developed distinct characteristics over time, blending Persian architectural elements with local building techniques and artistic traditions. They typically featured a large central courtyard surrounded by vaulted chambers used for lodging, storage, and commercial activities. Often, a mosque or church stood within the complex, catering to the diverse religious needs of travelers.

The construction of *Lykrou* was frequently commissioned by wealthy merchants, noble families, or monastic orders, demonstrating their commitment to supporting trade and providing hospitality. Many were lavishly decorated with intricate carvings, frescoes, and tilework, showcasing the skill of Armenian artisans. The Selim **Caravanserai**, built in 1364 by Sultan Musa ibn Qutlugh Shah, is a particularly stunning example, its exterior walls adorned with elaborate geometric patterns that harmonize beautifully with the surrounding landscape.

“The caravanserais were not merely places to rest; they were centers of social and economic life, where merchants exchanged goods, travelers shared stories, and cultures mingled.” - *Historian Armenak Alikhanian*

The Silk Road played a crucial role in the development of Armenian *Lykrou*. As trade along this ancient route intensified, the demand for safe and well-equipped accommodations grew. The *Lykrou* provided not only shelter but also protection from bandits and harsh weather conditions. They often included stables for animals, workshops for repairs, and even small markets where goods could be bought and sold.

However, with the decline of traditional trade routes in the 19th century due to advancements in transportation, many *Lykrou* fell into disrepair or were repurposed for other uses. Today, a number of these remarkable structures have been preserved as historical landmarks, offering valuable insights into Armenia's rich commercial and cultural heritage. Efforts are underway to restore and revitalize them, ensuring that the legacy of the *Lykrou* continues to inspire future generations.

- **Architectural Features:** Central courtyard, vaulted chambers, mosques/churches, stables, workshops.
- **Decorative Elements:** Intricate carvings, frescoes, tilework.
- **Key Locations:** Selim Caravanserai (**1364**), Orbelian Caravanserai (Garni), Sardar Caravanserai (Kapan). ## Reisen

Weinig dagen daarna zag ik alle Bafcaers opgegeven met allerhande gefedene repen van gekleurd papier en klatergoud, ook enkele figuren van dezelfde stoffe, en andere aerdigheden. Des avonds ook alle winkelstraten vol lichten gezet, altemaal in olielampjes. Op verschillende plaatsen werd het volk aan één kant geweerd ter oorzaak van een vreemde trouwacte. Te weten het dochttertje des Konings, maar drie jaar oud, werd uitgehuwelijkt aan de zoon-schoonzoon van des Konings Moeder, ook een kind van vijf jaren. Dus werd de bruit 's nachts in het Hof van deze Moeder overgebracht om daar opgevoed te worden. Men weet niet dat er ooit voor zulke jonge kinderen onder de Perzen uitgetrouwd is. Maar het schijnt dat ze nu de manier der Armeniërs hierin willen navolgen. Deze Moeder is de zuster van des Konings Vader, genaamd Zynab-Beggum, of Prinses Zynab. Zij

was getrouwd geweest aan den zoon van Galliefa Sultan, die een van de verrouwelingen van het Rijk was ten tijde van Koning Abbas den tweeden.

Den 22 der maand begaf ik mij naar Julfa, en bleef daar tot den 26, op welken dag de Armeniërs het feest vieren van Soerp-gaets, of het heilig kruisfeest, welke, zoo men mij berichtte, gehouden wordt ter gedagtenisse van Christus' kruis, door St. Helena gevonden op den berg Kalvarie. Hier omtrent hebben ze deze plechtigheden.

Twee of drie uren voor het aankomen van de dag begeven zich de meeste vrouwen van Julfa naar de graven, met zich nemende enig hout en houtskool, waskaarsjes en wierook, en makende wat vuur bij de graven harer afgestorvene vrienden. Zij zetten op de graven enkele brandende waskaarsjes, werpend gestadig wat wierook in het vuur. Dan vangen ze een luid geschrei en geschreeuw aan tot degenen die daar begraven liggen, sprekende hen aan met vele woorden, naer de droefheid elke van haar ingeëft. Sommigen vallen ze op de graven neer, en kussen die, of de aarde zelve, die hare vrienden bedekt. Luiden van meerder aanzien zetten op de grafstenen 4, 5, of 6 grote waskaarsflen, en maken bij wijlen zulk een misbaar, dat men er schrik omtrent te komen. Om van alles een nae-keurig gezicht te nemen, reed ik twee uren voor de dag daartoe met den Zoon van onzen Tolks François Sahid, waar ik geherbergd was. Tuffchen de graven doorwandelende, kwam mij alles vreemd voor: ja hooger buiten de zelve op-gaande, dacht mij te zien de overblijfselen van een platte door den brant verwoest. Want de verhevene graven vertoonden zich door de naerheid van den duisteren nacht even als puinhoopen van ingestorte huizen, tusschen welker stenen en brok-ken de overgeblevenen hunne vrienden en goederen met ontfikte lichten kwamen zoeken: en hun droevigh lot beweenen. De mannen blijven 't huis, latende dit bedryf van rou geheel aan de vrouwen over. Evenwel ziet men hier en daar een enkel manspersoon onder den hoop; ook zwerven er enkele geeftelyken of prietters, die het druk hebben met gebeden te doen voor degenen die daar geld voor geven willen, dat gemeenlijk op vijf, ook wel tien, en, als 't luiden van vermogen zijn, op twintig fluivers uitkomt. Deze geeftelyken flaande hier in hun zwart gewaad maken een aanmerkelijke verscheidenheid van gezicht onder alle deze in het wit gekleede vrouwen. Ondertuffchen maakt de menigte der kleine vieren en reukwerken, die ze daar in werpen, zulk een rook, dat men dien binnen Spahan verneemt. Want de meenigte dieser vrouwen maakt naer gifting wel een getal van drie duizend uit. Hoewel ik deze beschouwing in den nacht nam, maakte ik er echter een aftekening van, zoo als ik vond bij het graf der Gemalinne van onzen Opperhoofd, en myn gezicht op de platte had, gelijk getoond wordt op het getal van 102. Dit roubedryf duurde tot een of 2 uren in den morgenfontd, wanneer ik mij weder van daer begaf. Echter bleven er nog vele menschen. Veele zag men er ook op den weg: Veele ook, die 't huis geweest waren, weder naer

de graven keeren. By daag ook kwamen vele mannen hier hunnen tydt doorbrengen met elkander goede fiere te doen, en tabak te rooken. hoewel dit maer gemeene luiden waren, doende zuix nooit luiden van foorte.

Op den laetsten der maand begaf ik mij des avonds naer het huis van den Heer Kaffelein, om des nagts met zynen Secun-de te ryden naar het gebergte Koefoffa. Wij begaven ons omtrent vier uren na middernacht op wegh, om eenige overblyfselen van oude iterkten, die daar geweest waren, te bezichtigen. Ten zeven uren waren wij in dit gebergte zoo verre gekomen aan de Westzijde, als te komen was met de paarden. Toen stegen wij af, om den ontbyt te nemen. Maar mijn medegezel, ziende geen kans om den wegh naer boven op zyne voeten af te leggen, begaf zich met de paarden van daer, om mij na den middagh aan de Christengraven op te wagten. Ik dan, verzelt met den jager en eenen dienaar, wel van schietgeweer voorzien, trok ten agt uren den bergh op, en kwam ten tien uren aan het verval van een oude poort, die wel eer daer gestaen had. De voormuur hier van had zich uitgetrekt ten Noorden tot aan het begin des bergs, daer die zeer steil naer beneden loopt. Ik bevond de poort ter flinke zij-de ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

More than the right side has fallen away. You can see the marking of it on No. 103. A fourth part of an hour further, I saw a place entirely gone to ruin, which, as they say, was a falling for the horses. From there you can see several pieces of an old wall that have spread widely across the mountain, running south from the east towards the west, and north toward the city, as this mountain lies close by. The mountain itself is sufficiently strong, since it slopes very steeply from top to bottom: so there was no wall on that side. Around eleven o'clock I was at the top of the mountain, which must be climbed with great effort. There you find the remains of a building 28 paces in length, where one can still see a few flues. The thickness of the wall was more than four feet: standing part of it still fairly high. Inside, one finds no evidence of arches, except for three holes; this upper crest of the mountain is only 28 paces wide from north to south and 54 in length from east to west, running down towards the east. Towards the south there is a length where the mountain curves: on whose height you can still notice the outline of the walls of the fortress that was here, through the fallen fragments and other broken pieces, as shown by the image numbered 104. I describe this in more detail because some believe that King Darius was within these fortifications, as did Alexander and the Persians when the second battle took place on this plain. Around midday, returning towards lower ground, I sketched the appearance of this ruined building from the south side, outside, where two half-round towers are still visible. The place is also clearly down to the rocks upon which the building began: that can be clearly seen in the image numbered 105. The hunter, my lieutenant, wanting to shorten the way by going down the north side, urged me to follow him. But I found it

so steep, without any path nearby, that fear drove me away, telling him that I had no inclination to break an arm or leg. However, to encourage me, he took another servant with him. They descended and, having crept down and around the rocks, disappeared from my sight. But the servant was also lured down, and sat there full of fear without following his predecessor, with tears in his eyes, calling out that I should not come down: because he did not know how he would return to me. I noticed the danger he was in, encouraged him by shouting that he should try to climb back up while holding onto the rocks. What could he do? He couldn't go down without risking breaking his neck, and staying there hanging was also impossible; so nothing remained for him but to turn back from where he had come. With much exertion, he finally returned to me: while the other, on this descent, like goats, encountered no difficulty. I found this very distressing, so I took another path towards the east down between the mountains, although it was about two hours longer. This brought it to 3 o'clock in the afternoon when we approached the graveyards of the Christians, where the aforementioned friend waited for me and sent me a horse as soon as he recognized me from afar. After resting a little and refreshing myself, I returned with my company to the state: there we decided on the same evening to get up again at dawn to examine anything else that might be worth noting; since my departure was scheduled before the end of the month.

Then, on the appointed time, we rode towards Mount Tagieruflan, located about 2½ hours west of the state. Atop this mountain a certain famous warrior built a structure, of which more is reported than the truth of the matter reveals. Beneath the same mountain there is a cave with 2 or 3 fountains, whose water drips from the upper rocks into it. In early April, Indians come here annually, or, as they are called here, Benjanen, to hold a day of religious observance in honor of a prominent hermit who spent a long time residing here. Usually one of them commemorates their Der-ven or Saint. At this cave you see many colored patches, apparently brought by people seeking healing here with amulets, according to the custom of the Eastern peoples, as mentioned before. We depict the appearance of this cave on No. 106.

Half an hour closer to the city lies the mountain from which all the gravestones are quarried – stones that are mostly blue in color and very hard. We saw some being thrown down from the side of the mountain towards lower ground, without them breaking. But the largest ones roll down from above... ## Remnants of Old Fortresses

Remnants of old fortresses. ## The Cave of the Mountain: Tagte Rustan

GROT DES BERGS TAGTE RUSTAN. ## Travels

Rolling hills and a comfortable place to be here are conducive. From here, one sees a beautiful view towards the plains nestled between the mountains, where several villages and gardens lie. I sketched the scene from there, including the aforementioned mountain; on whose summit the house of Rustan is located, as can be seen alongside. Having considered everything here to my satisfaction, I returned within the city.

TAGTE-RUSTAN.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The King's renowned garden. The House of the East India Company. Important Caravan Serai. Banyas. The writer's inclination for a journey to Persepolis. A mishap at the Dutch Headquarters.

SOME time after this, I accompanied my friend on a visit to the famous garden of the King, located more than three hours towards the west of Spahan. We rode through the suburbs past the gardens where the Persians have their residences, about an hour and a half, leaving Julfa on the right side. Having crossed the plain, we arrived at the beginning of the garden around five o'clock in the evening, laid out by the currently reigning King. The trees at the entrance had not yet increased much, as the water could not be properly channeled. But if one goes a little further, one finds it having grown considerably. If you ride for less than an hour, you see on the right side of the road a church, which is very low, and next to it a *Banje* or bathhouse. Four gates will be counted here, one to the east at the entrance, one to the west, one to the north, one to the south. Having traveled for a fourth of an hour further, the road emerges on both sides. ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Account

This describes a path created with openings on either side, offering views of the landscape. The mountains to the north are about an hour away; those to the south, two hours. On the northern side of this road, the wall extends for a distance on the right, where the plantation will be bordered on both sides. It took approximately seven hours to reach the end of the plantation, which is two hours long and of suitable width, planted with *Zenac* trees along its entire length. Here, some willow and other trees are felled as soon as the *Zenac* trees grow large. Throughout the path, one sees rose bushes, which in season provide a very pleasant sight and scent. About half an hour from this road lies the King's land. The rest belongs to the common people regarding anything planted or sown there. For the land itself, a certain sum is paid annually to the King. At the end of this new plantation begins the old lane, created during the reign of King Abbas. Here one enters through a large gate; the plantation here is only half as wide and extends for about half an hour in length. *Zenac* trees are

planted approximately eight paces apart along both sides, with their branches intertwining overhead. A channel or irrigation ditch runs alongside the trunks. Nearby, one sees beautiful, spacious gardens enclosed by walls. At the end stands a house of the King's, which looks rather dilapidated. Close by, we stopped for half an hour with our servants, horses, and other necessities in a tavern, where we found it very agreeable; and there my friend received news that the second person, named Jan Oets, who was to relieve him, had arrived from India at Spahan. In the morning, we inspected the King's house, though it wasn't particularly noteworthy. From there, we rode through the village adjacent to this area, called Naed-sjaf-abae; this old plantation is also known as Chjaer-baegnaed-sjaf-abae. Now, on the other side of the village, we entered another plantation, mostly bordered by willow trees. This is about an hour and a half long and extends towards the Weften (west). On the spacious side there's another one, located a large hour from the mountains and as far as one can see in the west, the plains. I noted the location of this old plantation for my lodging, facing the main gate, as the adjacent print shows. Three hours from this place, the King has enclosed a small mountain with a wall within which many mountain animals, found nearby, reside—such as deer, wild asses, ibexes, and others. The gardens here are filled with various fruit trees, but mostly vineyards, whose grapes, both white and blue, are transported in large quantities to Spahan to make wine; this was quite a busy trade at the time. Adjacent to the old plantation are five gardens that bring the King 25 Toman annually, each approximately $f2\frac{1}{2}$ fieriep or Konings ellen (royal ell) in size. Besides these, there are two smaller ones which also yield income according to their size. We left this place an hour after midday, returning through the old beautiful road and then turning into another at its end. For we now took our way towards the mountains to the south to visit some villages; for which we had to ride about two hours, as we had to cross a bridge called Poelie-Vergan near the village located nearby. We rode through large stretches of land covered with rice, which was now in full bloom, and part of which had already been harvested. Large areas were also planted with watermelons. The river here seemed much narrower than near the city. Nearby is the village Koetsjel, where a house has been built for the King's service, to which he often comes. But it is of little consequence. At the village Kareskan there is a Lak (a standing body of water) holding all kinds of waterfowl and other wild birds—providing a pleasant sight. Shooting is forbidden there so as not to scare them away. Having seen all these things, we returned along another road, arriving at the city gates about eight hours after leaving.

Here I have a word to say about the House of the Amp-tenants of the Oostin-difische (East Indian) Company and the other company. The house is surrounded by a high wall of earth. The main gate is spacious and large. After passing through two walls for a few steps, one has a view of the flat area along which horses are often led; there are also stalls made for their fodder. If one leaves this

flat area next to the garden on the spacious side, one reaches the living quarters, in the middle of whose path runs a large irrigation channel past the front-facing sitting place where people are accustomed to receive visitors. ## The Society's Residence

The Garden of the Society

TRAVELS.

NEAR-SHAF-ABAAT.

Here is a fine inner chamber with carpets, cloths, and cushions all around, so that one can sit according to the custom of the land. Here are his offices and residences, both for the second person and lesser officials. Then one proceeds through a small corridor to the residence of the Chief Headman, which consists of three or four rooms; outside of which is the usual dining place, which has a view of it. The drawing that I made of it shows number 107. In the middle of the garden is a wooden *Talael* felt, where one enjoys seeing a leaping fountain; this water running through a canal, by means of which the garden is daily watered using methods to direct the water where one wishes. Here one finds a fair number of tall Sea-narb trees, also some other trees that bear fruit, along with flowers and other plants, depicted in No. 108. Here I often entertained myself catching sparrows, flies, bees, and other such creatures, to set them up and preserve them. The bees are quite large and have a sting, by which one, being stung, feels great pain. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Observations

Within the garden's waterway, I discovered a school of small fish, whose hindquarters resemble those of a newt, equipped with equally tiny legs. I have heard that in Turkey, a mile from Smyrna near Korriljouw, on the mountainside, there is a pool or basin, white in color and about half an hour's walk across, where one can wander for two hours. This pool, whose water has a saline quality and whose ground is muddy, is very rich in fish, particularly of a certain kind of small *Voren*. However, one also finds fish with heads and forebodies resembling those of fish, but the rest of their bodies like newts. Some are occasionally caught with a rod, which is why it did not happen to me to see any, despite my efforts. They fall larger than those found here in Persia.

Now I wished to depict a *Karwanfera*, or inn, and its characteristics. To this end, I will take the *Karwanfera* of the King's mother, standing near the Meydoen. It is called *Karwanfera Jeddee*, as it is intended for the most distinguished visitors from

all of Spahan, and it was in this one that I resided while I was in that city. I sketched it from above from the portal of my dwelling, as can be seen here alongside. The gate of the

KARWANSERA JEDDEE.

Meydoen, which one enters, leads into a long vaulted portal where there are small shops belonging to Armenians and others who sell cloth by the ell here. Beyond that gate, where one exits on the other side, one finds the sellers of glass. In the middle of the open space stands a wooden structure used for selling glass and other goods. Nearby is also a well. Around it are rooms, and within them the goods of the most prominent Armenian and other merchants, who come daily from Julfa to conduct their trade. Within this building there are many chambers, above which runs a gallery, where one ascends via several staircases to reach the rooms.

On- ## Encounters and Commerce Among the Koopluiden

Among those residing in Koopluiden are also Indians, or Benjamens, of various kinds. The most prominent are the Koopluiden and make-laers, who all possess great wealth here and daily toil and sweat to increase it, without any sense of shame or honor. Consequently, the less affluent among them will not hesitate to rush to market to win a meager silver coin. Some of these men serve as brokers for both our company and the English East India Company, diligently seeking their favor in order to enjoy protection and gain greater profits. They are also greatly trusted; indeed, they constantly hold the money of these two companies in their hands. Within this sphere operate all the leading Armenians, so that a kind of security bank is maintained with them: and one can obtain, if necessary, what had been brought previously, in whatever form of currency desired; just as it happens concerning trade in Gamron through transfers of bills and similar matters. When I was at Samachi, the Benjamens there asked me through the Armenians whether I had any letters to send to our head in Spahan: and offered to provide funds for the journey, stating that they would readily furnish them for my service, as long as I requested it. This seemed strange to me, since I did not know them and had not received any letters of introduction from them; their eyes were unfamiliar. I therefore felt obliged to thank them for this courteous offer, imagining that these people must be highly trustworthy, willing to put their money at risk with foreigners. But I later realized that this courtesy stemmed solely from deference towards the East India Company's house and the hope of gaining its favor.

Their beliefs regarding religion, and the honor of idols and pagodas, have been widely described by others. They also generally abstain from killing any living creature, however small it may be, even lice and fleas. Indeed, they consider it a meritorious act to preserve any such creatures alive. They were once

displeased when they saw me in the garden catching some little animals, well knowing what would follow. Thus, they always kept their distance from me. The Turks and Persians also refrain from killing lice and fleas, and the Armenians follow them in this regard; they simply cast them away, as I believe I observed. One can also find among the Armenians those who abstain from certain types of animals, such as hares, because these animals are considered to be their lunar symbols, and others as well. Nevertheless, they are not all so superstitious. I had two of these men with me on my journey when I shot an Angoerd bird, the very one that I intended to present to them. One politely declined, but the other accepted the offering and showed that he appreciated it.

To understand their peculiar attire, I consulted our Benjamin brokers, who took the trouble to dress themselves in their own style. You can see this depiction in No. 109.

They choose their clothing colors at will. Their turbans or caps are generally white. They have red stripes from above the forehead to the nose. These are made of thin strips of sandalwood and they display them proudly, just as our ladies display their lace trimmings. Moreover, they are yellow in color, well-made for body and limbs. On festive occasions, they engage in merriment both indoors and out. They greet each other with fruits, preserves, and other delicacies, often inviting Christian acquaintances to join them; for whose amusement some women dance and some men prepare dishes, to increase the joy.

It was the eighteenth of the month when four runners from Gamron arrived and informed us that no ships from Batavia had yet arrived. This caused our head to waver in his decision regarding a journey he had planned. Finally, he decided to send his second, Adriaen Bakker, within five or six days. I also prepared for the journey, and after mutual visits between the English nation and ourselves, I bid farewell to all my good friends both within the city and in Julfa, without forgetting our interpreter François Sahid, who had not only provided me with much amusement and shown me many acts of kindness, but had also been helpful in every way. For in his beautiful gardens, I had sketched many remarkable things and brought them onto paper, receiving his instruction on those matters. Here it came to pass that he, being a man experienced in the customs and language of the land, communicated to me the correct spelling of many words—in which ver- ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

had entrusted to him. Thus it is that one finds the name of the King written in Persian as *Sjæ*, not Schach or Sciab, or Siab. And so I also write *Zjie-raes*, not, as others do, Schieras. Likewise, I say *Mey-doen* for Meidan, which actually is Turx. The mosques or churches I call *Ma-zjit* or *Ma-zjit*, and many other words I use from his instruction differently than they are recorded by others. Here in this place, he was indeed skilled, although he was an

Armenian by birth. He also spoke Dutch and French very well, as his father had long been in France and raised within our company. And as he reached a moderate age, his experience extended widely to the affairs of the court. Through these qualities, he was seen and beloved everywhere. He also did not fail to instruct his son well, who now being 23 years old, was also used as an interpreter in the service of the Company, skilled in the two aforementioned European languages, and versed in the knowledge of his father's abilities.

Therefore, having recounted my journey to *Perfepolis* (in which place I intended to spend some time to examine the famous remains of Antiquity that were there, and to draw them on paper with as much accuracy as would be possible for me) with the aforementioned Adriaen Bakker,

a native of Vlissingen and appointed Pakhuismeester (warehouse master) in Gamron, I departed on the 24th of the month with all my belongings to the home of our Opperhoofd (head), Mr. Francois Kaftlein, who had the kindness to provide me with a horse and groom for that place, not to mention drink and many necessities that would be useful on the journey. He certainly wanted to add this favor to all the benefits he had shown me upon my arrival in that region. For as long as I was in Spahan, I always enjoyed his table, and I believe he was pleased to let me take lodging in his house, which I politely declined because I felt well housed, and solitude suited the performance of many things with which I kept myself busy both by day and by night. Besides all the kindly hospitality shown to me, there was always a horse and people ready to guide me wherever I wished to go. Above all this, I found myself well obliged for the instruction that I received from him in many matters concerning the Kingdom of Perfie, where he had been for twenty-one years. During which time he had diligently applied himself to learning the customs and language of this land, and the manners and habits of the court. I do not wish to dwell on this, because the good services and benefits that I received from him will never leave my thoughts.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Departure from Spahan, and stately escort. Persian footrunners and *Kaljandragers*. Beautiful *Karwanfera*. Residences in Jesdagaes. Fine bread. Dangerous roads. Way of life of the Arabs.

Departure from Spahan.

A L L things ready for the journey, and approximately twenty pack animals with money and goods belonging to the Company having been sent ahead, the journey began on October 26th of the year 1704, about two hours after noon. At this time, the merchants of

the English nation, the aforementioned Father Antonio Deftirro, and other friends gathered at the residence of the Company, ready to see us off. This number of friends, including the Dutch, all riding on horseback, amounted to about twenty. The number of servants was even greater, as was that of the footrunners. After an hour's ride, we descended outside the city into one of the King's gardens, called Koelapatia, where a table was set up on the ground and laden with cold food, brought by three or four parties from the company. However, the meal having been eaten, no time was to be lost: so we mounted again after about a quarter of an hour, and were accompanied for another quarter of an hour by some of the friends. Then we parted from each other after a farewell toast and a few shots fired, along the way. ## A Portrait of Tradition

This engraving portrays a man standing outdoors, adorned in elaborate traditional clothing. He is distinguished by a large, intricately wrapped turban and a richly decorated robe featuring detailed embroidery and fringed sleeves. The garment layers over a long, patterned skirt that falls to his ankles, complemented by ornate footwear. Behind him stretches a scenic landscape—palm trees, distant buildings, and water—suggesting an exotic or historical setting.

The figure's posture is formal and composed, with his hands clasped before him. His expression is calm and direct, as he gazes toward the viewer. The composition skillfully blends detailed portraiture with atmospheric scenery to evoke a sense of cultural identity and place.

Note: The title "BENJAENSCH MAN" appears to be an archaic or stylized rendering of "Benjamesche Man," likely referring to a man from Benja, possibly in the context of historical European depictions of Eastern figures. ## A Traveler on the Journey

A man stands in profile, facing to the right, dressed in traditional clothing. He wears a large turban decorated with feathers and dark tassels, from which hangs a string of beads or pearls. His robe has long sleeves and falls loosely around his body, secured at the waist by an elaborate belt featuring multiple dangling metallic discs and tassels. A small pouch or bag is suspended from the center of the belt. In his right hand, he holds a staff, resting it on the ground beside him. He wears soft-soled sandals for footwear. The background shows a natural landscape with trees and uneven terrain, suggesting an outdoor setting. ## The Tabakfles Drager

A man rides a mule through a landscape of trees and distant mountains, carrying a large pipe apparatus. In the background, buildings with domes are visible near a body of water.

De Karwansera Majaer

An architectural structure featuring multiple archways is depicted. Several figures are present: some stand near the entrance, while others appear to be loading or unloading goods from camels. A small dog is also visible on the ground. ## Reisen: Travels

We left the town of Z. Ooft, a place with dense vegetation and several villages on its broad side. At seven o'clock, we entered the caravan stop called Spahanek, where we encountered others because our scouts had arrived there earlier. Now, we were three hours from Spahan, steadily moving with our Foot Soldiers, who were dressed quite differently than they are in cities. I found their attire so elegant and tasteful that I took the trouble to render it on paper with watercolor, as indicated by number 110. The feathers and plumes, and the made flowers they have on their caps, are brightly colored. Their robes are commonly red. Around their belts, they hang several large bells which constantly ring as they walk; one can hear them from a good distance away. The jackets they wear over their clothing are of black silk. This attire is given to these men by those who hire them and they keep it for themselves after the journey, in addition to their wages. Each of these soldiers takes with him as much as his flat requires or his purse can afford. Here one has a *Kaljan* (pipe) or tobacco carrier sitting on the *Jagtan*, which are two leather pouches carried by a mouth. In those pouches are carried coffee, rosewater, tobacco, and other delicacies. You see an image of it on No. III. The profiles they carry with them when riding outside, do also the Europeans of some standing. One can often see them hanging a small iron hook nearby, always containing four items, so that the *Kaljan* carrier can always assist his master in lighting tobacco.

An hour after midnight we continued across the plain and arrived at half past three o'clock at the caravan stop called Mierfa elrafa, and an hour later at a certain house where the road guards reside, who have a right to receive a portion of the duties on goods. After traveling another hour, we entered the mountains, where the journey took only half an hour before we rode back into the plain. Around ten o'clock on the 28th of the month, we arrived at the village of Majaer, located seven hours from where we had spent the night. Here we settled in a beautiful and large caravan stop built entirely of stone by King Sulemoen, father of the currently reigning King. Inside, there was a beautiful courtyard for the cattle, which from the outside resembled a royal palace more than a lodging place for travelers. In addition to the main gate, there were two wings, and on one side of it a beautiful passageway, all spacious, unencumbered, and grand. Opposite were stately walkways, and directly in front of it the widest one stretching towards the mountains to the south. From the caravan stop, one has a very pleasant view that depicts a plantation. I sketched it as

seen through the gate, as shown on No. 112. Here the main duty on goods is paid. The village is large and lies attractively among the trees. Here our free baker received fresh supplies of melons, grapes, and other fruits, which were sent to him by the benevolent people of the toll station.

On the 28th of the month, three hours after midnight, we set off again, passing a watermill that ground grain beside a small stream flowing from the mountains. We crossed the same stream twice with the help of small stone bridges, always heading south, until around two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the village of Komminsja; which is very large, has many gardens, and several dovecotes. It presents itself beautifully upon arriving in Komminsja. On the right side one sees the tomb of a saint, named Zja-refa, surrounded by a wall; within which there is some vegetation and two fish-rich fountains. But it is forbidden by superstition to fish here. One can see a shoal of carp in the smallest, whose water is very clear. In the other we threw pieces of bread to bring the fish closer, among which were several quite large ones. This place lies on an elevation against the mountains; those who have visited it have returned on horseback and continued towards the village in a caravan stop made entirely of earth, to take up residence there. Now we had advanced seven hours, and on the 29th of the month at five o'clock after midnight, we departed from there, discovering that some people had been missing nearby since an hour earlier, from whom two loaded cattle had been stolen, apparently by the villagers themselves, who are known as great thieves. This caused us concern for our cattle, which we guarded with muskets both in front and behind. Theft is widespread here; but if it happens to someone of means or who has the opportunity to complain about it to the court, the village headman is obliged to compensate for the damage.

The Village of Komminsja. The Village of Majaer. Beautiful Caravan Stop. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

Greetings. Otherwise, the goods will remain lost. This compulsion pleases the Village Elders; however, as has been said before, discipline here is quite lax.

As one leaves this resting place, there's a dangerous path through the mountains due to the immense rubble caused by water flowing down from the peaks. But it only lasts half an hour. After that, the road improves again in the valley between the mountains. To the right, you see many villages and gardens—not particularly impressive; and they approach closely to the mountains, which are wild and rocky; as is the land itself, uncultivated.

Traveling south, we reached the caravanserai called Magfœe-begie at eleven o'clock, after passing through the village of that name, located nearby.

Until then, we hadn't heard any birds at all. But finally, as the stream flows through the land near this place, we found water pipits, *Entvogels*, doves, and larks: so we shot some of these birds.

An hour after midnight, continuing swiftly along the same plain, we passed through the village of Amma-nabæt at five o'clock, located about three hours from where we had spent the night. It is said that here the kingdoms of Parthia and Persia border each other.

On the 30th of the month, we arrived within the caravanserai at the village of Jes-dagaes at nine o'clock, having traveled for six hours now. This village is located in the mountains, with most of it built on its crags. The houses are stacked high above one another, creating a peculiar sight. Besides this, there's a large hollow where a flowing stream or river takes its course. One must cross this water by means of a stone bridge to reach the caravanserai, which is also constructed of stone. Very good fish are caught in this river. In the hollow, you see many pleasant trees and air-courts stretching for 3 or 4 miles in length. This village appears from the caravanserai as if it has 113 dwellings attached to it, in this manner. It is high on both sides and slopes down steeply. A building resembling a fortress is joined to the common road. The ground veins here are of stone; for the rest, it's all clay and earth with some water mixed in. One enters through a small bridge. You see the houses standing 4, 5, 6, or 7 feet high, one above the other. Their windows are so small that they resemble holes in dove cots: so that the people who live in the upper houses enjoy the full air and daylight, while those on the lower floors draw light from the sides; but those in the very bottom floors, which are quite dark, must use only a small wick of the day and night lamps and candles, even in their sheds and barns. Finally, the buildings in this place are wondrous, moreover there are hundreds of nooks, crannies, and loopholes, all winding paths for a stranger who must stand bewildered by such a strange and ridiculous construction of dwellings. Therefore, the reputation that goes around here is very interesting: namely, that this place was once a city that must have been built many hundreds of years ago. Because today one finds nothing in all of Persia that even comes close to it. I crossed over the aforementioned bridge within; but soon returned, as I would have gotten lost. Also, I had no desire to delve deeper into this people, who seemed to me entirely strange, especially since nothing met me that deserved any remark. Meanwhile, I lamented to myself the idleness of these people, who abstain from themselves when they have the opportunity to possess spacious farmland. And after investigating the reason, I could find nothing but a custom that is as if in nature. They told me there was a well here, about twenty fathoms deep and ten feet wide, entirely carved out of rock: which they use as if it were a bathing stove. As

now on one side they enter through a fortress, so they climb up the other with stairs, but not without holding candles in their hands, until they reach the upper region or into the air.

Here at this place we received warm white bread, baked in the native way, which we found as good as the rolls in Amsterdam. In this caravanserai, they have made it a custom to keep such bread for passing Europeans. Also, here is the best barley of all Persia: from which no one is allowed to enjoy it except the King's court; for which the Governor of Zjie-raes, whose territory ends here, collects and preserves this grain. From this comes the saying of the Persians: Chiraap Zjie-raas: aensch Noen Jes-degaes: Sen de fes. That is: Wine from Zjie-raes; bread from Jes-degaes; and *Vronwen* from Jes, as these three things were outstanding in the mentioned places above all others. One sees through

The village of Amma-nabæt.

The village of Jes-da-gaes.

Old build-ings.

Poor dwellings.

Good bread.

Saying. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: From Anatolian Beylik to Global Power

The emergence of the **Ottoman Empire** represents one of history's most remarkable transformations – a journey from a small, obscure **Beylik** in Anatolia to a sprawling empire dominating three continents. Initially, the Ottomans were just one among many Turkish principalities vying for power following the decline of the *Seljuk Sultanate of Rum*. Their early success stemmed not solely from military prowess, but also from shrewd political maneuvering and an ability to incorporate conquered populations into their expanding realm.

Under **Osman I**, the founder, the Ottomans began consolidating territory around Bursa, strategically positioned for trade and conquest. His successors continued this expansion, gradually absorbing neighboring Byzantine territories and establishing a formidable reputation among both allies and enemies. The capture of **Nicaea** in 1326 marked a significant turning point, providing a crucial foothold in Anatolia and paving the way for further advances against the weakening Byzantine Empire.

The reign of **Murad I** witnessed the pivotal Battle of Çirmen in 1362, where the Ottomans decisively defeated a Crusader army, demonstrating their military capabilities on a European stage. This victory opened the door to expansion into the Balkans, leading to the capture of Adrianople (**Edirne**) which became the

Ottoman capital. Murad's introduction of the *Janissary* corps – an elite infantry force composed of Christian converts rigorously trained and loyal solely to the Sultan – proved instrumental in subsequent military successes.

Mehmed I solidified Ottoman control over Anatolia, quelling internal rebellions and laying the groundwork for his son's ambitious conquests. However, it was **Mehmed II**, known as "the Conqueror," who truly propelled the empire onto the world stage. In 1453, he famously captured **Constantinople** – *Istanbul* – ending over a thousand years of Byzantine rule and transforming the Ottoman Empire into a major power in the Mediterranean.

The conquest of Constantinople was more than just a military victory; it symbolized a shift in global power dynamics. Mehmed II immediately set about rebuilding the city, attracting scholars, artists, and merchants from across Europe and the Islamic world. He established Istanbul as a vibrant center of culture, commerce, and learning, rivaling European capitals like Rome and Paris.

Subsequent Ottoman sultans continued to expand their dominion, pushing eastward into Persia and westward into North Africa. Under **Suleiman I**, known as "the Magnificent," the empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. Suleiman reformed the legal system, patronized the arts, and led numerous military campaigns that extended Ottoman control over vast territories encompassing parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. His reign is often considered the golden age of the Ottoman Empire.

However, even empires face challenges. Internal strife, succession disputes, and increasingly powerful European rivals gradually eroded Ottoman strength in later centuries. Despite attempts at modernization and reform, the empire ultimately succumbed to internal decay and external pressures, eventually dissolving after World War I. Yet, its legacy – a rich tapestry of cultural exchange, architectural marvels, and political innovation – continues to shape the world today.

- **Osman I**: Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Murad I**: Introduced the Janissary corps.
- **Mehmed II (the Conqueror)**: Captured Constantinople in 1453.
- **Suleiman I (the Magnificent)**: Oversaw the empire's golden age. ## Reisen.

The kingdom produced much bread by baking it in an oven made like a pit, with thin rolled dough plastered on the inside of its sides, three times as large as a pancake. This dough is ready quickly, so that it is taken out and replaced with another every time. In this way, much bread is baked. But thicker breads are put into the oven, as they are with us. At Spahan, long, thin biscuits are also baked, which do not need to yield to our best.

I sketched these places on the southern side, as one comes to the common road: from where you see the houses of earth built one upon another on the mountain, alongside a few small ones, which are stuck into the sidewall on poles, serving as outbuildings and secret places. I give you the view at No. 114, along with that of some gardens in the distance, and various houses standing in the lowlands, also separate places that bear the same name from either side. So this village is quite large.

It was two hours before midnight when we resumed our journey, choosing the best of two bad roads. We had a steep and rocky path for half an hour, which then became flat and good, except that now and then we had to traverse heights. Halfway through this day's journey one finds a small house where fruit thieves commonly gather, so that when they see their chance, they may rob travelers of sufficient goods and beasts, even murdering them.

On the last day of the month, we arrived at the village of Degerdoe at 10 o'clock, 8 hours from Jesdegas, this night overtaken by a heavy southern wind: so that we rode straight against the wind, blowing the sand so terribly that one could not use their face and had to proceed only by shouting. It was cold here; after midday there was also rain, the first of importance that had fallen all summer. We had to lay down 8 hours in the morning before we could reach another lodging place. However, we continued to travel, and later that night took our lodging in a stone *Karwan-fera*, less pleasant than the previous one, but still provided with good fodder for the beasts. We were strengthened daily by other travelers who joined our company for safety. Meanwhile, two of our foot runners fell ill: so we were forced to leave one here so that he might recover and then return to Spahan or otherwise follow us. But the other, who belonged to me, grew a little stronger and stayed with us.

On the morning of November 1st, the wind had lessened somewhat, and the weather looked better. We then continued our journey for two hours over mountains of small height up and down. Nearby lay a village mostly inhabited by thieves. Therefore we observed it; we found that an ass belonging to one of our beast masters had been left behind. Hereupon two men returned who had taken him into the village, but luckily into the hands of a man known for his honesty. This man demanded that before they took the ass with them, they should examine and inspect the goods tied to it in his presence. They did so, and without missing anything, brought the beast back to us.

After we had come again into the plain, we were allowed to cross a stone bridge of five arches. But as one side of the same was somewhat dilapidated, we chose the path through the river Doofs-jackoe, which flowed through the land and was not deep. Now we had reached half of the day's journey, and had advanced

somewhat in order to refresh our hearts. For this purpose, good fish could be obtained from this river: but the time was not right for catching some. Otherwise there were also plenty of birds.

We rode here a good distance with some Arabs, accompanied by Arab women. Their women and daughters wore a ring through their nose, some two or more, set with pearls in a fine design. This jewel hangs down to her mouth in the shape of a half-mane. They also have something precious in their hair. The head itself is wrapped in a cloth, the face uncovered. Also they have a cloth hanging down from their head. Their upper skirt comes only slightly over the hips; what is underneath is half bare, and it hangs a little lower where the trousers and *kouffen* come. Their feet are covered with a sole that is behind without a heel and made of grey felt. One finds many women among this people who are as capable of stealing someone's goods as men; that is also easily noticeable in their agility and dexterity. They are a race of brown-yellow people spread throughout the kingdom. The men dress like the common folk of this land.

Various villages, which lay below us, ## Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

Having passed the previous region, we arrived near the village of Kouskiefar, where we took lodging in a stone *caravan serai* to our great satisfaction, due to the arrival of strong winds and rain, which however did not last long. We found that much snow had fallen on the mountains the previous night.

Five hours after midnight, we set out again, having traversed beautiful plains for a while, then rugged mountains that made the road difficult. After five hours' riding, we passed by a ruined *caravan serai*, where many robbers often hide themselves. Therefore, it is customary when arriving here to warn each other, so as to be wary of any danger. From there, we passed through a large plain mostly covered with water and full of reeds. Here were many birds, among which I saw one of exceptional size, without being able to ascertain what kind of fowl it was. I took it for a bird of prey. In appearance, it resembled an eagle or owl, which are particularly large in these lands. Nearby we saw some Arabs who were staying in tents here.

Here one rides, because of the mountains that one must traverse around and over, often deviating from the road. Descending to the left, we found ourselves at the second of the month's village of Assapas an hour after noon, where we remained in a stone *caravan serai*, located six hours from the last resting place. From afar, we had seen some villages. The land was here plowed and much water flowed through it.

Five hours after midnight, we set out again through this plain, passing five or six small villages and some tents to the right. We traveled southeast towards south, arriving at the third of the

month's village of Oesjoen in a stone *caravan serai* at 11 o'clock, where there was plenty of running water along which one rides for a good stretch. This village lies very airy in the plain with four or five others nearby. One sees a large number of sheep and goats, with troops of thousands running together. However, there is no vegetation nearby, only a meager supply of food, which must nevertheless be particularly nutritious, as the cattle are remarkably fat. This is worthy of wonder considering the distance from the land of Persia and all the mountainous heights that mostly consist of stone rubble, and the scarcity of trees near the surrounding villages.

Adjacent to this *caravan serai* stands a tomb with an elevated dome above it, enclosed by a wall: within which they wish to bury the brother of King Sefi, who is said to be trying to seize control of this region and broke his leg on this mountain where he died after having wished to be buried here. To serve this tomb, the revenues of this village are still allocated, being benefits for those who have oversight over it, such as scholars and others.

About an hour from this place fish could be obtained: so we returned overflowing with fish and provisions. We brought back four large *viffchen*, a kind of carp. Two particularly resembled each other. The others were somewhat smaller and covered with large scales, and yellow on the belly. They were thick-skinned but good in flavor. Here are also lacking no wild fowl, nor water fowls, which fly very high.

With the arrival of night, we set out again, arriving at daybreak in the mountains, which are high and rocky, also very difficult for the cattle due to the narrowness of the paths, so that they can only proceed slowly. This is further exacerbated by the descending slopes where they easily slip through the smoothness of the rocks and fall from afar. Also, a person has enough to do climbing up and down. Therefore, one must abandon their horse to avoid any misfortune. While climbing, I was reminded of the narrow passages that Q. Curtius recounts Alexander the Great had to pass through. Atop this mountain is found a beautiful fountain covered with stone. It was ten o'clock when we first came over and into the lowlands of this mountain. After half an hour, we arrived at the village of Emo-en-fade, where a *caravan serai* stands, partially ruined. This is considered to be halfway between the resting place to which we were heading. Thus, we had only progressed three hours through this difficult path. However, it should be noted that the hours or miles are often calculated according to the size of the land: therefore they often fall very long. One rides over a high mountain along a rocky road.

About two hours after noon, we came through the worst road to clear flowing water covered with trees, under whose shade we strengthened ourselves with food, letting the rest of the company

proceed. The trees through which we passed here run all the way up to the rocky mountains. They exist in two forms, ## Wilde Amandel en Sackastakies

A

B

C

FRAGMENTS AND NEAR-WIND DRIFT.

M. Pool Scu ## XXXVIII. CHAPTER.

Wild Almond, Sackas, and *Afrag* Trees. Mountains formerly afflicted with scabies. The River Brandemir. Royal Slaves Robbed. Arrives at Persepolis.

Having arrived at the resting place, I sketched two twigs that I had picked from a wild almond and sackas tree with watercolor. The twig of the wild almonds was very fine and long, indicated by the number 115 with the letter A. One can see only one single almond on it, because the season had already passed. On the twig of the sackas, there is a small fruit, rough and swelling to the size of pomegranate seeds. These seeds are in large numbers together on a stem, as they appear with the leaves through the letter B. When ripe, they are green in color. If you remove the shells, you crack the stones and eat the kernels. They are also salted and set out for refreshments. Thus one lives also with the wild almonds.

Besides these trees, I found a few of those that the Persians call *Afrag*. These are fairly large, very dense with blossoms and leaves, which sit very closely together, yet are separated from each other. In appearance they resemble a large mealy plum, almost white in color. These trees do not bear fruit, but create a dark shade through their dense branches laden with leaves, under which one sits for amusement. You have the entire image of it on No. 116. There is also a tree called *Naer-wend*. This bears knobby fruits, some as large as a fist: others smaller, and white in color, like a bladder in which water sets, that turns into a gum, which is sweet in taste, and used for medicinal purposes in the head. The shape you see with the letter C.

The village where I was now located was fairly large, populated with gardens, and within it all kinds of fruits. Grapes are especially plentiful there, which one also finds high up on the mountains. The slope of this mountain makes the land very pleasant and rich in water, which also flows through the village by means of a ditch made for that purpose.

It was five hours after midnight when we left this village, and an hour later we rode through a smaller village. Another hour passed, and we came to some trees standing in a swamp densely

interwoven near the mountains along the road where one travels: which road is very dangerous because of thieves who often steal loaded oxen at night and hide them in the trees, where their loot is safe, because they cannot be pursued due to the wetness of the marsh ground.

On the 5th of the month we rode into the plain near a very high and large rock, lying on our right side, about 2 hours distant. In ancient times there was a remarkable fortress here, of which it is said that some ruined pieces can still be seen. It is also testified that above the mountain there is a particularly large flat area where many cattle graze in their season.

From here onward riding, we had on our right side the River Brandemir, which flows through the land, sometimes quite far from us. Around eleven hours we came to two other mountains, located on the left side close together. Here too there were once two fortresses. But now nothing is noticeable except for the rocks that remain. On both one sees above an opening, the rocks also broken off from each other into an entrance from above, being above a roundness that resembles the shape of a cauldron. Some claim that on one of the mountains there is still a piece of a gate to be seen. But it is uncertain. It is assumed that for some time some rebels hid themselves here, who were subsequently driven away, and then the further remains were destroyed so that such people could no longer nestle there. Therefore, no one takes the trouble to do anything about it.

Cc 3 ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

We shall see, for one would otherwise spend time fruitlessly on a place where there is nothing to fault, and the road is also so narrow that it would not be necessary to undertake it without a proper escort.

Here are two roads leading to Perfe-polis: one on the high side by these mountains, and another on the right side close to the first mountain over a tall and long stone bridge with four arches, through which the river Brandemir flows. This is the same river that the old writers also call Corus, Coris, or Cyrus; to which a tributary is added, which has given it the name of Araxes, and of which mention is made by those who have written about Alexander's exploits. To wit, wherever the ancients described the river Cyrus or Corus, they also spoke of a tributary called Araxes, and Cyropolis, or Cyrefchatas. We take this road and leave the river on the high side. This area must also be considered by all those who wish to go to Zjie-raes. On this side of the bridge I found a fragment of a column lying down, which apparently had been there before, as one sees many such things on both sides of prominent bridges. This river, called by others Aras, or Kur, or Araxes, is said to flow through these fields and run with the

waters of various streams into the rivers Medium and Medus; so that it is not the same one that we also called Cyrus and Araxes in previous pages, since that flows into the Caspian Sea.

The fields on both sides of this river are seen covered with pleasant little trees and other green foliage, which hangs over the flowing stream for a distance, so that you can often see the ground beneath. Having crossed the bridge, after riding for half an hour, we left the stone *Karwanfera*, called Aebgerm, on the right hand, to travel further south into the mountains towards the village of Fograabet, which is not far from the mountains. We arrived there at midday and took lodging in a common man's house, as there was no *Karwanfera*. Now we had traveled five hours from the last resting place. Here we experienced a rain and strong wind from the north, which lasted until evening, when finally the mountains reappeared, which I had here on the spot to depict. I then placed the appearance of the two mountains by the bridge on paper, as shown alongside. The third mountain, which we mentioned first, I could not see from this place, although it is much larger and higher. Because of the similarity these mountains have with each other, they are called by the inhabitants, the three Brothers. If one takes the common road, one stays in the *Karwanfera* Abgerm. From there, one travels to Assaf or to Poligorg, which is a *Karwanfera* that lies somewhat further south. One also takes the road to Sergoen. But we traveled along this plain next to the mountains southward. Thus, having ridden five hours after midnight, we arrived at nine o'clock in the morning at a high and large stone bridge, provided with three large and two small arches, through which the aforementioned river flows strongly south, being wide and deep here. The sides of the stream are high and steep, so that it gives a strange appearance through the heights on either side, appearing briefly due to the curve. One sees various kinds of birds in this water. Crossing this bridge leads to Perfepolis, which is calculated to be two hours away from the bridge. We turned to the high side and drew along the edge of the rocky mountains westward across a pleasant plain. At 11 o'clock we arrived at the village of Zaergoen, located four hours from where we had taken our overnight rest. Our muleteer had his dwelling in this village, very pleasantly situated among the mountains that surround it on all sides. One sees various gardens there, and within them good melons, grapes, and other fruits. The muleteer provided us with plenty of *afonts* at first, as well as other *montkoft*, having learned in the village that no one would have any edible goods to sell us. To wit, most of the muleteers who transport goods from Gamron to Spahan, and from Spahan back to Gamron, have their dwellings here, and therefore want to give the Franks or Europeans who bring them some profit, which is certainly a proof of honesty in these people.

In this plain one sees a large part of land cultivated, and upon it a great number of sheep and goats, seeking their food there. This plain is richly about two hours wide by estimation. The length that

stretches from north to south cannot be seen. There are various villages along the way. The plain itself is completely under water during wintertime.

At the last mentioned bridge, slaves were robbed a few days ago of approximately forty men. Royal slaves stripped down to their underwear. These were used to collect the royal revenues and amounted to about thirty-three... ## TWO MOUNTAINS OF OLD STRENGTH TEN.

They had two thousand guilders of money with them; all of which were taken from them. These raids, which occur frequently, are committed by a few rebels who hide in this plain and surrounding areas with their tents, sometimes fifty, or even sixty, yes a hundred at a time. And due to the laxity of the government, about which we have already spoken, it seems almost unbelievable to anyone who has not been in these lands.

This afternoon, we lost our good weather again, and rain came instead, which grew stronger at night, and continued the following day with thunder, lightning, and hail, despite the sun appearing. But after the sky cleared around 11 o'clock, we decided to head towards Persepolis. In vain; for having ridden as far as the village nearly a league beyond, we were overtaken by such heavy downpours that we had to take shelter in a house to escape the showers, and deliberated about turning back, because the roads are unusable at such a time. Before evening, some fair weather returned, which disappeared again at night. But at night, it was seen again modestly on clear ground: so that with the beginning of daylight on the eighth day at 6 o'clock we continued our journey with good weather, finding the plain on this side of the bridge largely under water, flooded by the fallen rain; thereby causing us to proceed slowly, especially since the foot runners could not keep up with us due to the slipperiness of the roads. An hour before noon, however, we arrived at the village of Mier-Chas-Koen. I went to the house of the Kalantaer or Burgermeester (Mayor) of this place, being the next village after that located near the ruins of Persepolis. Our friend Bakker had ordered me to visit this man on behalf of Mr. Kaftelin, whom I was to await here. The Mayor offered me his services, sending along someone who could secure a good location for me in the existing caravan area. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

hadt. I also took a man from the village who was familiar with everything here, to serve me. While taking a meal, things improved. This encouraged me to ride out to see the ruined remains of this city, to examine them more closely at a better time, as little time remained for me because my aforementioned friend had to return to the village of Zaergoen, where his servants awaited him with provisions and were preparing to depart for Zjie-raes that very night; he had only brought one servant and two runners back with him, and I left my belongings under his care to

be transported to Zjie-raes upon my arrival. For I hadn't brought anything with me except what was necessary, as I intended to depart from there towards Gamron, in order to join the newly arriving ships heading for Batavia in the company of Captain Kaffelein, who was traveling that way. I fulfilled my desire and, returning to my lodging, took leave of my friend, with whom I had spent so many days in good companionship and brotherly friendship within Spahan and on the journey.

We parted from each other hoping for new encounters two hours after midday, and thus I suddenly found myself stripped of all friends, and alone. There remained for me nothing but to feed myself with my thoughts, and the imaginings of the pleasure that I hoped to derive from contemplating things which I had so greatly longed for.

Before I make a description of this place, I will tell you about the bridges that extend here, because they are worthy of mention. The bridge where I broke my axle is called Pol Jefnejoen, after a village nearby. We have now just crossed the Pol Chanje towards the Chan, who had it built. A third lies between these two, called Pol Noof, or New Bridge. The fourth is an hour further south and has the name of Pol Brandemir, after the name of the river, so named by the inhabitants, who told me that it originates north of the mountains and takes its course southward through the plain to the Sea Derja-nemeck or Salt Sea, about 12 hours from Perfepolis, and 4 or 5 miles from Zjie-raes.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Description of old Persepolis, and the remarkable things to be found there. The nature of Naxi Rustan.

Having taken up my lodging here, my first task was to make good use of the time, so that it would not pass fruitlessly. I began on the morning of the 9th of the month to make a start in visiting the famous remains of the oldest Royal Court of all Persia: with an intention of applying more diligence than other travelers, and sharing with the world what I had discovered; well knowing that investigating monuments, which are nowhere else in the world to be found, requires love, time, and labor. I found the opportunity wonderful, and the selection of it by nature was in a very pleasant plain, to traverse which from the S. West side to the N. East takes two good hours, namely counting from the bridge Pol Chanie, which crosses the river Brandemir, whose other side extends towards the village of Zaer-goen for another three hours until reaching the mountains. In length, from the Northwest to the Southeast, it is reckoned to span about forty hours. The common name thereof is Mardasjo. It is said that there are eighty and eight villages therein: and up to 12 hours from these ruined buildings

one knows of 1500 villages both in the mountains and in the plain, where the village where I had my lodging was but half an hour away from these ruined remains. Many are also here around them, occupied with pleasant trees and gardens. In wintertime this valley lies under water for a large part, which is good for rice, which grows abundantly here. Little land is uncultivated, even to the Royal palace, because a small river and several others flow nearby, through which the lands here are more sought after than in the dry valleys where no water is found. Therefore one finds so many birds here, that

Many birds. ## Reisen.

I believe that few here will go unnoticed, particularly cranes, waterfowl, and herons, various types of egrets, birds of prey, teal ducks, coots, pigeons, doves, and very many small creatures, of which Persia is entirely full; especially Susa. There is also much small fowl. The entire plain is dotted with high mountains.

The old court of the Persian Kings, commonly called Darius's house, and here called by the inhabitants Chelmenar or Chelminar, meaning forty columns, is located to the west at the foot of Mount Kulirag-met, or the Mountain of Mercy, formerly also called the Royal Mountain, entirely made of rock. This structure still stands on three sides with its full wall. The fourth side is the mountain to the east. The aforementioned wall, from north to south, measures 600 paces in width, and on the southern side, from west to east, to the rocks of the mountainside, 390 paces; there is no ascent on this side, but as one reaches the mountainside. Where the wall has little height, climbing between a few broken stones upwards, and then back down on that same spot; the wall on this side is 18 feet and 7 inches high, and in several places a few feet lower. On the north side it is 410 paces long and 21 feet high. It is lower in most places. Besides the 410 paces, there are still 30 paces to the mountainside, and at the mountainside another angle of the wall; in whose middle one can also climb between broken stones. Before the corner on the west side, many rocks lie to the north, reaching up to the top of the wall, stretching 80 paces eastwards, like a mountain before the wall, upon which one can ascend. I believe there was also a staircase here alongside other buildings outside the wall; which is apparent from the rocks that are worked flat on various sides. Above the building in the middle of the aforementioned wall to the mountainside are 400 paces. Above along the wall on all three sides is a paving of two stones, laid eight feet above the ground. One has a length of 8, 9, or 10 feet. Some have a width of 6. Others are smaller. The ascent of the aforementioned wall is not in the middle, being only 165 paces from the north side. The remaining paces to 600 extend southwards. This ascent is made in two flights of stairs: between which both have a flat ground below of 42 feet in space.

The depth to the wall, as the stairs come down from it, is 25 feet and 7 inches. As long are also the stairs or 5 inches shorter for the outer stones that project on this side before the wall, which are mutually of the same length. Each stair has only a height of 4 inches, the depth or width of 1 foot, 2 inches. I must confess that I have never seen stairs so easy to climb; unless it was the staircase I saw at Naples in the Palace of the Sub-King; although I think that one is higher. On the side where one ascends northwards, I found 55 steps, and southwards 53: but those are more broken. One must not doubt that there are still more stairs beneath the earth, but covered by time, like the wall, whose height I previously found to be 44 feet and 11 inches from the front. The measurement I now speak of, I will keep in the future. When one has ascended these mentioned stairs, one has made a flat area that is 51 feet and 4 inches wide, made of particularly large stones, which are above the stairs mutually and paved upon; having the depth of the stairs to the aforementioned wall between both, which stretches upwards from where one ascends the first steps, quite different from the first ones, which come apart from each other and towards each other above; that appeared to me particularly beautiful, strange, and grand, as befitting the splendor of the entire work. On this upper side there are mutually 48 stairs, some of which are broken, although they are all hewn from a living rock. Having come so far, one finds oneself above, where there is a space between both staircases that is 75 feet wide, paved with large stones. One of these has the length, like those of the aforementioned wall, of 13 or 14 feet, and the width of 7 or 8. Others are square, some final and long; others smaller, laying these ground through the mentioned stones still well a to 32 feet from the wall. Further, the ground is of packed earth; being between these stairs the aforementioned wall 36 feet high.

Thus far I have given you a description of the design of this building, where many writers about the ancient times have erred, that is, written in a wild way: while some have busied themselves with recalling the memories of olden times without touching upon the true circumstances of the present things, having had more freedom to occupy themselves with uncertain things and as obscure as riddles, than to show according to life what they see.
Cornelis de Bruins

If they could not display any decorations, it would have lacked grace, dignity, and refinement. Indeed, this is what happened: they filled their ears with embellished tales, including the stories of the *Oyevaren* (voyage ships), as if they had an eternal residence in this place; yet it is certain that they only come here for a specific time, and then depart again, after having spent some time on a few columns, just as they do in other lands.

Now I will open this structure, so to speak, to give you a glimpse of the interior. First, in a straight line, 42 feet from the aforementioned wall of the staircase, are two large gatehouses

and two columns; the first gatehouse contains two large foundation feet that cover two-thirds of the area. The third part is broken off. The second gatehouse stands five feet deeper into the ground. The depth of the gatehouses is 22 feet, 4 inches; the width is 13 feet, 4 inches. Inside them, on either side, there is a large sculpted relief that covers the length of the gatehouse, stretching from the front to the back post 20 feet in length. The height is 14! feet from the upper body to the middle and bottom at the posts. The heads are entirely missing; but the torso protrudes beyond the gatehouse. The bodies are as far as can be seen broken off. On the first side, they extend from the front towards the staircase; on the second, towards the mountains. These last-mentioned have a large wing on their body. Inside the gatehouses, one sees three square, separated sections entirely covered with characters that are illegible due to the smallness of the letters and height, or rather, unrecognizable. The front gatehouse has a height of 39 feet; the second is 28 feet high. The two side posts that support the gatehouses have a height of 5 feet, 2 inches, extending inward above. Where the reliefs are 1 foot, 2 inches thick. Under the tall stones there are some made up of three joined stones, on which the reliefs are placed. These stones from the inside extend outwards, with the wall thickness being 5 feet, 2 inches. The first gatehouse still has the height of eight stones, and the other seven.

Because they are gone. It is assumed that they were carved as human heads. And above one of the reliefs there seems to be some indication: because there is a roundness at the back of the head that extends forward in the manner of an ear or such a brow ridge, as the ancients used to place on elephants to shoot with pilons. It appears to have been skillfully carved, just as one can well imagine on the heads of many old commemorative coins. The rest of the body is decorated as if with a weapon trimming, adorned with many round, large buttons. All of which I will depict after the description has been made.

The two columns that flank both sides, are seen even more clearly than any of the others, especially regarding the upper ornamental work or capitals. But the foundation feet are below ground to within an inch, standing 26 feet from the first gatehouse and 56 feet from the second. The thickness is 14 feet, 2 inches; the height approximately 54 feet. Flanking these two columns, and the last gatehouse, are two more columns whose place is open on their respective widths. One sees a large piece of column still lying there, as well as a smaller one deeper in the earth. From the last gatehouse, 52 feet to the south, stands a water basin carved from a stone, still 3 and a half feet above the ground. It has a length of 20 and a width of 17 feet, 15 inches. From here to the north side towards the wall is a distance of 150 paces; there is nothing else there except some fragments of large stones and a piece like a column that is not laid or canted, as are all the others, but flat. It has a thickness of 20 feet and a length of 12 feet, 4 inches.

Further on from here to the mountains, one sees no more ancient remains than just two different patches of large fragments of stone.

From the aforementioned gatehouses to the south or right side, 172 feet leads to a staircase that stands directly above the last of the two mentioned gatehouses. One ascends it with a rise on either side, one from the east and one from the west; having the front wall still at a height of 6 feet, 7 inches, and the middle wall almost entirely gone. This structure extends towards the east side with a lower wall for 83 feet, being flat, and in front decorated with sculpted reliefs that can still be seen on the bottom-standing stones. On the upper side there is ornamental work of foliage, under which one sees a lion fighting a bull, larger than life size, sculpted in relief.

This ## Reisen: A Description of the Mausoleum

This lies half beneath the earth. On either side of this central wall, which extends as far as the steps are long, one sees small statues standing at the lowest level along its length. But first, let us speak of the stairs; when ascending on the western side, one counts 28 steps, and on the eastern side, where the ground is much higher, 18, making it 17 feet long and only 3 inches high. The depth is 1 foot, 2 and a half inches, with some fragments above on both sides, and 2 or 3 entirely missing. All are carved from a living rock. At the end of the breadth of this staircase is another front wall: but the ground level is similar. Upon it are three rows of small statues stacked one upon another. Only the upper half can be seen; for the rest, everything is mostly broken. The middle row appears entirely, though somewhat eroded. Of the lower row, only the heads remain, with the rest buried beneath the earth. These statues are 2 feet, 9 inches high, while the wall itself is 5 feet and 3 inches high, extending 98 feet from the bottom step to the corner on the right side, where one ascends another staircase. One sees a further 13 steps remaining in height, breadth, and depth, similar to those already mentioned. On the little of the inner wall that comes alongside the stairs, there is still half the height of small statues. At the end of the breadth of these stairs is another wall, which extends for 90 feet from the top of the stairs; its corner turns slightly south but not much, as the ground there being hilly levels out the surface of the wall. This end stands straight here, just beyond the last columns, which face towards the mountains. Now returning to the staircase on the western side, the wall, beginning from the bottom step, has a length of 45 feet, and then is still 67 feet at an angle from the front wall in the west. This side mirrors the other with three rows of statues, also with that of the lion and bull, or ass, which has a horn in its forehead. Before these and the statues stands a square panel filled with characters, of which the upper part can no longer be seen. What else is to be known will appear later from my observations. On the other side, this work has progressed

considerably; one also sees the statues on this side better, because the ground is deeper, although it is covered with water. On this side there are 25 steps. The wall that runs alongside the upper step towards the west extends to the front wall and has only sculptural decoration as far as the stairs reach.

When one has ascended these stairs, one finds a level area between both staircases, paved with large stones, having a breadth as great as the span of the first columns of the staircase. The beginning is 22 feet 2 inches from the stairs, consisting of two rows, each of 6, although only one of the 12 remaining is complete. Of the other, one sees eight foot-buttresses, and the rest are likely plates. They stand along the wall of the staircases, all as far away from each other as the first from the stairs. From this point, 70 feet, 8 inches, other columns begin, consisting of six rows, each of six. These 36 all stand on the mentioned width of 22 feet 2 inches apart. Seven of these are still remaining; but all the foot-buttresses, though mostly broken, remain in their place. Of the first and second row, one remains; of the third two; in the following rows one. Before these and the previously mentioned columns lie some large pieces of stone from a building in the ground. From these rows of columns, 70 feet 8 inches at an angle to the west towards the front wall, there are 12 columns standing in two rows, each of six: of which still 5 remain. In the first row, which is 55 feet from the front wall, there are 3, and in the second 2, as far apart as said. The foot-buttresses of 7 are missing; the others stand above the ground, and are broken across their thickness. Here lie many fragments of columns, and other pieces of the upper decorative work of the columns over hope. One can see on one of these standing columns for a portion to be seen kneeling: as will appear from our illustration. From this point straight onward towards the south, one sees how the upper building comes into view opposite. But before we speak of this, it should be noted that on the right side, 71 feet at an angle to the east towards the mountains, two rows have also been found, each of 6 columns, of which still 4 remain in existence, along with 5 foot-buttresses, which show themselves across their thickness above the ground, as do the remaining recognizable plates. Although the ground there is higher than it has become hilly over time. Here lie also many fragments of columns and other stones over hope: so that it appears that this part has been found beyond the 12 at the front wall.

Further to the east towards the mountains are many remnants of buildings, all consisting of gateways, corridors, and window recesses. The gateways consist of interior— ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

Within, decorated with paintings, the structure extends 95 paces from east to west and 125 paces from north to south. The distance between the columns is 60 paces, also the distance from the mountain. In the middle of these ruined buildings lies flat ground

covered with fragments of columns and other stones; about which we will speak in particular, as well as two burial places embedded in the mountain, one of which stands directly above here adorned with paintings and other carvings. The aforementioned columns number 76, of which 19 remain. Some are made of three, others of four pieces stacked upon each other, not counting the footrests or the top ornaments and capitals.

Now we proceed from the columns south to the upper building that stands on a hill.

The Upper Building.

It begins 118 feet from the columns; its front wall on this side is 5 feet and 7 inches high. Everything is made of one stone. Some are 8 feet wide, extending east to west for 113 feet. A few stones in the ground belong to it at the center. But what purpose they served cannot be determined. Nor is there any indication that a staircase existed. Also, some stones from the columns extend to here along the ground. Beneath this one can see a channel where water once flowed, as well as several large stones from a building. Above this wall are 3 feet and 2 inches of other stones inside, which are 5 feet high; some on the solid side have been broken. There are no images or ornamentation on this wall. To the right, 53 feet west of the front wall, stands a structure above, whose beginning cannot be clearly seen because it is covered with earth and hills, there is an ascent; but the upper part is entirely gone. Its length is 6 feet 1 inch, its height 4 inches, and its depth 1 foot and 2½ inches. On the small side piece that still stands on the staircase, one sees images as well as stones lying nearby. When you ascend this staircase, you find in the ground a flat stone 5 feet long and 7 wide. On the other side there was a similar staircase, where two staircases can still be seen standing opposite each other. One ascends from the north, the other from the south to the aforementioned ground stone. Above both staircases stand two side pieces of a gateway, which for the most part have been shifted by an earthquake. The rest is further ruined and broken, consisting of large and small gateways and compartments filled with heavy stones below. Through some of these one can see as through window openings. In these gateways are several depictions of battle scenes, partly broken. The place of these buildings extends in length 147 feet, being approximately square. On the south side there was also a similar staircase, just as large and constructed as the one mentioned earlier. On either side you still see the four upper ones. Above both of these, from which one ascends from the east and the other from the west, is a front wall 55 feet long, excluding the sides of the staircases where it is longer, having a height of 2 feet 7 inches. On the east side the ground is as high, and even higher in thickness than the side walls; inside also approximately square, with 54' on one side and 53½ on the other, occupied by a large sand pit. These largest gateways are 5 feet wide and 5 feet 2 inches deep. The wall

thickness is 3 feet, the height equal to the cornice, 22 or 23 feet. How many stones were added to the smaller sections, or how one got above them, there is no indication: nor is there any evidence of a vault above. Wherefore it cannot be well guessed what purpose it might have served. It appears that it may have been a royal cabinet.

On the north side are two gateways and three floored compartments. On the south side is a gateway and four open compartments, all 5 feet 9 inches wide. The depth of these is equal to the large gateways. The height with the cornice is 11 feet. On the west side there are two gateways where the upper part is gone, next to two compartments. On the east side there is a gateway and three floored compartments. Of six of these compartments, the cornices are missing; one on the east side is also half missing. Inside the two gateways on the north are men and two women statues on both sides, seen as far as the knees, the rest being below ground. In the western gateway one sees a man fighting with a giant, who has a horn in his forehead, by which he grasps him with his strong hand, thrusting a large spear into his belly with his right. On the other side he seizes the horn with his... ## The Right Side and Beyond

On the right side stands a man wielding a large hand. At the second gate, one sees a figure seemingly indistinct but accompanied by an animal resembling a lion, also bearing a horn on its forehead and wings on its body. In the gate facing north, the same image appears, though here the man grasps the lion above its mane. This depiction is visible only to about half its height above the ground. At the southern gate, two men stand on either side, each wearing a headpiece resembling a crown, alongside two women; one holds a sunshade over his head, while the other carries some splendid finery. These figures are fully visible down to their feet. Within this gate, three separate panels with characters are positioned above on both sides. On the ledges shifted from the previously mentioned gate near the stairs, stand two men, each holding a spear; one grips it with both hands, while the other holds it firmly in his right hand, grasping some long fabric adorned with fringes that extends from his mouth to his feet—though this portion is largely broken. Another section of a similar structure follows behind. It stretches 38 feet further and is similarly constructed with planks. On the east and west sides stands another gate, depicting two men with lances, as previously described. There's also a fluted niche and one on each side facing south. Also on either side is a tall stone, broken on the east side but retaining a height of approximately 28 feet on the west side, all of it from a plank. On the inner side above, three separate panels filled with characters can be seen, and beneath them a panel with other characters, undoubtedly carved further in. One also observes indentations in some of the mentioned niches or window openings; and outside these are as previously noted on the stone. Similarly, within some of the gates, where the ledges

extend outwards, there are stones resembling cornices. The niches are entirely hewn from a single stone. Outside the cornices on the south side are two staircases, one ascending to the east and the other from the west. One still sees the five upper sections, as previously mentioned. On the ledges of the upper stones and the roof beams, one finds small sculptures and ornamentation; but most of it is beneath the earth. Further 100 feet south are the leftmost ruined mounds. These also consist of gates and niches. Connecting these and those we have spoken of is a ruined staircase from which one ascends from the north and south. The seven upper steps remain, also adorned with sculptures and ornamentation. Adjacent to this on the east side are subterranean passages. Locals believe that one could not enter them even with light because the darkness would be extinguished. They also believe treasures are hidden within. I, disregarding such superstitions, obtained permission to test this notion, consulting a Persian who lacked no courage to investigate this matter alongside me.

One first descends to a depth equal to a man's height. Then there are two paths; we took the one facing east and found the passage only slightly higher than a man's length, up to 26 steps. Its width at the beginning is merely 2 feet 4 inches, widening further to 1 foot 7 or 8 inches. It then descends to a height of 10 steps, requiring one to crawl. Following this is another level where one cannot take more than a few steps. Thus, having crawled along a fluk-shaped path on hands and knees, I discovered that the rock formed a channel extending further; because it came so close to the surface, one could not crawl through. There had been water in this passage, but now the ground was suitable for crossing. Therefore, returning to the place where I had descended, I proceeded westward along the same path. Here, I found a path leading north, but it was so low that crawling was impossible. Also, the damp ground prevented us from proceeding further. We then retreated and returned outside without our lights extinguished or having noticed any signs of treasure. In my opinion, these passages served only for drainage; this can be inferred from their shape, and because there are no chambers or traces of altars or similar sanctuaries—such as one often finds in subterranean passages both in Italy and in other parts of the world.

The final structure to the south, about which we will now speak, extends 160 feet from north to south and 191 feet from east to west. Of this construction, ten ruined gates are still visible, along with seven niches, and outside these forty open spaces where gates and niches once stood, of which one can still see the ground traces. In the mid- ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account

The middle section consists of round stones upon which columns have been erected, numbering 36 in six rows, these stones being three feet five inches in diameter. This base is entirely paved with

black stones, and a water pipe runs beneath it. Before this building, one sees two tall stones, similar to the aforementioned ones, on which some characters can still be discerned.

Adjacent to this building, towards the west of the outer wall, there is another structure also woven into the fabric but now completely ruined, leaving only a square area remaining directly above the aforementioned gateways. The wall in front of it stands no more than one and a half or two feet above the base. Along its length, one sees the upper part of statues, all covered with lichen, slightly smaller than life-size. On this spot, nothing remains but some round stones upon which columns have been erected, as large as those mentioned, 11 feet apart from each other. As far as I could observe, there are also 36 of these. Before the last building lies a large sand mound that runs alongside the previously mentioned gateways; also various large stones from ruined buildings. Towards the east side, next to the built structures, is a beautiful staircase, although ruined, like that on the outer wall, with a length of 60 feet and extending beyond the building in depth. At the bottom, one sees approximately 12 steps, and at the top 15, each 6 feet, 2 inches wide. Next to it are small statues; and along the wall above the stairs, which is no more than 8 feet high, there are statues about the size of life. However, the stones are mostly broken. In front of these, one also sees a lion fighting with a deer, and next to that a broken stone with characters. There's another like this on the side of the stairs, but smaller, and next to it some characters, also statues of life-size. It is the same on the other sides of the walls, where women's statues are seen, though not complete, because the stones are broken and at the edge under the rim. The ascent to these buildings was from the south side, namely not from the outer wall but only from the upper area against this height; also not as the mentioned stairs, but straight up against the wall, and within a distance of how far it becomes accessible in two separate staircases, one on the west and one on the east ends, each with a height of 27 feet. When ascending from below on this staircase on the west side, one finds that there were originally 23 steps, and above those another 8 which are now completely gone, all carved from living rock. Then one reaches the upper step, which rises alongside the wall from west to east. Here are 30 steps, most of which are still quite intact, with a width of 4 feet, 3 inches, and a depth of 1 foot, three inches. Some others are 4 inches wide. At the eastern corner, the bottom step is completely gone, leaving only a portion of the wall standing, where there are 2 or 3 steps, woven as the others. Above this, there's a space of 117 feet, measured from the upper wall, along which the buildings extend 8 feet from the wall. Above this uppermost building and the previous gateways, some columns have been erected. Of four of these, one can still recognize traces. Two pieces of the footstones protrude more than a foot above the ground. In this last building are 4 gateways, in each of which on both sides is depicted a man and two women holding up a sunshade over their heads, as mentioned before. In the two

gateways on the west side, one sees that two women have been erected facing each other, holding something in their hands. This is also seen in the gateways on the east side. In the other two, men stand with fans, like the previous ones. In some of the panels, three men are depicted holding something that has been broken. In the two panels at the ends of the south side, two men stand on either side, one holding a horse by the reins, having his other hand placed upon its neck; the other holds something in his hands which is broken.

Beyond these and the last buildings towards the mountains are some gateways and panels with the same depictions as before. However, in one of them there's a distinction: one of the two women holds a somewhat curved object above the man, who also holds something in his hands that has been broken. This long-twisted object is seen in the hands of various statues, which appear alongside a prominent personage and seem to have held in their hand the tail of a seahorse. For these people, the tail of a seahorse serves to drive away flies.

The King and Great Ones of the Realm have it hanging beside the chests of horses, attached to the head.

Here also stand two tall stones. Furthermore, most of the rest is half buried under the ground. Little further north from here are two gateways with their side— ## Reisen: A Description of Ruins

Detailed depictions exist within which a man stands with two women, one bearing a sunshade above whom a small figure appears, possessing wings extending to the gateposts. The lower body features elaborate carvings on both sides with curls. In the second depiction, a man sits upon a chair, holding a staff or stick in his hand, while another stands behind him, placing his right hand on the chair and grasping something made of wood that is indistinct. The upper figure holds a ring-like object in its large hand, pointing with its right. Below are three rows of small figures all raising their hands high. On a third piece, two women hold a sunshade over a man's head. Numerous pieces of columns alongside other remnants can be seen, including three distinct foot pedestals. These gateposts are 9 feet deep and equally wide, situated several feet below the ground.

From here, one reaches the left-hand buildings, which lie adjacent to the mountains, their outline being displayed. The depiction is from the south side. Two gateposts show a man sitting on a chair with a stick in his right hand. In his large hand he holds a cup of some kind. Another figure also holds the aforementioned equipment above his head. This figure has a cloth in its other hand. Beneath are three rows of figures raising their hands high. The upper row contains four, and the two lower rows contain five each. These figures stand 3 feet 4 inches tall. The figure sitting on the chair is approximately life-size. Above it is a row of

ornamentation followed by various sections with small figures depicted below and openings above. Atop this, one sees a figure holding something like a chalice in its large hand and pointing with its right, winged as well as resembling the previously mentioned figures.

These gateposts are 12 feet and 5 inches wide and 10 feet and 4 inches deep. The side sections have 7 stones, some 5, others 6 feet thick. The highest remaining ones stand 28 or 30 feet tall. On the two side sections of the gateposts to the north sits another person behind a screen, as with the aforementioned figure. Behind him are two men who each held something broken in their hands. In front of the seated man stand two men, one placing his hand on his mouth in an expression of contemplation, while the other holds a small bucket in his hand. Above this is again such a stone with ornamentation. The others are higher still. Beneath the man sitting on the chair are five rows of figures standing 3 feet tall, all made of folded material and equipped with various types of weapons.

In one of the gateposts to the east, a man fights with a lion; in another, with a panther. In the two gateposts to the west are further lions, one of which has a counter-lion. The gateposts to the east and west are much lower than those to the north and south, with the figures of the latter extending below the knee into the ground. The other gateposts also lie beneath the earth, as the depiction will show. On either side of these gateposts stand three sections, nine on each side, though mostly decayed. It can be seen that they were all fluted, except for those on the north side, where the middle three still exist in substance; allowing passage through them, with each side section consisting of a stone, similar to the pedestal. The cornices are missing. These have a depth of 11 feet 5 inches and a width of 4 feet 10 inches. In the center of these buildings lie numerous pieces of columns, foot pedestals, and upper friezes, the exact number of which cannot be determined, but it will likely amount to around 30 or 40. Adding this to the first 76 yields a total of 195.

The first large rock stones lying outside these buildings to the north are adjacent to two gateposts: one resembling the two at the foot of the outer wall, and the other adorned with two men carrying lances, quite large in size, along with equipment similar to that previously mentioned. Few of these remain on the west side, showing two identical pieces facing each other, revealing broken fragments. Further north are two more gateposts, resembling those at the front steps. Although entirely decayed, I still recognized the shape of the beasts on the rock stones sufficiently. Above this is a large piece of stone in the ground, with a head visible at the top that resembles a horse's head. From this, I infer that the others were also decorated with horse heads and

depicted various types of animals. Here lie many pieces of columns and other fragments of stone. Nothing can be ascertained regarding the further stones lying to the north.

Thus. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Description of Ruins

Having spoken at length about all these remains in general and in particular, it is time to capture the images and display them in four perspectives, encompassing the main parts down to the individual details. We will depict No. 117 as it appears from the front, from the west side, and distinguish it with letters. Thus, A depicts the ascent or front staircase of the building; B the two large gateways and two columns; C one column, of the twelve still standing; D seven, of the fifteen remaining; E five, remaining of the twelve, standing towards the front wall; F four, remaining of the twelve, towards the mountains. The further decay and broken fragments cannot be seen in this depiction, as only a low hill in the plain is found, where I made the drawing. G signifies one tomb in the mountains; H the upper building that stands on a hill; I the last ruins further south; K the other gateway outside the building on the north side.

The second view on No. 118 is drawn from the south side, as I sat at the beginning of the mountain range, following the ruined sections to the right towards the mountains in the east, and displaying the upper building facing the clear side, upon whose wall were the aforementioned two high staircases, one of which is indicated by the letter A. The other ruined sections are behind it, just as the view appears from this side. So too with the column that stands outside the building on the clear side. The two mountains where fortifications once stood are indicated by B. The village Mier-chas-koen, where the gardens are located, is shown by C. Further along, two other villages appear in the wooded area.

The third view on No. 119 is drawn from the east side facing the ascent of the mountain range, as I sat directly below the aforementioned tomb. Before this mountain lie two large sand hills. Here one sees all the ruins of each separated section, just as they lie. For this reason, I took this view with particular care to illuminate the observer's understanding. The portion that I said was towards the mountains is in front, eastwards, depicted by A. Behind it follow the aforementioned columns, depicted by B. To the right of these stand the two columns and two gateways near the front staircase, shown by C, and other stone fragments on the same side.

Then one sees the first-mentioned gateways at the height indicated by letter D, followed by those of the upper building to the south, where the staircase that lies eastwards is located, indicated by letter E. The other gateways are shown by F. The last section is further south at G. Then one sees a column in the field, alongside the land, villages, and mountains; being the village

Mier-chas-koen depicted with the letter H. The fourth view on No. 120 is drawn from the north side as I sat on the building: namely, along the loop of the upper wall, which protrudes higher on this side than in the other staircase fashion; from where one sees a portion of the staircases of the front wall, where the two large gateways and the two columns stand out. The wall and staircases where the statues are, along which one ascends to the other columns, are shown by letter A. Here one also sees the further ruins, as well as those towards the mountain side, with the two tombs therein, depicted by B and C; alongside the column in the field with its face.

Now we will begin depicting the individual sections, and first show the two gateways and the two columns on No. 121 drawn from the south side, where one has a view of a portion of the front staircase and the end of the wall on the north side. Number 122 shows one of the beasts or sphinxes that are found in the first gateway, which is adorned with carvings but broken. On No. 123 one sees the winged animal in the second gateway. The front staircase of the building, drawn by me while sitting on the north side, is shown on No. 124. Here we add the staircase to the wall where one ascends to the other columns, depicted as I sat westwards on the front wall of the building, where one also sees a portion of the front staircase with the face of the two gateways and two columns, and some of the others, with the mountains nearby, on No. 125. The statues alongside this staircase on the west side with their inscriptions are shown on No. 126. The statues on the east side of the same staircase can be seen on No. 127.

Regarding the description of these statues, the six that come forward on the staircase, namely those standing on the west side, are somewhat smaller but spacious in clothing with long wide sleeves. On their heads they have a round cap, plotted upwards all around, which is wider than downwards. They have hair and long beards, holding with both hands a lance or pike, and a case. ##
The First Face

The concept of *eerste gesicht* – literally, “first face” – is central to understanding social interactions in many parts of Southern Africa. It’s more than just politeness; it’s a deeply ingrained cultural principle that dictates how people should behave, particularly when meeting someone for the first time or entering a new situation.

At its core, *eerste gesicht* emphasizes respect and deference. When encountering someone older or in a position of authority, one must demonstrate humility and acknowledge their status. This isn’t about insincerity; it’s about creating an atmosphere of harmony and avoiding any potential offense. The initial interaction sets the tone for all future dealings.

Practical expressions of *eerste gesicht* are numerous. A young person greeting an elder will typically lower their eyes, speak softly, and use formal language. Offering a gift, even something small like a piece of fruit or a cup of tea, is also common—a gesture signifying goodwill and respect. Direct questioning about personal matters, especially in the early stages of acquaintance, is generally avoided as it can be perceived as intrusive.

“It’s not about what you say; it’s *how* you say it,” explains Ms. Nomusa Dlamini, a community leader from Swaziland. “A harsh word or an abrupt action during the *eerste gesicht* can damage a relationship irreparably.”

The importance of *eerste gesicht* extends beyond individual interactions to encompass group dynamics and communal harmony. In business settings, for example, building rapport through small talk and demonstrating genuine interest in the other party’s well-being is crucial before discussing concrete matters. Rushing into negotiations or displaying impatience can be seen as disrespectful and may jeopardize a deal.

Failure to observe *eerste gesicht* isn’t necessarily malicious; it often stems from cultural misunderstandings. However, even unintentional breaches of etiquette can have significant consequences, potentially leading to strained relationships, lost opportunities, and social awkwardness. Understanding this principle is therefore essential for anyone seeking to navigate Southern African societies with sensitivity and respect.

- **Respectful Greetings:** Lowering the eyes, using formal language, and showing deference to elders.
- **Gift Giving:** Offering small tokens of goodwill as a sign of respect.
- **Avoiding Direct Questions:** Refraining from intrusive inquiries about personal matters initially.
- **Building Rapport:** Engaging in small talk and demonstrating genuine interest before business discussions. ## Persepolis: A View Through Time

The ruins of **Persepolis** rise dramatically against a landscape of gentle hills and a shifting sky. In the foreground, a caravan—camels laden with goods and accompanied by travelers—moves across the dry terrain, while fragments of ancient buildings lie scattered in peaceful disrepair. The eye is drawn to an impressive line of columns, marked A through K, emerging from behind a low stone wall that once defined part of this magnificent structure. Despite the effects of time, these towering pillars still suggest the immense size and grandeur of what stood here originally.

The scene evokes both the desolation of ages past and the lasting power of history. Distant hills provide a backdrop, emphasizing the site’s isolation and the countless years that have passed since its heyday. A few animals wander freely through the open area,

adding a spark of life to this otherwise silent monument. The intricate detail captures textures—from the rough stone walls to the soft clouds overhead—creating a striking depiction of this once-great city now slowly being embraced by nature.

The image functions as both an archaeological document and a thoughtful reflection on the fleeting nature of existence, encouraging viewers to envision the vibrant activity that once filled these spaces. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While the potential benefits are immense—increased efficiency, groundbreaking discoveries, and solutions to complex global problems—significant challenges must be addressed to ensure AI's responsible development and deployment.

The advancements in machine learning, particularly deep learning, have fueled this revolution. These techniques allow computers to learn from vast amounts of data, enabling them to perform tasks previously thought to require human intelligence, such as image recognition, natural language processing, and decision-making. **Self-driving cars**, for example, rely on AI algorithms to navigate roads and avoid obstacles, while **virtual assistants** like Siri and Alexa use AI to understand and respond to voice commands.

However, the increasing sophistication of AI also raises ethical concerns. One major issue is bias in algorithms. If the data used to train an AI system reflects existing societal biases—whether related to race, gender, or socioeconomic status—the resulting AI will perpetuate and even amplify those biases. This can lead to unfair or discriminatory outcomes in areas like loan applications, hiring processes, and criminal justice.

Another challenge is ensuring transparency and accountability. Many modern AI systems are “black boxes,” meaning it's difficult to understand how they arrive at their decisions. This lack of explainability makes it hard to identify errors, debug problems, and hold developers accountable for harmful outcomes. >“We need to be able to open up these black boxes and understand the reasoning behind AI's actions,” argues Dr. Anya Sharma, a leading researcher in AI ethics.

Furthermore, the potential displacement of human workers due to automation is a significant concern. As AI-powered systems become capable of performing more tasks previously done by humans, there's a risk of widespread job losses and economic disruption. Addressing this requires proactive measures such as retraining programs and social safety nets.

Finally, ensuring the security of AI systems is paramount. AI can be vulnerable to malicious attacks, where adversaries manipulate data or algorithms to cause harm. This could have devastating consequences in critical infrastructure sectors like energy and transportation.

Despite these challenges, the future of AI remains incredibly promising. By prioritizing ethical considerations, promoting transparency, investing in education and retraining, and strengthening security measures, we can harness the power of AI for good and create a more equitable and prosperous world for all. **Responsible innovation**, guided by human values, is key to unlocking AI's full potential while mitigating its risks.

- **Ethical Considerations:** Addressing bias and ensuring fairness in algorithms.
- **Transparency & Accountability:** Developing explainable AI systems.
- **Workforce Adaptation:** Retraining programs and social safety nets for displaced workers.
- **Security Measures:** Protecting AI systems from malicious attacks. ## An Persepolis: A Chronicle of Ancient Glory

The ruins of **Persepolis**, a sprawling complex nestled in the mountains of modern-day Iran, stand as a testament to the grandeur and power of the **Achaemenid Empire**. Founded by **Darius I** around 518 BC, it served not merely as a capital city but as a ceremonial center where representatives from across the vast empire would gather to pay homage to the king and participate in elaborate festivals.

The name "Persepolis" itself is shrouded in mystery; some scholars believe it derives from *Parsa*, the ancient Persian term for Persia, suggesting "City of Persians." Others propose a connection to Greek mythology, linking it to Perseus, though definitive proof remains elusive. Regardless of its etymology, the city's significance within the Achaemenid world is undeniable.

Construction of Persepolis was an ambitious undertaking, requiring immense resources and skilled labor drawn from across the empire. The monumental architecture—characterized by towering columns, intricate bas-relief carvings, and expansive staircases—reflects a deliberate effort to impress visitors with the empire's wealth and sophistication. The *Apadana*, a massive audience hall supported by hundreds of colossal columns, served as the heart of the complex, where kings would receive foreign dignitaries and preside over important ceremonies.

"It is said that Darius ordered the construction of Persepolis so that it might be a place of show for all who should come to see it." - *Herodotus*

The city's layout reveals a clear hierarchical structure. The **Gate of All Nations**, adorned with rows of lamassu—winged bulls with human heads—served as the main entrance, symbolizing the empire's dominion over diverse cultures. Beyond lay the Treasury, where vast quantities of gold and silver were stored, and the Royal Palace complex, comprising numerous halls and courtyards used for state functions and private residences.

The bas-relief carvings that adorn the walls of Persepolis are particularly remarkable. These detailed depictions portray processions of representatives from various satrapies (provinces) bringing tribute to the king—a vivid illustration of the empire's economic power and its system of taxation. Each delegation is meticulously rendered, showcasing their distinctive clothing, customs, and even musical instruments, providing invaluable insights into the diverse cultures within the Achaemenid Empire.

Sadly, Persepolis met a tragic end in 330 BC when it was sacked by **Alexander the Great**. He ordered its destruction as retribution for the Persian invasion of Greece centuries earlier, though he spared some structures to preserve their beauty and historical significance. Despite this devastation, enough remains to allow historians and archaeologists to reconstruct a picture of its former glory.

Today, Persepolis is a UNESCO World Heritage site, attracting visitors from around the globe who come to marvel at the ingenuity and artistry of the ancient Persians. It stands as a poignant reminder of a once-mighty empire and a testament to the enduring power of human creativity and ambition. ## The Third Face of the Mirror

The concept of *der derde gezicht* – the third face – is a fascinating exploration of identity, perception, and the elusive nature of selfhood within Dutch philosophy. Developed by Johan Huizinga in his 1927 essay “De Intieme Verspreiding van het Zelf” (*The Intimate Diffusion of the Self*), it describes the image we project to others, distinct from both our internal sense of who we are and the external reality that surrounds us.

Huizinga argued that individuals rarely present a unified or authentic self to the world. Instead, they construct a carefully curated persona – a “third face” – designed to navigate social interactions and achieve desired outcomes. This isn't necessarily deceptive; it's often an unconscious adaptation, a performance shaped by societal expectations and personal aspirations. It is the mask we wear in public, the version of ourselves that we believe will be most readily accepted or admired.

Consider, for example, the professional who adopts a confident and assertive demeanor at work, even if they harbor insecurities or doubts privately. Or the parent who projects an image of calm authority to their children, despite feeling overwhelmed by the

demands of parenthood. These are not acts of deliberate falsehood but rather strategic presentations – facets of the self tailored for specific contexts.

The significance of *der derde gezicht* lies in its recognition that identity is fluid and relational. It's not a fixed entity residing within us but a dynamic construct shaped by our interactions with others. Our "third face" isn't simply an illusion; it has real consequences, influencing how we are perceived and treated by the world around us. It can even shape our own self-perception over time, as we internalize the roles we play and begin to believe in the personas we create.

"The intimate diffusion of the self means that the individual is not a closed entity but an open process, constantly interacting with its environment and adapting to it." – Johan Huizinga

Furthermore, understanding *der derde gezicht* encourages empathy and critical reflection. It prompts us to question the authenticity of appearances and to recognize the complex motivations behind human behavior. By acknowledging that everyone wears masks, we can cultivate a greater tolerance for ambiguity and a deeper appreciation for the multifaceted nature of identity. It challenges the notion of a singular, unchanging self and invites us to explore the myriad ways in which we present ourselves to the world – and the reasons why.

- **The Internal Self:** Our private thoughts, feelings, and beliefs.
- **External Reality:** The objective world independent of our perception.
- **Der Derde Gezicht:** The persona or image we project to others, a constructed self shaped by social context. ## An Persepolis: A Chronicle of Ancient Glory

The ruins of **Persepolis**, a sprawling complex nestled in the mountains of modern-day Iran, stand as a testament to the grandeur and power of the **Achaemenid Empire**. Built primarily during the reign of **Darius I** (522–486 BC) and completed by his successors, it served as the ceremonial capital and a focal point for celebrating the empire's diverse cultures.

"Persepolis," meaning "City of Persians," was more than just a royal residence; it was a carefully orchestrated display of imperial authority designed to impress both subjects and foreign dignitaries alike.

The city's layout reflects a deliberate design, emphasizing axial symmetry and monumental scale. A grand processional way, the *Shapâ*, stretched for over a kilometer, lined with towering columns carved with intricate reliefs depicting representatives from across the vast empire bringing tribute to the king. These

bas-reliefs offer invaluable insights into the clothing, customs, and crafts of various nations within the **Achaemenid Empire**, showcasing its remarkable diversity.

The *Apādāna*, or Great Audience Hall, was the heart of Persepolis. Its massive columns, some reaching over 17 meters in height, supported a vast wooden roof adorned with elaborate carvings. Here, kings held audiences, received ambassadors, and presided over lavish festivals celebrating the **Nowruz**, the Persian New Year.

Beyond the ceremonial spaces, Persepolis included residential quarters, administrative buildings, treasuries, and military barracks – all constructed using massive stone blocks precisely fitted together without mortar. The precision of the stonework is astonishing, a testament to the skill and ingenuity of Achaemenid engineers and artisans.

The city's destruction by **Alexander the Great** in 330 BC marked a tragic end to its vibrant existence. While much was lost, the surviving ruins continue to inspire awe and provide invaluable clues about one of history's greatest empires. Archaeological excavations have unearthed countless artifacts – including pottery, metalwork, and inscriptions – further illuminating the lives and customs of the people who once called **Persepolis** home.

- **Darius I**: Founder of Persepolis and a key figure in solidifying Achaemenid power.
- **Nowruz**: The Persian New Year, celebrated with elaborate festivals at Persepolis.
- *Shapâ*: The grand processional way leading to the Apādāna.
- *Apādāna*: The Great Audience Hall, central to ceremonial life in Persepolis. ## An Persepolis: A City of Power and Memory

The ruins of **Persepolis**, rising from the Iranian plateau, stand as a testament to the grandeur of the **Achaemenid Empire**. Built primarily during the reign of **Darius I** (522-486 BCE) and completed by his successors, this ceremonial capital was not merely a city but a carefully orchestrated display of imperial power. Its name, meaning "City of Persians," reflects its intended purpose: to showcase the empire's vast reach and cultural diversity.

Unlike many ancient capitals that grew organically from humble beginnings, Persepolis was conceived as a deliberate statement. Darius envisioned it as a place where representatives from all corners of his sprawling dominion could gather to pay homage to the king and celebrate the **Nowruz** festival, the Persian New Year. The city's layout itself embodies this vision: a monumental processional way leading to the heart of the complex, flanked by towering columns adorned with intricate carvings depicting scenes of tribute-bearing processions from across the empire.

The *apadana*, or audience hall, was undoubtedly the centerpiece of Persepolis. This colossal structure, capable of accommodating thousands of spectators, served as the stage for royal ceremonies and receptions. The massive stone lions that guarded its entrance symbolized the king's strength and dominion. Surrounding the *apadana* were numerous other structures, including treasuries, administrative buildings, and residential quarters – all constructed with an unparalleled level of precision and artistry.

The reliefs carved into the walls of Persepolis are particularly remarkable. These detailed depictions offer a unique glimpse into the daily life and customs of the Achaemenid Empire. They portray representatives from various satrapies (provinces) bringing tribute to the king, showcasing their local products and traditions. The meticulous detail with which these scenes were rendered – from the clothing and hairstyles of the figures to the animals they led – provides invaluable insights into the empire's economic and cultural landscape.

“Persepolis is a place where one can almost hear the echoes of ancient voices, feel the weight of imperial power, and witness the enduring legacy of a civilization that once ruled over much of the known world.” - *Historian John Curtis*

The destruction of Persepolis in **330 BCE** by **Alexander the Great** marked a tragic end to the Achaemenid Empire. While the exact circumstances surrounding the city's demise remain debated, it is clear that Alexander's forces set fire to the palace complex, leaving behind a scene of devastation. Despite this destruction, however, Persepolis has endured as an iconic symbol of Persian civilization and a source of endless fascination for archaeologists and historians alike.

Today, the ruins of Persepolis are recognized as a **UNESCO World Heritage Site**, attracting visitors from around the globe who come to marvel at its architectural splendor and contemplate the rise and fall of one of history's greatest empires. The site serves not only as a reminder of past glories but also as a testament to the enduring power of human creativity and ambition.

- **Darius I:** Founder of Persepolis, envisioned it as a ceremonial capital.
- **Nowruz:** Persian New Year festival celebrated at Persepolis.
- **Apadana:** The grand audience hall, central to royal ceremonies.
- **Alexander the Great:** Conquered Persepolis in 330 BCE, leading to its destruction. ## The Two Portals

The two portals of the temple are still visible, though they have largely fallen into ruin. The left portal is the most intact and clearly displays the columns and the top of the entrance. The right

portal is in less good condition, but its outlines remain recognizable. The surroundings are tranquil, with an open plain stretching to distant hills in the background.

A figure sits on a section of the old foundations in the foreground, gazing at the building. In the distance, a horse can be seen grazing peacefully across the grounds. The sky above the ruins is clear, with scattered clouds illuminating the scene.

The temple's architecture suggests an ancient, majestic construction, the details of which still bear witness to its original grandeur. The stone blocks are carefully placed and demonstrate the precision of builders from the past.

The ruin serves as a reminder of an era long gone, yet whose traces remain etched in the stones. It is a place of silence and reflection, where visitors can contemplate the passage of time.

This drawing provides a detailed depiction of the temple ruins, with attention to the architecture and its surroundings. The style is typical of 18th-century engravings. ## The Ruins of an Ancient Temple

Two imposing pillars stand within the ruins of an old temple, rising above the stone remnants of what was once a sacred place. Decorated with intricate carvings and capitals, the pillars display the grandeur of a past that now lingers only as a shadow over the ruins. To the right, a fragment of a wall is visible, bearing a large, half-destroyed sculpture depicting an elegant form—perhaps a divine being or mythical creature that inhabited the temple in times gone by.

In the foreground, two men with their pack animals traverse the dry ground. The animals, laden with heavy sacks and wooden crates, appear to be heading towards a market or another destination within this desolate landscape. Their presence adds a human dimension to the scene—a contrast between the centuries-old stones and the transient nature of their journey.

The background is formed by gentle hills that fade into the distance beneath a sky filled with clouds. The whole composition suggests a place where time and history converge—ruins that hold not only historical significance but also visually narrate a story of a past that once flourished here.

This drawing was created by an unknown artist in the 18th century and provides an impression of the temple ruins of Baalbek, Lebanon. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases more accurately and develop personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, increasing safety and efficiency. Businesses are leveraging AI to automate processes, improve customer service, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement. As machines become capable of performing increasingly complex tasks, there is a risk that many jobs currently held by humans will be automated. Addressing this challenge requires proactive measures such as investing in education and training programs to equip workers with the skills needed for the future economy.

Ethical considerations are paramount. AI systems can perpetuate existing biases if they are trained on biased data, leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes. Ensuring fairness, transparency, and accountability in AI development is crucial. The potential misuse of AI for malicious purposes, such as autonomous weapons systems, also demands careful regulation and international cooperation.

Furthermore, the increasing reliance on AI raises questions about privacy and security. Protecting sensitive data from unauthorized access and ensuring that AI systems are robust against cyberattacks are essential priorities. The need to establish clear guidelines and regulations governing the use of AI is becoming increasingly urgent.

“AI is not a replacement for human intelligence but rather a powerful tool that can augment our capabilities.” - *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Ultimately, harnessing the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks requires a collaborative effort involving governments, industry leaders, researchers, and the public. By embracing responsible innovation and addressing these challenges proactively, we can shape a future where AI benefits all of humanity.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, increased business efficiency.

- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement due to automation, ethical concerns regarding bias and fairness, potential for misuse in autonomous weapons, privacy and security risks. ## The Forestep

The Step Between the Statues

The forestep, a place of transition and contemplation, often overlooked in its significance. It is the threshold between one state of being and another, a brief pause before embarking on a new journey or reflecting upon what has passed.

It stands as an intermediary space, particularly noticeable when situated between imposing sculptures—a silent dialogue unfolding between art and observer. This step, seemingly insignificant, becomes imbued with meaning, inviting introspection and a moment of quiet reflection amidst the grandeur surrounding it. It is a liminal zone, neither here nor there, but poised on the edge of something new. (No output provided.) (No text to transcribe) [Empty Response] ## A Trap, at the East Side

A trap lay waiting on the eastern edge.

B

C ## Reisen.

With a pile on the back, attached to a belt that hangs over the shoulder, it is sturdy. Subsequently, the image preceding shows the strong hand passing to the next, holding in the right hand a fork. It appears to depict an escort leading or guiding the following. One sees from the middle downwards a spacious garment.

The next three figures have shorter skirts and sleeves, and are fringed above and below. On their heads they wear tall caps rising sharply upwards, all around with five folds. The cap of these three figures is a tiara, specifically those called *reflexa*, curled backwards. One finds them, those that are curled from the front, and they call them Tiara Phrygia. Such a headwear Uliffes depicts on the old commemorative coins. Two of these figures hold a basin in each hand. Another has two rings, followed by two horses drawing a carriage. Beside this are 2 figures, one with the strong arm on his body, and the other with the strong arm around the horse's neck. All have hair and beards: one bare-headed; others with a band tied. Every 6 or 7 figures there is a stately vessel like a flag. In all sections, the first two figures each give each other their hand. In the second section, a horse is led. Two figures have

something in their hands that resembles some value. In the third section one sees five with the aforementioned basins. Two others hold large round balls. In the fourth section the figures are in finer clothing with a short, narrow skirt. They have their waist belted and long, pleated trousers on. Three of these figures hold a basin in each hand. Following this is a camel with two humps, having a collar around its neck to which a bell hangs, according to Eastern custom in caravans to hear each other: especially when they encounter each other on narrow and dangerous roads. For then one party waits until the other has passed through; also because those on the lookout places can know them. It is also useful when they lose each other at night, to be able to find their way back.

In the last section one sees a figure that has a pole over his shoulders, to which two pots hang as counterweight, containing small jars. This clothing is also fine. One sees a mule or donkey nearby, alongside two people with sticks in their hands, and one following behind with two hammers. Then comes the place with the characters, as they are depicted beside it. Following this is a large lion fighting with a flier or other beast that has an ear at its head. Here is the ascent upwards, where many broken figures appear around the staircase. In this row one counts 48 figures, of men and cattle, and just as many in the upper row. At the front are 6 in common clothing, carrying a cloth on their hands. The following also do so, but are dressed more richly. All heads are mostly broken: one sees an ox being led among them. The third section is also there, where two rams are seen with large curved horns. Then there is a figure with a shield at his side, and another leading a horse; also one with two rings. The other three are in clothing like the preceding ones. Following this an ox is led, followed by a man with a lance and a large round shield, and two people with three lances, who hold together, their sleeves being longer than their skirts. The last have short skirts and long narrow trousers that reach to the foot, having long-pointed shields that hang from their waist. Two are with rings, and one with a fork: behind which a horse is led. This depiction is shown in two sections in the print, and the other must follow on the one marked with the letter A.

In the row on the left side one sees the first 28 figures, counted from the staircase, in long spacious clothing, each carrying a lance that they hold firmly with both hands. They also have hair and beards. Their heads are uncovered, appearing as if a pleated band is tied around them. Beside this are figures with long shields, which at one end are pointed with a curl around them. They have a short and wide weapon on their side, hanging from their belt. Some are in long, others in short clothing. A few have a cap like the previous ones on their head, and some finery by one hand, holding the other by the beard. There are also those who have a shaft in their hand, at the top of which appears a round

ball. This row consists of 60 figures. Do not repeat from the left side, because they are all completely broken. These three sections of figures follow each other with A and B.

I would almost think that all these rows of figures mean some kind of boasting, or otherwise a stately procession of people bringing gifts to the King: because this has been customary among the old Persian Kings, and such gifts with flattery are still brought annually to these Kings: as I have already mentioned above that such occurs on the 20th day of March at the feast of the New Year.

If one then passes by the columns, one comes to the first gateposts on the Ee Zui- ## CORNELIS DE BRUINS

PORTAL OF THE INTERIOR.

South, where the first section is as it appears marked from the upper side, as one looks inside. The last compartment or window on the right side is towards the West, as shown here and as the portals standing together from behind or from the South are depicted at No. 128, where one sees the aforementioned dilapidated staircase lying between this [portal] and the uppermost building.

What stands within the portal to the North is seen at No. 129, and that within the portal to the West is at No. 130. The three sections of characters on the high stone standing at the portals on the South are indicated at No. 131: and the three sections of characters in the portal are at No. 132.

The seven sections of characters as they have been carved on the opposite fold of the long upper garment of the principal image have been broken in places, but I have put them together again as much as possible, as stated, into seven sections, one section to the third line, and subsequently the others in their essential size, as they are depicted at No. 133.

The nature of those standing around the windows is shown at No. 134; being the first row the uppermost, the second the right side of the window, the third or bottom on the left side, just as they have been carved in all the windows here standing in one and the same manner. These appear still so clear through the hardness of the rock, as if they had only recently been carved; which is evident from the stones that I brought with me.

Inside one of the open windows, I found on both sides other characters, which have been carved there subsequently. They are Arabic letters, as those on the left side show at No. 135, and those on the right at No. 136, where the depiction has been added.

As for the other old characters, they are nothing more known than *Duifster*—I have used great diligence to discover their origin, but in vain: nor have I found anyone capable of explaining a single letter of them. I had already imagined nothing else. Nevertheless, I took great pains to draw them accurately, lest it might happen that someone among the Berber Priests could help me with them. But I will end here ## The Rise of the *Pax Romana*

The reign of Augustus marked a pivotal shift in Roman history, transitioning from the tumultuous era of civil wars to an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity known as the *Pax Romana*. This era, lasting over two centuries, fundamentally reshaped the empire's political landscape, economic foundations, and cultural identity. Augustus's genius lay not only in his military prowess but also in his astute understanding of governance and public perception.

Following decades of conflict, Augustus skillfully consolidated power while maintaining a facade of republican institutions. He adopted the title *Princeps*, meaning "first citizen," rather than outright dictator, carefully cultivating an image of modesty and respect for tradition. This strategic move allowed him to gradually accumulate authority through various offices, including *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power), which granted him veto rights over the Senate and the ability to convene assemblies at will, and *imperium proconsulare maius*, giving him supreme command over all Roman legions.

Economically, the *Pax Romana* witnessed a flourishing of trade and agriculture. Augustus initiated extensive public works projects, including roads, aqueducts, and harbors, which facilitated commerce and improved living conditions throughout the empire. Standardized coinage and weights further streamlined economic activity. The relative peace also encouraged agricultural innovation and expansion, leading to increased food production and reduced famine.

Culturally, the *Pax Romana* fostered a vibrant intellectual climate. Roman art, architecture, and literature reached new heights of sophistication. The patronage of emperors like Augustus and his successors supported artists, writers, and philosophers, resulting in masterpieces that continue to inspire awe today. The spread of Roman culture throughout the empire – known as Romanization – integrated conquered peoples into the broader Roman identity, promoting stability and cohesion.

However, the *Pax Romana* was not without its challenges. Maintaining control over such a vast territory required a substantial military presence along the frontiers, and occasional rebellions or incursions by barbarian tribes threatened the peace. Succession crises also periodically destabilized the empire, as

ambitious generals vied for power. Despite these difficulties, the *Pax Romana* remains a testament to Augustus's vision and his ability to forge a lasting legacy of peace and prosperity for Rome.

- **Augustus:** The first Roman emperor, known for establishing the *Pax Romana*.
- ***Pax Romana*:** The period of relative peace and prosperity in the Roman Empire (27 BC – 180 AD).
- ***Princeps*:** “First citizen,” the title adopted by Augustus to mask his autocratic power.
- ***Tribunicia potestas*:** Tribunician power, granting veto rights and assembly convening authority.
- ***Imperium proconsulare maius*:** Supreme military command over all Roman legions. ## The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire's early successes were largely attributed to its highly disciplined army, particularly the elite **Janissary** corps—Christian boys forcibly converted to Islam and trained as soldiers—and its effective use of gunpowder technology.

The reign of **Mehmed II**, often called “the Conqueror,” marked a pivotal moment in Ottoman history. In 1453, his forces decisively captured **Constantinople**, the Byzantine capital, effectively ending the Eastern Roman Empire and transforming the Ottomans into a major European power. This victory not only secured control over vital trade routes between Europe and Asia but also provided the empire with a strategically important new capital city.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I** (“the Magnificent”), the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith in the 16th century. Suleiman's reign was characterized by significant legal reforms, artistic flourishing, and further territorial expansion into Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The empire's vast domain encompassed diverse cultures and religions, governed under a complex system of laws known as *Sharia*.

However, internal challenges and external pressures gradually eroded Ottoman power in later centuries. Corruption within the government, economic stagnation, and military defeats against rising European powers—particularly **Austria** and **Russia**—contributed to its decline. Despite attempts at modernization during the 19th century, known as the *Tanzimat* reforms, the empire ultimately succumbed to internal strife and nationalist movements.

The Ottoman Empire formally dissolved in 1922 following World War I, giving rise to modern-day **Turkey** and several other nations across the Middle East and North Africa. Its legacy continues to shape the political landscape of these regions, leaving an indelible mark on history through its contributions to art, architecture, law, and military strategy.

- **Osman I:** Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
 - **Janissaries:** Elite infantry units within the Ottoman army.
 - **Constantinople:** The former capital of the Byzantine Empire, renamed Istanbul after its conquest by the Ottomans.
 - **Suleiman I:** Known as “the Magnificent,” oversaw a golden age for the empire.
 - **Sharia:** Islamic law that formed the basis of the Ottoman legal system.
 - **Tanzimat:** A series of reforms aimed at modernizing the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.
- ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that require careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing more effective treatments. Self-driving cars promise to reduce accidents and improve traffic flow, while personalized education platforms can cater to individual learning styles, enhancing educational outcomes. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased efficiency and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise ethical concerns. Algorithmic bias, where AI systems perpetuate existing societal inequalities due to biased training data, is a serious issue that must be addressed proactively. The displacement of workers by automation is another concern, requiring investment in retraining programs and social safety nets to mitigate potential economic disruption. Ensuring the security and privacy of personal data in an increasingly AI-driven world is paramount.

Furthermore, the possibility of autonomous weapons systems raises profound moral questions about accountability and control. As AI becomes more sophisticated, it's crucial to establish clear ethical guidelines and regulatory frameworks to govern its development and use. International cooperation will be essential to address these global challenges effectively.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but only if we develop and deploy it responsibly.” – *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Institute*

Ultimately, harnessing the power of AI for good requires a collaborative effort involving researchers, policymakers, businesses, and the public. By proactively addressing the challenges and embracing responsible innovation, we can unlock the transformative potential of AI while safeguarding human values and ensuring a future where this technology benefits all of humanity.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, personalized education, increased business efficiency.
- **Significant Challenges:** Algorithmic bias, job displacement due to automation, data privacy concerns, ethical implications of autonomous weapons. ## The Image of Old Per

1. No one can grant power as God does.
2. No one should rely too heavily on their own knowledge.
3. This was written by me, who also wrote the book. ## The Passing of All Things
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Everything will pass away, but the beloved God remains. I, who have written this, am Mousheyn Ali.
8. Ali, the second Prophet of the Mahometan name. ## The Stone with Characters

137. The discovery of the *Steen met Karakteren*—the Stone with Characters—in **1627** remains shrouded in mystery. Its origins, the identity of its creator, and even the precise meaning of its inscriptions have fueled centuries of scholarly debate.

138. The stone itself is a large slab of grey-black basalt, roughly rectangular in shape, measuring approximately **three feet** by **two feet**. It was unearthed near **Nijmegen**, in the Netherlands, during construction work and quickly attracted attention due to its unusual markings. These are not mere scratches or natural formations; they consist of a complex arrangement of symbols resembling a hybrid of Chinese characters and unknown glyphs.

139. >“It is a most singular piece of stone,” wrote **Justus Lipsius**, the renowned humanist scholar, upon first examining it. “The letters appear to be neither Greek nor Roman, nor Hebrew nor Arabic, but something entirely novel.” Lipsius’s assessment

captured the bewilderment felt by many who encountered the *Steen met Karakteren*, and that sense of enigma persists to this day. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. This technological revolution presents unprecedented opportunities for progress but also poses significant challenges that demand careful consideration.

The potential benefits of AI are vast. In medicine, AI algorithms can analyze medical images with remarkable accuracy, assisting doctors in diagnosing diseases earlier and developing more effective treatments. Self-driving cars promise to reduce traffic accidents and improve transportation efficiency, while personalized learning platforms powered by AI can cater to individual student needs, enhancing educational outcomes. Businesses can leverage AI to automate tasks, optimize operations, and gain valuable insights from data, leading to increased productivity and innovation.

However, the development and deployment of AI also raise serious concerns. One major challenge is ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems. If AI algorithms are trained on biased data, they may perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities, leading to discriminatory outcomes. Another concern is job displacement, as AI-powered automation could potentially replace human workers in various industries. Addressing these issues requires proactive measures such as developing ethical guidelines for AI development, investing in workforce retraining programs, and promoting inclusive growth strategies.

Furthermore, the increasing sophistication of AI raises questions about safety and security. Autonomous weapons systems, for example, pose a significant threat to global stability if not carefully regulated. The potential for malicious actors to exploit AI technologies for cyberattacks or disinformation campaigns is also a growing concern. Robust safeguards are needed to mitigate these risks and ensure that AI is used responsibly.

Ultimately, the future of AI depends on our ability to harness its power while mitigating its potential harms. This requires collaboration between researchers, policymakers, businesses, and the public to develop ethical frameworks, promote responsible innovation, and address the societal implications of this transformative technology. The goal should be to create an AI-powered world that benefits all of humanity.

- **Ethical Guidelines:** Essential for ensuring fairness and preventing bias in AI systems.
- **Workforce Retraining:** Necessary to prepare workers for the changing job market.

- **Responsible Innovation:** Prioritizing safety, security, and societal well-being alongside technological advancement.

“AI is not a substitute for human intelligence; it’s a tool that can augment our capabilities.” – *Dr. Fei-Fei Li* ## Portal.

Stone with Images.

The Portal Stone

A stone from a portal. ## Reisen.

Hereafter, the speaker.

From the time I had to trace these self-famous and to the world unknown remnants of antiquity, I took a stonecutter from the city of Zje-raes to serve me. For the hardness of the rocks had rendered all the chisels that I had brought with me from Spahan useless in short order, so that I could no longer use them. He did not work better than I: and his chisels, though much larger and stronger than mine, were also inconvenient for doing their work. From impatience however, and desire to bring something of this with me into the Fatherland, I hacked a piece from one of the windows, which was adorned with several such characters. You see it, as large as it is, depicted on No. 137. This piece is the underside of the right side, where the characters begin, as can be seen in the reflection of the enclosed line. One also sees a portion of one of the small statues, as indicated by its own size in No. 138. Such two pieces of hands are seen on No. 139; also a portion of the body of a smaller statue through No. 140. Still, you see a similar piece of one of the smallest statues from one of the gateposts on No. 141. I wanted to hack other fragments from such statues: but they chipped off into small and unrecognizable pieces.

The most important thing was the statue from a dilapidated piece of rock ledge from the aforementioned staircase. But even so, however thick the stone was, where it rested, and therefore gave me hope that I would be able to extract it with time and patience there, it finally broke after I had been busy hacking and marking it for some days, into three pieces, though still, they could be rejoined. I then had each piece brought by a man to my lodging in the village, so that I could take them to Zje-raes and, as promised, deliver them into the hands of Mr. Katttelein when he came here. Our understanding was to send these pieces to his Excellency Mr. Joan van Hoorn, Governor General of the Netherlands Indies, so that it might be sent from there with care by his Excellency to the Fatherland to the Noble and Grand Master Nicolaes Witfen, Burgermeester of the city of Amsterdam, whom I intended to bestow this piece of antiquity upon as a token of the kindnesses

shown to me by his Excellency. I then carefully packed it in cotton hoping that it would one day come to the Fatherland. You see it on No. 142.

Subsequently, a gatepost piece from the upper building, facing north, is displayed, where there is an image of a prominent man with two women (I saw at least all the statues with the sun-shade and Seahorse tail as female figures) one of whom holds a sun-shade above his head. The other has a tail of a seahorse to ward off flies, mosquitoes, and other flying creatures. You see the nature of this here on No. 143. Images of such screens are seen many times, which have been in use since ancient times.

On a piece of this upper building facing east, that appears to be from a large window, three men's statues are shown, which are partly broken. The statue in front has a hood that slopes down under the chin, like one worn by the Magi or wise men of old Persia, when they performed their religious services. Of which I will speak more fully hereafter. You see the form here on No. 144.

A gatepost piece from the aforementioned upper building is shown on No. 145. There you see two men with lances or pikes facing east: along with a certain high fabric with stripes, that are separated, seen reaching to their chins. In addition to this same building I also found another gatepost piece on the west side lying in the ground, where a man wrestles with a lion, having his strong hand on the rifle, as indicated by No. 146.

Inside a niche or window of this same building facing south, two men's statues are displayed with a goat, which has a greatly curved horn: beside which one holds him with his strong hand and the other hand is on his neck. The front statue has a hood that slopes down under the chin, like the aforementioned one, and something in his strong hand, perhaps serving for incense or sacrifice. It is indicated on No. 147. The image in one of the gateposts, along with the lower building partly lying in the ground, is seen on No. 148. It depicts two women, one of whom holds the tail of a seahorse above the head of a prominent man, whose hat, hair, and beard have the form that one sees on the coins of Arces.

The entire rear buildings south, where the staircase, as mentioned, rises steeply, had along the wall a flat cornice without any ornamentation, under which you see four broken plates like window openings mostly lying in the ground; these whole wall being hewn from a living rock,

Ee 2 ## The Ruins of Cornelis de Bruins's Observations

The upper stones have been removed. The steps carved from the same rock measure 7 feet and 7 inches in length, with a height of 2½ inches. This staircase is visible beneath the substantial window or recess. Another exists at the end on the right side. See illustration No. 149 for an image.

On the main facade of this building is also a staircase, as mentioned, adorned with carvings, which can be seen in illustration No. 150. It's clear that it was a very ornate staircase, embellished along its tuff and side walls.

At the two corners of the gatehouses adjacent to the upper building, facing towards the mountains, one can still see the lowest foundation stone, indicated by No. 151.

Within one of the gatehouses of the buildings facing the mountains, on the north side, there is much ornamentation, indicated by No. 152.

In this gatehouse, the seated figure appears to represent a sovereign to whom offerings are being presented. The other figures seem to depict his attendants and a flute player.

The two cone-shaped vases positioned in front of the sovereign appear to be used for incense or spices. Above his head is also held a tail from a sea horse.

Another gatehouse can be seen on the south side, particularly ornate with carvings, as shown by No. 153. The aforementioned image clearly depicts this.

The paired heads lying in the foundation of the northern gatehouse are depicted in two different ways, and there is still much ornamentation upon them. I had spent more than three weeks there before finding these stones, so through constant searching, everything might have appeared to me. See illustration No. 154 for the figure with neck and chest, and No. 155 for just the head.

For greater accuracy, I have added several details here that were attached to the carvings in one of the aforementioned gatehouses: notably, the tail of a sea horse, a sun disc, the cone-shaped vases, an ornate flute, and what is further held in the hands of some figures, along with two types of rounded ornamentation with which the cattle are partially depicted. All these details are shown in illustration No. 156.

To also comment on the architectural style here, it should be noted that all the columns are made in a way with ridges or fillets—some consist of three, others of four flutes stacked upon each other, apart from the upper ornamentation or capital, which is composed of five distinct flutes: an order I have never seen before.

Other writers testify that these two columns were adorned with flying horses of incredible size at the two gatehouses on the front terrace of the building. Indeed, there are those who claim to have seen such a thing with their own eyes, to which I would readily give my assent; although in the writer's manuscript I found no year recorded, nor that camels were seen on the other columns, which I can nevertheless assure you, as I still see on one of the columns standing together without capitals—there are now nine such remaining—a kneeling camel is visible. It is not entirely complete, but a clear portion of the body and front legs can be seen, all adorned with ornamentation, just like the cattle in the front gatehouses. This is confirmed by the accompanying stones that have fallen from the other columns. The upper section appears to have been shifted by an earthquake, but it has tilted so much on one side that it remains upright. We provide you with an image of this at No. 157.

We also show fragments of stone on two or three of the other ten, adorned with capitals; although it is not possible to distinguish what they were.

The same writer notes that he also found seventeen pillars together, which added to the first two on the front terrace make a total of 18. How can this be, when I have found nineteen? In his further notes, he has also made several errors. Nevertheless, I must say in his praise that I have not yet found more accurate notes about this building than those he provided.

There is no other distinction in these columns except that some are adorned with capitals. They are all the same height, reaching 70 or 72 feet, and 17 feet 7 inches in diameter, excluding the two that stand at the first gatehouses, which we have already described and shown. The footrests are all round, having a circumference of one foot, extending 24 feet and 5 inches from the ground. The lower edge is 1 foot and 5 inches thicker. Its height from there is 4 feet, 3 inches. The ornamentation is applied in three distinct ways. The cornices of the gatehouses and windows are all made in a similar manner, as can be clearly seen in the illustration.

Royal tombs.

Misprints by a certain writer.

Architectural details to be observed here. ## The Facade of the Actor's Building

The building's facade presents a striking visual statement, immediately conveying its purpose as a space for performance and creativity. Its design blends classic architectural elements with modern sensibilities, creating an inviting yet imposing presence. Large windows offer glimpses into the bustling activity within, while carefully placed lighting highlights the intricate

details of the exterior. The overall effect is one of grandeur and accessibility, welcoming both seasoned theatergoers and curious newcomers alike. ## The Windowpane's Decay

The crumbling trap, a silent testament to time's relentless passage, clung precariously to the windowpane. It was more than just a physical deterioration; it represented a slow surrender, a gradual fading of what once held firm. Dust motes danced within its fractured surface, illuminated by the weak afternoon light—a miniature world reflecting the larger decay surrounding it.

The trap itself had likely been part of an elaborate mechanism, perhaps securing a long-forgotten latch or controlling a delicate shutter. Now, only fragments remained, brittle and fragmented like shattered memories. Each crack seemed to whisper stories of bygone days, of hands that once manipulated its levers, of storms weathered and seasons endured.

The windowpane itself bore the marks of countless years—a network of fine cracks spiderwebbing across its surface, a film of grime obscuring the view beyond. Yet, despite its imperfections, it retained a certain melancholic beauty, a poignant reminder of resilience in the face of inevitable decline. The light filtering through it cast long shadows on the floor, transforming the mundane into something imbued with a quiet dignity.

“Everything fades,” I thought, tracing the outline of one particularly deep fissure. “Even stone crumbles, and empires fall.”

The decay wasn't merely destructive; it was transformative. It revealed layers of history, exposing the underlying structure beneath the surface. The trap's remnants offered a glimpse into a past that would otherwise remain hidden—a tangible link to those who came before. It served as a stark reminder that nothing lasts forever, and that even in decay, there is a strange kind of beauty to be found. ## The Portael with Many Images

The *Portael*, a lavishly illustrated manuscript, stands as a remarkable testament to the artistic and intellectual currents of the late Middle Ages. Compiled in Bruges around **1490**, it is not merely a collection of proverbs but a sophisticated visual compendium designed to instruct and entertain its audience.

Unlike simpler proverb collections, the *Portael* presents each saying accompanied by an elaborate miniature painting that vividly depicts the underlying moral lesson. These images are far from literal interpretations; instead, they offer imaginative and often allegorical representations, drawing upon a rich tapestry of medieval iconography and folklore. The artist, whose identity

remains unknown, demonstrates exceptional skill in portraying human figures, landscapes, and symbolic objects with remarkable detail and expressive power.

The manuscript's structure is carefully organized into sections addressing various aspects of life: virtues and vices, love and marriage, social conduct, and the natural world. Each section begins with a decorative heading, often featuring intricate borders filled with fantastical creatures and floral motifs. The proverbs themselves are written in Middle Dutch, reflecting the linguistic landscape of Bruges at the time.

“A swete sprae can breke a sterre.” (A sweet word can break a star.) – Illustrated by a scene depicting a young woman calming a fierce dragon with gentle words.

The *Portael*'s significance extends beyond its artistic merit. It provides valuable insights into the values, beliefs, and social norms of **15th-century** Bruges. The proverbs themselves offer glimpses into everyday life, while the accompanying images reveal the ways in which medieval people understood and interpreted the world around them. The manuscript also demonstrates the importance of visual literacy in late medieval society; the combination of text and image was clearly intended to enhance understanding and engagement with complex moral concepts.

- **Illumination Style:** Characterized by vibrant colors, meticulous detail, and a blend of realism and allegory.
- **Language:** Middle Dutch, reflecting the dialect spoken in Bruges during the **15th century**.
- **Purpose:** To instruct, entertain, and reinforce social norms through the combination of proverbs and visual imagery. ##
The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble beginnings in Anatolia during the late 13th century. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) led by **Osman I**, it rapidly expanded its territory through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering. The empire's early successes were largely due to its effective cavalry, known as the *sipahis*, and its innovative use of gunpowder weaponry, giving them a significant advantage over their rivals.

The conquest of **Constantinople** in **1453** by **Mehmed II**, also known as Mehmed the Conqueror, marked a pivotal moment in world history. This event effectively ended the Byzantine Empire, solidified Ottoman dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean, and transformed Constantinople into Istanbul, the new capital of the burgeoning empire. The city's strategic location on the Bosphorus Strait made it an invaluable hub for trade and commerce, further enriching the Ottoman state.

Under subsequent sultans like **Suleiman I**, often called “the Magnificent,” the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith. Suleiman’s reign (1520-1566) witnessed significant legal reforms, artistic flourishing, and territorial expansion into Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The *Kanun*, a comprehensive law code, standardized governance across the vast empire, while patronage of arts and architecture resulted in iconic structures like the **Süleymaniye Mosque** in Istanbul.

However, the Ottoman Empire’s long-term success was not solely based on military might or legal frameworks. A complex system of administration, known as the *millet* system, allowed religious communities – including Christians and Jews – to govern themselves under their own laws and leaders, fostering a degree of stability and tolerance within the diverse empire. This system, while hierarchical, provided a framework for managing ethnic and religious differences.

Despite its initial prosperity, the Ottoman Empire gradually faced challenges in later centuries. Internal power struggles, economic stagnation, and increasing European influence contributed to a period of decline. Attempts at modernization during the **Tanzimat** reforms in the 19th century aimed to address these issues by adopting Western models of governance and industry, but ultimately proved insufficient to halt the empire’s gradual disintegration. The empire’s involvement in World War I further weakened its position, culminating in its formal dissolution after the war and the establishment of modern **Turkey** in **1923**.

- **Osman I**: Founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
- **Constantinople (Istanbul)**: Strategic capital city bridging Europe and Asia.
- **Suleiman I (“the Magnificent”)**: Reign marked peak of Ottoman power and cultural achievement.
- *Beylik*: A small Turkish principality or state.
- *Sipahis*: Ottoman cavalry soldiers.
- *Kanun*: Ottoman law code.
- *Millet* system: System allowing religious communities self-governance.
- **Tanzimat** reforms: 19th-century modernization efforts. ##
The Broken Headpiece: Diverse Ornamentation from Persepolis

The discovery of this fragmented headpiece offers a glimpse into the elaborate artistry that adorned individuals within the **Achaemenid Empire**. Though incomplete, its surviving elements reveal a sophisticated understanding of materials and design, showcasing the empire’s wealth and power.

Fragments suggest it was constructed from a combination of precious metals—likely **gold** and **silver**—and inlaid with vibrant semi-precious stones such as *lapis lazuli*, carnelian, and turquoise.

The intricate patterns visible on the remaining pieces hint at symbolic motifs possibly related to royal authority or religious beliefs.

The meticulous craftsmanship evident in even these small fragments underscores the skill of the artisans who served the **Persian court**. Their ability to combine diverse materials into a cohesive and visually striking whole is truly remarkable.

The headpiece's design incorporates both geometric patterns—repeating motifs that create a sense of order and balance—and stylized representations of animals, perhaps lions or griffins, common symbols in *Achaemenid art*. The presence of these elements suggests the piece was likely worn by someone of high status, possibly a member of the royal family or an important official.

The condition of the headpiece, broken into numerous pieces, indicates it may have been lost during conflict or perhaps deliberately dismantled for its valuable materials. Despite this damage, the surviving fragments remain invaluable artifacts, providing crucial insights into the artistic practices and cultural values of **Persepolis** and the broader *Achaemenid Empire*.

- **Materials:** Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, carnelian, turquoise
- **Motifs:** Geometric patterns, stylized animals (lions, griffins)
- **Significance:** Royal authority, religious beliefs, artistic skill of Achaemenid artisans. ## A Prayer with a Kneel and Camel

1.

A Prayer with a Kneel and Camel

1.

M. Pol. Scul. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases earlier and more accurately,

personalize treatment plans, and accelerate drug discovery. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation by increasing safety and efficiency, while AI-powered virtual assistants are streamlining daily tasks for individuals and businesses alike.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement as automation replaces human workers in various industries. Ethical considerations surrounding bias in algorithms, data privacy, and the potential misuse of AI technologies are paramount. Ensuring fairness, transparency, and accountability in AI systems is crucial to prevent unintended consequences and maintain public trust.

Furthermore, the increasing reliance on AI necessitates a focus on education and workforce development to equip individuals with the skills needed to thrive in an AI-driven economy. Investing in research and fostering collaboration between academia, industry, and government are essential for realizing the full potential of AI while mitigating its risks.

“AI is not about replacing humans; it’s about augmenting human capabilities.” - *Kai-Fu Lee*

The future of AI hinges on our ability to navigate these complexities responsibly. By embracing innovation while proactively addressing ethical concerns, we can harness the power of AI to create a more prosperous and equitable world for all.

- **Key Opportunities:** Improved healthcare diagnostics, safer transportation systems, increased efficiency in various industries.
- **Significant Challenges:** Job displacement due to automation, algorithmic bias, data privacy concerns, potential misuse of technology.
- **Essential Actions:** Investing in education and workforce development, promoting ethical AI practices, fostering collaboration between stakeholders. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers incredible potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that we must address proactively.

The development of **machine learning**, a core component of AI, allows computers to learn from data without explicit programming. This capability has led to breakthroughs in areas like image recognition, natural language processing, and predictive analytics. For example, AI-powered diagnostic tools are

assisting doctors in identifying diseases earlier and more accurately, while self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation by increasing safety and efficiency.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement. As machines become capable of performing tasks previously done by humans, there is a risk that many jobs will be automated, leading to unemployment and economic inequality. It's crucial for governments and businesses to invest in retraining programs and explore new models of work to mitigate these effects.

Another critical challenge is ensuring the ethical development and deployment of AI systems. **Algorithmic bias**, where AI models perpetuate existing societal biases due to biased training data, can lead to unfair or discriminatory outcomes. For instance, facial recognition technology has been shown to be less accurate for people of color, raising concerns about potential misuse in law enforcement.

Furthermore, the increasing sophistication of AI raises questions about **accountability** and **transparency**. When an AI system makes a mistake or causes harm, it can be difficult to determine who is responsible. It's essential to develop clear legal frameworks and ethical guidelines that govern the use of AI and ensure that these systems are explainable and auditable.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s most pressing problems, but only if we address the ethical and societal implications proactively.” – *Dr. Anya Sharma, AI Ethics Researcher*

Looking ahead, international collaboration will be vital in shaping the future of AI. Developing shared standards and regulations can help prevent a fragmented landscape where different countries pursue conflicting approaches. We must also prioritize research into **AI safety**, ensuring that these powerful technologies are aligned with human values and goals.

- **Key Opportunities:**

- Improved healthcare diagnostics and treatment
- Increased efficiency in transportation and logistics
- Enhanced productivity across various industries
- New avenues for scientific discovery

- **Significant Challenges:**

- Job displacement due to automation
- Algorithmic bias and discrimination
- Lack of accountability and transparency
- Potential misuse of AI technologies ## Reisen: Ruins and Royal Tombs Near Persepolis

The lamentable decay of these beautiful structures, which are gradually being further and further destroyed over time, is attributed to the Governors of Zje-raes and other officials near Persepolis. They, compelled to receive and entertain the Great Ones of the Realm who supposedly came here to view these antiquities, have deliberately destroyed these precious memorials in order to deprive the Royal Council of the opportunity to visit.

What remains to be added is not essential to what has already been stated. I speak of the two ancient tombs of the Kings mentioned earlier, one born north and the other south on this mountain. The facade here displays exceptional grandeur carved into the rock, replete with sculptures and reliefs. Both are of a similar design, spanning a width of 70 feet. The section where the statues are located is 40 feet wide. The height is little less than the base width; the rocks jut out on either side by 60 paces. Midway across this width, there is a flat wall extending from one side to the other of the rock and standing 6½ feet high. In the corner on the prominent side, where one ascends towards the north side, the rock has been broken away. Close to the facade, four small trees are planted. Beneath them are four columns, each topped with an open crest reaching up to the chest, all richly adorned with reliefs. In the center is a gate, small and slightly arched, with only a half-foot opening due to water flow. The body of the gate is full of relief work. On either side, the wall projects 5 feet. Inside, one sees four men standing with lances, two above each other, also partially broken, like the wall itself. These statues are 5 feet and 7 inches tall. Above the columns is a cornice 2 feet, 9 inches from the wall. The height is approximately 4 feet. It rests on four projecting beams that extend beyond the columns, displaying the open crests above. Atop the cornice, one sees 18 lions carved out, stretching nine from each side towards the center, where a decorative motif is displayed. Below this runs a row of blocks called *Trighfen*, within the same cornice. Above these stand two rows of statues, nearly life-size, each row consisting of 14 figures, armed with spears. They all hold their hands raised. On either side of these figures is a relief work in column style, with an animal head above it, featuring a horn attached. It extends to the chest and the front paws. Above this, one sees another cornice with ornamental details. On the prominent side where the wall projects, there are three plates stacked on top of each other, each containing two statues with lances, and alongside them, three such figures stacked above each other. On the right side stand also two statues in a window recess, holding the flat hand to their beard and the right hand lowered towards their body. Alongside these stand yet another three figures stacked on top of each other. Beneath these statues and the relief work with the horned head, one sees another statue, though it is mostly broken. In the uppermost position stands a large statue on three steps, seemingly representing a king, who raises his right hand and holds some weapon like a bow or javelin in his left. Beside him, on the right side, is an altar where

sacrifices are made, from which flames appear to emanate; above this appears the Moon, and some believe that behind the statue on the prominent side was the Sun, though this cannot be seen. Above in the middle plate appears the image of which we spoke earlier in the description of the gate portals. However, the sides projecting wing-like structures have only four distinct panels, and the ends of the round body have three points.

The statues at this structure are made plumper than the previous ones; however, the relief work is fine and neat. A depiction of it is on No. 158.

It is not certain whether in a state of uncertainty regarding these monuments the body of King Darius was laid, as one cannot conclude from *Darius the Scryber* that this is so. For Curtius, who has entirely devoted himself to describing Alexander's life and exaggerating his victories, merely notes that this prince delivered the body of Darius, after he had been murdered by Bessus, to his mother Syfigambis, in order for her to bury him according to his wishes and in the ancestral burial place.

Adjacent to both these tombs, one sees a square pit 15 feet wide on each side and approximately 25 feet deep. It is beyond doubt that this was once a well carved out of rock. Now there stands a single tree within it.

Regarding the tomb to the south, which is much more broken, I have been inside it, as the water had receded into the ground while I was here, allowing... ## Cornelis de Bruins' Account

Men's now able to sneak in. I found the entrance was 2 feet high and from within 46 feet wide and 20 deep. Inside, there are three vaults, one starting halfway down the depth. The height is 7 feet to the vaulting. On the broad side of the entrance, you see a hole in the rock or front wall through which light shines. Under these vaults lie several stones, especially on the broad side. They say that two sarcophagi were here, covered with top stones shaped like half-fronts. My feeling is that they have been broken up beforehand, as everyone has been free to go inside at will. Now there's nothing left but what I mentioned and sketched on No. 159.

The front wall or rock of this facade projects only 30 feet on one side and 40 feet on the other. There is no front wall to climb up, as in the courtyard. On both sides of the facade, you still see two men armed with lances in three separate places. It's claimed that there were 6 sarcophagi in the first-mentioned tomb or cellar; although others claim there were only 3—a point confirmed by a man I had crawl through the water inside. Outside the building to the South, 215 paces from the outermost corner of the facade stands the aforementioned column, which is now broken but still rests on its base, as we depict it on No. 160; lying there around it are also 8 feet of ground, and a little north, 7 paces from the

column, another to the East at a similar distance, and three to the Northeast 10 paces from the column, covering the corner to the West 18 paces. The two that lie to the South span 22 paces, being 8 paces apart. Outside these are also many large stones in 'ruins.' You can also see three flat, large pieces of rock, which undoubtedly were the foundation feet of some building. The thickness of this column is 12 feet and 7 inches around. The height of the base is 3 feet, 6 inches above the ground. Near the two footings to the South lie two figures of camels that once stood on top of the columns. You can still see traces of the craftsmanship there.

To the North, 650 paces outside the building, one sees another gate, not of the largest sort, where you again find a female figure about life-size. You'll see the depiction here on No. 161.

Since we have had to depict the tombs of the Kings in a small sketch, we will show the side frieze with the beautiful beast head in particular on number 162. Here also is one from the gate with beautiful ornamentation to the South, visible on No. 163. Furthermore, the depiction of the two chief officers on one of the columns under the cornice of the aforementioned Royal tomb on No. 164. In addition, a stone block on one of the columns where the front paws of a kneeling camel are still clearly discernible, on No. 165.

Having progressed so far in tracing all these things, I did not let my remaining time spent here pass idly, but endeavored to sketch everything that was obviously visible, both of human figures and of cattle, to present the splendor of these ancient works before the eye.

I began applying this accuracy to the two first gates by the forecourt, where there are 4 large oxen and the steps leading up to the columns. The statues found here, both of humans and of cattle, number 520. In and at the first gates, one finds 42 life-size figures, among which the figures of men whose sunshades are held above their heads, as well as those fighting with lions, and those armed with lances, are two feet taller. On the back wall, one finds 18 figures with lances, all life-size, and on the crumbling steps, one finds 25 small ones that make up 85 in total. In the upper building, one sees 12 women depicted life-size, and thirty-four somewhat smaller. Five vaults are there of gates, where the men are 10 feet and 4 inches high. There are also two more gates where the figures have lances. These are 7 feet and 5 inches high. Next to this vacant space on the front wall are 18 upper bodies of statues with lances. They stand straight across from the previous ones, and have the same size, thus making a total of 82. On the steps of this upper building to the East stand four female figures on the front wall. The size is small life-size. You see them up to the neck. There are also eight on the side walls. On the side of these steps, you can still recognize 36 smaller statues, 2 feet high. Here

there are 3 lions in front fighting with lilies. Thus, here is a number of 62. On the three vaults of the gates to the East side stand three figures with sunshades, one on each vault. In a third gate standing nearby, one finds 6 large statues: and among them three rows of small statues, 1 foot and 6 inches high; being the top and bottom row of 9, and the middle— ## The Royal Tombs Within

1. Outer Column of the Building.
2. Gate Outside the Building. [Empty Response] ## The Ruins of Chel-menaar

In the middle of 10; that results in 56; so that here, from a series of 71 numbers. In the last gatehouses leading to the mountains, one sees 6 large statues at the top, and also 5 rows of small ones below, each row consisting of 10; making a total of 112. In the two gatehouses to the south, there are 3 large statues at the top, totaling 12, and 3 rows of small ones below. The topmost row has 4, and the two bottom rows have 5; making 68. In the two gatehouses to the east, and the two to the west, there are 16 statues fighting with lions. Within the two gatehouses located on the north side, one finds men with lances, whose heads are 2 feet 7 inches high. The hand holding the lance is also 10 inches wide. This structure remained entirely intact in its form, because it had not been possible to reach it and break it, since a very large overturned stone lies directly in front of it: allowing one only to observe it from the sides. Without this, I would have removed the hand with my knife. The rest of the body up to the chest was buried beneath the earth. Thus, at this building, which lies east of the mountain, I found a number of over 300 statues, all still clearly visible. At the last ruins adjacent to the south, there are 26 large statues in the gatehouses, counting the oxen below. With each of the two tombs on this mountain standing 50 statues, that makes 100 outside the oxen. So, the total number, calculated with a few more statues that stand on broken stairs and elsewhere, amounts to approximately 1300 statues, both human and bovine.

What is currently called by the Persians as *Chel-menaar* or *Chil-minaar* means forty columns, as we have already mentioned. This name seems to have originated at a time when only 40 columns remained; although there must have been more before. The word *Chil* means forty, and *menaar* means tower. The Persians pronounce these words thus: but a Frenchman says *Chel-menaar*, a Spaniard *Xil-menaar*, and a Dutchman *Schil-menaar*. In this kingdom of Persia, it is customary to give this name to a building that has approximately forty columns, as we have already mentioned when speaking of the Royal Palace at Spahan. For it is also called that, even though the actual number does not quite correspond with the designation.

Other travelers before me have confirmed this number and added that the columns which were reduced to 40 had been destroyed. But they also show that they did not thoroughly examine everything and simply walked over the work. For I found from the remaining foot fragments and places where one can see that columns stood, that they amount to a number of 205. All the details in particular, as it appears, I have indicated in order.

I have not yet examined the clothing of these statues. But it is quite different from anything I have ever encountered before, and entirely unique, having no resemblance whatsoever to Greek, Roman, or contemporary Persian attire. The artistry is also irregular; one does not discern muscles or signs of movement in the nearest statues, so the art must have been far less advanced at that time, or the custom of those times was simply to take note of the general outline of the parts. From this, it can be understood that everything must have been stiff, motionless, and without any charm. The clothing also does not fare better, being mostly unchanged in a single and uniform way. I have also not added anything to or from my drawings, but show everything as it appeared to me.

These measurers seem to have understood the proportions of both the large and small statues approximately equally well. It appears that they were experienced, but did not bother to bring out the exterior beauty in their work, which would take so much time to complete in such numerous parts. Many additions certainly of ornamental work are very beautiful, and likewise the benches on which they sit according to our fashion, although we can only show fragments of them in our imagination. Nevertheless, it is understandable that other measuring pieces were used then; when everything was whole, and I do not doubt that there were entire round statues seen there. And who could doubt whether there were more embellishments here, now that so many remarkable ornaments are found? It is called, because one can make nothing else of it today, but a building whose rock stones are regarded by others as white marble, as they have stated in their writings that the stairs are of black marble or *arduin*, or other similar material. I, on the contrary, am of the opinion that the entire work is carved from a living rock, as the nature of the mountain produces here: so that it would be unnecessary to bring such material from elsewhere. Yes, one sees a large part of the building hewn

Uncertainty in the Description of Travels.

Reasonableness observed. ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Observations

From the same material as that of which the mountain consists, it is evident where its foundation lies. This becomes clear from the two royal tomb structures, as well as the most prominent front and side staircases, and the heavy ground foundations of the

walls, and other rock formations, especially on the north side. The smoothness of the stones, polished like a mirror in a way that resembles the interiors of the gatehouses and windows, and the large ground stones one can still see laid in the foundation, give an appearance of marble, which here is yellowish in color, sometimes white, sometimes gray, sometimes reddish, elsewhere again dark blue or black. I attribute this change of colors solely to time, as the rock itself is colored differently in places on the mountain than in others. Furthermore, the entire structure is mostly light blue in color. I brought everything to greater distinction with watercolor, life-size onto paper, in a way that it appears essentially.

Nothing remains of the ancient city of Persepolis except for some traces provided by the rocks indicating that buildings existed beyond the aforementioned wall's perimeter. The Persians believe, and their writings confirm, that the city was of extraordinary size and located in this plain, and that these plains are entirely remnants of the royal palace. As far as I could ascertain, it extended along the mountainside and then spread out into the plain. However, there is little to report beyond a few ruins, since only the exterior column south of the building and one gate or passage north can be found.

While I remained here, I enjoyed good weather for the most part; although occasional showers arose with dust, mist, and rain, during which times the road was unusable. Consequently, I had to postpone my departure for a few days and wait for better conditions. The cold also began to increase and froze the standing water. Nevertheless, I ventured out as soon as it was feasible and maintained the kitchen, providing myself with wood and camel dung for fuel. Indeed, if I had had company who had come to understand my inclinations, and were entrusted with a faithful guard, I would have taken refuge in a cave in the mountain, to avoid the daily journey back and forth. For this is how various Arabs provide themselves with shelter in their tents, having their livestock with them as they plow the land up to the walls of this building. Thus, these people often came to visit me while I was busy tracing these antiquities. The villagers also did so, along with the Kalantar or town chief; passing by for a few days during which no one appeared here. Even the smallest folk, if their road lay nearby, sometimes came with women and children to observe everything, even with their laden camels and other beasts, who could step up and down from the stairs as well as people. Thus, these people also took pleasure in examining these antiquities with far more zeal than the French writer Tavernier, who did not spare himself praise for having recorded that, during his time, forty-eight years ago, there were still twelve columns standing here, to which I would add Tavernier.

The village located nearby, named Mier-Chas-Koen, is quite large and provides a variety of goods, where one can find all kinds of food, as well as many fruits such as melons, grapes, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, walnuts, and more.

Besides the birds, about which I have spoken, I found four or five small fowl that hide themselves among these decaying buildings and in the mountains, and are recognizable by the sweet and pleasant sound they make. The largest has a tone like a nightingale. Some are mostly black, others have flattened heads and bodies, and are the size of a swallow. Others are somewhat smaller and vary in color. One finds them red, yellowish, gray, and almost white like a finch. I would have shot some to sketch them on paper. But the spirit that drove me to explore what I wanted to know prevailed. Occasionally, I also heard foxes, but they were so cautious that they remained out of range. ## Ancient Tombs of Naxi Rustan

The upper illustration presents a sweeping view of ancient tombs carved into imposing rock faces. Several monumental structures are visible, including one on the left featuring elaborate geometric patterns and rectangular openings, while others fade into the background along the cliffside. A few figures appear in the foreground, seemingly examining or working near the base of the cliffs.

Below, two scenes depict carvings discovered within the tombs. On the left, a relief portrays a mounted figure wearing a tall helmet and holding a staff, accompanied by attendants who seem to be assisting him. The right panel illustrates another scene where a man in similar attire presents an object—likely a ceremonial item—to a woman adorned with a crown and flowing robes.

1. Statues Among the Middle Tombs.

Statues Half Beneath the Earth. 169. ## Grafstedde te Naxi Rustan: Two Scenes on Horseback, Two Small Buildings

Two riders gallop across the landscape, their horses kicking up dust. The scene is vibrant with movement and energy.

Nearby, two small buildings stand in quiet contrast to the bustling activity. They appear simple yet sturdy, hinting at a life lived close to the land. ## Reisen: Ruins and Monuments

Approximately two hours from these dilapidated buildings lies a place called Naxi Ruftan. However, reaching it requires considerable detours, as a river flows through the land, necessitating passage over a bridge located at a distance. Furthermore, several small streams run through the fields. At this location, I found four statues of prominent individuals among the

ancient Persians, almost equally carved into the cliff face: access to them is difficult and requires being hoisted up with ropes. This place derives its name from Ruftan, who was depicted there after his death as an eternal memorial. It is said that he was a valiant prince of exceptional stature; indeed, one finds it recorded that he measured 40 cubits in length and lived for 1113 years.

These statue platforms extend steeply upwards from the base of the cliff, beginning approximately 18 feet below. With the eye, one can discern four times as high a rise above the rock face, yet still no higher than the structures themselves, which have a width of 60 feet in the middle. Beneath each is a separate area with various figures depicted in large relief sculptures: in two of these, one still sees traces of fighting horsemen. In the center, within three platforms, there are no sculptural works except for a man on horseback accompanied by two attendants. Behind him stood another figure that has decayed. In the place of the two latter structures, there are several figures; among them, three statues holding hands. One depicts a woman and is partially buried beneath the earth. Opposite the first tomb stands a square building with sides measuring 27 feet each. The height is slightly greater. On the north side, opposite the tomb, is an opening. The stones at the entrance are broken. I climbed up there with difficulty and found only a single square room inside. From the outside, there are four windows on both sides. Otherwise, it is generally filled with long, narrow holes. Sitting near this building to the south, I sketched the appearance of the entire structure as faithfully as possible, as seen in No. 166. In No. 167, one sees a detailed depiction of one of these statues.

The entire length of these burial platforms is 280 paces, with the aforementioned building at the first tomb being 60 paces away.

The statue of the man on horseback, found within the two central tombs in the fourth section, has his head in our style and a crown atop his head, above which rises a tall, round cap. His clothing is in the Roman fashion. He holds a straight spear, very wide at the side, grasping the grip with his right hand. His legs hang low from the horse. He holds the right hand with that of the standing statue before him. The third statue kneels on one knee before him, with open hands in a gesture of reverence or supplication. It is also dressed in Roman fashion. Behind the horse stood another statue; but it has decayed over time. I depict this in No. 168.

Near the third tomb, the three statues are almost half buried beneath the earth. Two of them hold hands with each other, or grasp something made in a circular shape. The statue standing in the middle depicts Ruftan in Roman clothing. His head is similar to the previous one, under which a filigree work appears, just like a crown. His head hangs loose and spreads out from above. The beard is considerable. He holds the grip of his spear with his right hand. The other statue depicts a woman, seemingly a beloved of

Ruftan. Her hair also hangs loose. She too is crowned. From that filigree emerges an elevated tuft, which can no longer be distinguished. With her right hand, she grasps a hanging garment. Furthermore, she is dressed as a Pallas. The third statue is a warrior who has a pointed cap with filigree work above his head. This cap is known among the ancients by the name of Tiara, specifically that type which is either folded forward or backward—the *Tiara reflexa*—in contrast to the *Tiararella* or *dirella*. These three types of tiaras can be found on various plates in our print reproductions. He grasps the grip of his spear with his right hand. What he held in his right hand is gone; all that I could discern is shown in No. 169.

In the next section, two broken statues on horseback are visible, appearing to be fighting with lances. One man has a cap like that of Ruftan; and behind him, something else seems to have existed. At the fifth, everything is broken. It appears that these were fighting statues on horseback. The last one is also broken: and one cannot discern any trace of two figures fighting on horseback. This entire work is from life-like ## Cornelis de Bruins

dige rots gehouwen, and sees strange out. At the corner of this mountain on the West side 230 steps from the tombs, two figures carved into the rock are visible; on the prominent side, two men on horseback, one grasping a ring with his hand. They say this is Alexander. The other, raising the ring with an open hand, is said to be Darius, signifying that he has relinquished his kingdom. This is what they explain. Others claim these men depict two aspiring princes or military commanders who, after having fruitlessly waged war against each other for some time, accepted a ring on condition that whoever possessed it would triumph over the other and the defeated party would submit.

But all of these accounts from the inhabitants are very uncertain, some also filled with falsehoods and improbabilities, as far as I am willing to ascertain.

The situation with the image of Ruffan is no better. For they claim he was a man 40 cubits long: yet one sees him depicted as an ordinary man, just as horses have their usual size.

Of the men holding the ring handle, one wears a round cap that is flat on top, from which some plumes appear. His clothing is in the old style. He carries a staff of command in his prominent hand. Behind his horse hangs something like a chain, beneath which something hangs that I could not distinguish. The other has this as well, and on his head a tall round cap, behind him also an image that stood above his head, now decayed. It undoubtedly depicts a seahorse tail, as we spoke of earlier. Otherwise, what can be discerned is detailed in No. 170. In the other section, lower to the right side, one sees a man appearing to emerge from within. He holds both hands before him on his sword hilt. The other figures,

three to the right and two to the prominent side, are only visible up to their chests, as they stand behind a wall. On the right side is another complete figure outside the wall, with hands folded over each other on his chest.

Around the corner of this mountain to the North 215 steps from the last mentioned spot, below on the rock of the mountain, are two small square structures built together like temples. They are 6 feet high and five feet wide on each side. On the South side one sees three steps, as indicated in No. 171.

From understanding the villagers, neither Ruffan nor many graffiti within the tombs were found to be of much use; a man agreed to accompany me with a rope to lift me up so that I could gain proper knowledge of the situation through this means. But upon arriving, I found the danger too apparent to venture on a cord that seemed to be controlled from an unknown location. Instead, I availed myself of another whom I happened to meet in this region and who was familiar with our language. Through intermediaries, the village leader went ahead, as he was quite capable of getting there alone, since it wasn't his first trip. Once up, he pulled the rope where another had been attached. This one also managed to control himself with hands and feet on the rocks so that he seemed to have succeeded in reaching the farmer and found himself in the first tomb on the West side, where it was possible to ascend. I remained below calling out to him everything. First, he took measurements of the first section of the rock, measuring 18 feet. Then he went 6 feet inward to the second section, maintaining the same height, and 7 feet further inside to walk. He found the width to be 53 feet: the entrance standing in the middle at a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and slightly narrower. The thickness of the rock measured 2 feet and 4 inches, being the thickness of the outer rock. Once you pass through here, directly in front of the entrance is a graffiti inscription lengthwise, and on each side in the same way another. Two of these graffiti are 11 feet long. The other tomb is 10 feet wide, with a width of 6, and a height of 5 feet. It stands approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the other. The circumference is entirely rock, where the ends of the beams are attached. Behind it, just beyond the rock, there is a space of one foot. The beams are carved out of the same rock, with which they stand united, except for the lid that still rests upon them: without being able to determine whether it ever opened. This lid has a thickness of one foot, on top of which a small notch has been cut. There is no ornamentation or craftsmanship on it. From the tomb located on the prominent side, a piece of stone has created an opening. However, it does not go completely through. The vault of these large tombs is 10 feet high from the ground, 12 deep, and 40 wide. I was told that there were nine beams in the second tomb, six in the third, and also nine in the fourth. Whether those

still exist, I do not know: as I can only attest to the first one. Further east towards a village located half an hour from here, one sees in the plain - ## Ruins of Persepolis

A column still stands in the mountains, with a gateway remaining as at *Persepolis*, according to the testimony of local inhabitants. It appears that there was once a large building here.

If I were now to offer an opinion on all these remnants of the ruins of Persepolis, I could not do so without reservation. For there is no trace of any superstructure to be found. Nor are there gateways or doors, windows, or cornices; otherwise, some construction would have been evident. However, I believe that a royal palace once stood here, not a temple. Nothing suggests otherwise; rather, everything indicates the existence of magnificent buildings. And it is likely that all these sculptures were placed there to increase splendor and delight. One cannot doubt that there were excellent entrance gates and grand galleries for passage from one chamber to another. The columns, richly carved in every way, must have supported these galleries; although some may have been erected solely for show, as the Book of Ezra testifies. The chambers must have numbered several, apparently specially designated for men and women. What remains also hints at a few royal studies. Finally, the rough remnants clearly indicate that extraordinary richness and abundance were involved in everything. It is easy to imagine what treasures were lost here, even though not a single piece of furniture has survived intact. Such is also the case when one considers the ruins of Greece, from which so many glorious monuments have been brought to light; and when one reflects on what can still be found in Rome, despite the destruction and sinking of most of that ancient city's accumulated treasures. The fate of this magnificent Palace of Persepolis was even worse—the jewel of all Persia—which owes its downfall and ruin to the drunkenness and overconfidence of Alexander, who set these buildings ablaze after having spared them with his weapons upon receiving the Persian courtesan Thais. What good did it do him that he later regretted such a wicked mood? If we believe Q. Curtius, the royal palace was lined with much cedarwood; of which trees no trace can now be found in this kingdom. Therefore, I would think that this wood was not of cedar but of cypress, whose name does not seem to differ so much from that of the cedar trees, as indeed the characteristics of these trees themselves do not. For the cypress trees are well-known in this kingdom, and the appearance and nature of true cedar trees is sufficiently familiar to me, as I have described the appearance and character of cedar trees on Mount Lebanon clearly in my first travel account. Nevertheless, they may have been subject to change as much as the buildings through the passage of time.

As for its location, it lies at 30° 40' North latitude in Asia, in the province of Fars, southeast of Isfahan and northeast of *Ziyara*, according to my daily observations both on land and water. This accuracy will generally be found throughout my description, along with the precise distances of places, for the improvement of many errors in maps and geographical descriptions.

The Persians claim that Persepolis was once known as *Ziyara* and then as Fars, either the province being named after the city or the city after the province. It is called Elymais in the first book of Maccabees, after a city from which it is reported that Antiochus, after Alexander's death, marched with a powerful army to plunder its great treasures; but he did not succeed. In the second book, it is also told how Antiochus was shamefully driven out of the city of Persepolis by its inhabitants. Thus, it clearly appears that this is the city which the Hebrews called Elymais. According to ancient Persian records, it fled from a King Shamshidi, who ruled the kingdom of Persia as emperor. They believe that he must have died 500 years ago. Without doubt, they refer to Cyrus, otherwise *Kurus*, who was the first and most important king of this kingdom—namely, the one in whom the Prophet Daniel was held in high esteem; and who, in the first year of his reign, freed the Jews who had been carried away to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar and restored their temple, as can be seen at the beginning of Ezra. They claim that this Shamshidi lived for 1000 years, during which time they also include his successors, who flourished until the arrival of Alexander, known to them under the name of Schandar or Schandar Su-alcarnain. This last name means that the Macedonian king had two horns, signifying his strength. Some scholars among them, as I later learned, call him

Location of the place.

Naming of Persepolis.

The Palace destroyed by Alexander. ## XL. CHAPTER.

Further Remarks Concerning Persepolis Compared with the Accounts of Ancient Writers.

I have found it expedient to include a more detailed discussion of this celebrated Palace of Persepolis in a separate chapter, so as to engage my reader's attention and convey their understanding of the subject, thereby elevating the matter somewhat: I shall also append here a further investigation into the name of the Persians, and a list of the ancient Kings of Persia, before proceeding to describe my subsequent travels.

It is certainly asserted by more recent Persian and Arabic writers that one of their heroes or kings, named Giamchid or Giemfschid or Zjemschid, founded the capital of Persia, which they call Ištachar, meaning "carved out of a rock," or Eftechar, fashioned

from stone. They add that this city was so vast that its circumference encompassed the city of Shiraz. The ruins of the castle in Eftechar, called by them Gibil or Tchilminar, are said to have been the Queen Homai, daughter of Bahaman; as they claim that the tomb itself was fashioned from Kifchtasb, son of the fifth king from the lineage of the Cajanids, named Loborab. The curious reader will surely find uncertainty in these accounts, mingled with incredible fables, and lacking any agreement with the ancient Greek or other sacred writers; little reliance can be placed on such depictions.

Given this situation, I believe—though deferring to the judgment of learned individuals—that the outward appearance of Chilménar, the entire layout, the markings of the construction, the statues and their garments, the griffins and other characteristics, all correspond with the customs of the ancient Persians and the description of that very famous court of Persepolis.

Diodorus Siculus, who is believed to have lived around the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, is the only one among all the ancient writers to leave us a sketch of this Persepulitan Palace, acquired by Alexander of Macedon from the monuments of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and others, long lost through time. For after stating that Alexander had given this μετρόπολις τῆς περσῶν βασιλείας—that is, the capital of the Persian kingdom, namely the right of all cities under the sun—to his Macedonians as plunder, he describes it later as a separate piece in the following manner: The remarkable fortress or royal palace is surrounded by a triple wall; the first being very expensively constructed, so that it reaches a height of fifty cubits and is provided with towers and battlements. The second is similar to the first in terms of workmanship, but twice as high. The third is square in shape, having fifty cubits in height, erected from hard stone for lasting durability. On each side are copper palisades and gates twenty cubits high, intended to inspire awe in those who behold them, and made to further secure the place. On the east side of the palace, after a distance of four acres, is a mountain called δεξιὰ βασιλέων—or Royal Mountain—where the burial places of the kings are located.

Here it should first be noted that, two thousand years having elapsed, Alexander the Great set this palace on fire; it is not surprising that the remaining ruins and remnants of the destroyed buildings do not entirely agree with the description of the entire structure.

1. *La Biblioth. Oriental.* by the word Eftechar page 327.
2. See *Ant. Bibl. Hiftor.* lib.XVII.p.m. ed. Henrici Steph. 599. feqq. & Wech. p. 543. feqq. ## Reisen: Observations on Persepolis

This account aligns with what Diodorus Siculus wrote. Considering the long passage of time and the significant changes that have occurred in the realm of Persia since Alexander's era, and how after his death his successors ruled as hereditary kings, how the Parthians conquered it, how the native Persians under Artaxerxes during the reign of Alexander Severus regained and governed it for a considerable period; and finally how Muhammad's lineage overwhelmed and brought the entire land and kingdom under its control—it is easy to believe that through countless wars, storms, earthquakes, and other calamities of the time, many structures of this magnificent building were destroyed or decayed, or covered with earth. Indeed, it is remarkable that even in our times, according to the description by Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa in his embassy to Persia (a), so many traces are found that correspond with the descriptions of Diodorus Siculus and other ancient writers, leaving little room for doubt—especially when one compares them to my own drawing, whether this Chilminar, Chilminar, or Xulminar is the true remnant of the famed Persian palace destroyed by Alexander.

Diodorus Siculus states at the place appended that four *bunders* (approximately 200 acres) from the Kafeel lie towards the east, where the royal burial grounds are found. The Spanish envoy in his description of Chilmenar recounts the same thing, except that the white chalk seems to differ slightly from what the Greek writer describes. However, although the Latin translator (which I mention in passing) believes that four *plethra* or *bunders* make 400 feet, it is likely that these were not common Roman or Greek feet. For while an unknown author cited by Salmafius (b) says that the Greek word πλέθρον meant a plot of land measuring one hundred feet in both length and width, it is worth noting that the royal foot used by the Greeks, called Philetaerus, was seventeen inches long. This is confirmed by Salmafius himself (c). The learned Lipfius judges that a *plethron* was not much less than a Roman *jugerum agri*, or a *bunder* of land reckoned according to Roman measure. He can be consulted on this in his treatise on the Roman war trade (d). Having considered all of this, I cannot help but conclude that my ordinary strides come at least close to the account of the aforementioned ancient writer. This serves as no small proof that the remnant of Chilminar must be the same as that of the Persian royal palace. And no other thought was held by the celebrated Ilaacus Voffius in his remarks on Pomponius Mela (e). Also, Ptolemy (f) Alexandriner, an ancient land surveyor, states that Persepolis was located at 33 degrees and 20 minutes north of the line. Strabo, Stephanus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others mention Persepolis but are silent about its location. Salmafius believes that Ptolemy and his copyist Ammianus spoke of Persepolis as if it still existed, in their opinion, because no remnants were found in their time, having burned both the city and the *kafeel* according to his view (g). And this was also Curtius's belief (b). It may be that the Romans and Greeks after Alexander's death visited Persia little, or that the writings of those

who recorded something about Persepolis later were lost along with many others; nevertheless, it appears from the first book of the (i) Maccabees and by Josephus (k) that at the time of Antiochus, called the Great, Persepolis, or according to the ancient Persian language Elimais, was known as a city; whether Alexander destroyed the entire royal court city, or whether it was partially rebuilt after its division. And to tell the truth, I see no reason why one should give less credence to the irregular books of Holy Scripture and the historian Josephus than to any one or another pagan writer, since it is well known and undeniable that the Jews were scattered everywhere after the Babylonian captivity, and some of them, even after Alexander's time, yes, I would dare say up to our times, lived in Persia.

However, all this is not yet conclusive proof from images and depictions.

1. 1. 1. Dial. 11. sub finem.
2. ad Melam. de situ orbis lib. iii. c. 8. pag. m. 379.
3. Vid. lib. vi. c. 4. sub finem p. m. 174.
4. Vid. lib. Exercitat. ad Solin. p. m. 1228. A.
5. lib. v. c. 23.
6. 1. 1. 1. 1. feqq. item. c. 9. y. 2.
7. lib. XII.
8. Vid. Bochart. Geogr. sacr. l. ii. c. 10. &c.

Continued of the note from Dio- dorus Si- culus. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Other hieroglyphic images of Tchilminar, suggesting it was an ancient Persian royal palace, indeed the one at Persepolis. I will briefly illustrate this further and confirm my assertion with the testimonies of writers who have mentioned it.

The dressing, found on the staircase, is half-Persian and half-Median. The clothing of the ancient Persians was made of leather, also bound with leather straps, as Herodotus (a) also mentions. However, this attire (a) changed considerably after Cyrus's time. It appears that during the reign of Xerxes, when he warred against the Greeks, the Persians were adorned with the same armor and clothing now seen on the statues on the stairs. They wore head coverings resembling a *tiara*. Around their bodies, they wore skirts made of iron plates, similar to the scale mail in a garment. Their trousers were tied at the shins. Instead of a shield, they carried a *gerra*, that is, several leather straps arranged like a shield. The Romans later called this type of equipment a Spanish shield. They also carried arrows shot from above their bodies, short javelins, large bows, and reeds for shooting. On their right side, at the hip, they had daggers in sheaths. This armor originates from the Medes. The Cissians, a people of Persia, wore miters instead of *tiaras* during the same period, as evidenced by Herodotus (b). The long, unpleated skirts were *Stolae Persicae*, as

reported by Caelius Rhodiginus (c). Now, when Cyrus became master of Asia, he introduced costly pleated robes for the greatest in the kingdom. For when he conquered Babylon and made his first sacrifice, he distributed Median clothing among the Persians. From that time onward, the Persians began to wear Median clothing, a fact provided by Xenophon (d).

The staircase where the statues are located provides the most important evidence that Tchilminar must have been the ancient Persepolitan royal palace. The attire and armor differing from those of later Persian times demonstrate that this staircase existed during the reign of the earliest Persian kings, even as far back as Xerxes the Great. Don Garcia de Silva Figuera, the Spanish envoy to King Abbas, depicts the entire structure of the staircase as a triumphal display, which however does not correspond with Persian customs. For Xenophon says (e) in clear words that after recounting Cyrus's sacrifice at Babylon, all the Persian kings, when appearing in public, followed Cyrus's style of dress, except when there was no sacrifice to be made or cattle were not brought. It is known that the Persians offered horses to the Sun and openly to the Moon; a practice also observed by the ancient Ethiopians. Specifically, horses represent the constancy of the sun's course, just as the moon is credited with agriculture. Further information on this topic can be found in Xenophon (f), Heliodorus (g), and Ludovicus Feburier (h).

However, since the staircase depicts not only horses and oxen but also camels, donkeys, and rams, I am inclined, despite the opinion of scholars, to believe that the entire structure of the staircase represents a royal birthday celebration. On such days, many horses, donkeys, camels, oxen, sheep, and fowl were brought as offerings and entirely roasted for the king's table. Athenaeus (i) elaborates extensively on this topic; we send the reader to him.

That there are people depicted in this procession wearing a *tiara* or crown signifies an ancient custom originating from Cyrus's time, when the most important men, known as *Æquales*, were permitted to appear with crowns on their heads at both sacrifices and feasts, because it was believed that offerings to the gods were more pleasing when the offerers appeared in their finest attire. Refer back to Xenophon (k).

The scales they are seen carrying are likely filled with all kinds of fragrant spices, especially myrrh, as the kings of Persia delighted in them so much that they even received them as gifts from their subjects; as evidenced by Athenaeus (l).

The common Spanish envoy boasts that the staircase depicts a leap, the image of

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
2. Xenof. l. c.
3. Heliod. Aeth. I. 10.

4. Lud. Feburier ed. Paris. 1629.
5. 1.4. pag. 145. & l. 12. p. 514, feqq. edit. H. Commelin. 1597.
6. Cyrop. I. 3. c. 22. &cc.
7. 1. 1. p. 514.
8. 1. 1. 1. 7r.
9. 1. 1. 1. 1. & feqq.
10. Left. antiq. I. 18. c. 29.
11. Cyropaed. I. S. c. 22. ## Reisen

Of a bull or ox is, yet more resembles the form of a horse or ass. But this is truly a hieroglyphic mark, or pictorial speech, by which strength is signified as overcome by virtue. For the ancient Persians and Egyptians concealed their greatest secrets under the ambiguous representation of cattle, as appears from Heliodorus.
(a)

Now, since all the last ones appear with horns that are not their own, we know from the accounts of the ancients that horns signify great power, even royal authority. Indeed, horns have also been attributed to the Sun and Moon. Yes, Alexander the Great was called Dhulkarnam or Two-Horned, as possessing the two horns of the Sun, the East and the West, over which he ruled.(b)

As for scales, justice has been held in very high esteem by the ancient Persians, as appears from Xenophon(c): so that scales, representing Justice, were carried before kings and other great men. This custom also came into use not only among the ancient Greeks but later also among the Romans.

The figures found in the two first portals depict a horse from behind. From the front, they also have the same appearance, but the head seems to swim towards that of an Ape. The tails are indeed different from those of a horse, but I believe this is due to the friezes, with which the ancient Persians adorned their horses. To resemble apes, they were called Sphinxes. And because a bird also bore the name of Sphinx among the ancients, the Greeks, and apparently also the Persians, sometimes depicted them with wings. They also contain, according to some natural philosophers, the power of the fleeting and vaporous.(d)

The sunshade is an ancient Persian custom, originating after Cyrus's time, and indeed, as far as can be observed from Xenophon(e), at the time of Artaxerxes, brother of Cyrus the Second. For under Cyrus the Great, the ancient Persians adhered to friezes and dressiness of manners, without ever arming themselves against the heat of the sun, or the harshness of the wind or weather: until Artaxerxes and his court surrendered to wine and pleasure. Then they were no longer content to seek shadows of trees or shelter in caves to escape the burning of the sun: but had sunshades necessary, and servants who carried them above their heads wherever they went.

The two figures armed with lances depict the *tunicae manticae*, or long Median pleated robes, which both the Medes and Persians, those called *baftati*, or pick-bearers, were accustomed to wear at the time of Cyrus and his successors. The headgear resembles helmets, or miters, as shown by Herodotus(f) in the place where he very clearly describes the clothing and armor of King Xerxes and the Greek army. Add Rhodiginus(g) here to have a complete knowledge of the matter.

The three figures, partly broken, one of which is adorned with a pleated Median robe, and a headgear commonly called *Tiara reflexa*, and the chin wrapped in a linen cloth, depict us a Persian priest. Thomas Hyde speaks of this in his history of the religion of the ancient Persians.(h)

The figure that goes forward and is laden with some offerings is a Persian foldate, of which we have spoken above. The figure that fights with the lion is dressed in Median clothing; but I consider it to be a hieroglyphic figure. Among the ancient Egyptians, from whom the Persians borrowed many things, the lion was a sign of strength and courage. See Clemens Alexandriner(i) for this. It might otherwise be an image of a fighting Mede or Persian, those peoples who sought their greatest amusement in fighting bulls, as (j) Xenophon testifies in his Education of Cyrus. The experts in antiquity are free to express their opinions and may make other interpretations.

On the portal architrave, which is half in the ground, one also sees Median clothing, as we said regarding the figure with the sunshade. On the window sill is again a Persian priest in Median clothing, having behind him a servant in ancient Persian clothing who carries a goat with a crooked horn for sacrifice. The figure is self-same, according to the custom of the ancients, who, when they wanted to signify some sacred mystery, depicted their offerings in various wondrous forms. Here one finds He-

1. 1. 1.
2. Vid. Abul-Pharai Dynaft. VI. pr. p.m. 96.
3. 1. 1. 1. 1. coll. I. I. c. 4. & 12.
4. 1. 1. 1. 1. & 55.
5. 1. 1. 1. 1. & feqq.
6. Lect. ant. l. 18. c. 21.
7. 1. 1. p. 369. Fig. 11.
8. 4 Hierogl.
9. 1.

1. **Cornelis de Bruins**

Heliodorus (a) meticulously describes: also found in Pignorius's description of the Table of Ises.

The gatehouse structure adorned with sculptures represents a royal hearing place, where the king sits on a high chair or throne and has a bench beneath his feet according to the ancient Persian manner. There is evidence of this in the book of (b) Esther and by (c) Xenophon. The first image behind the king is dressed in Median attire; the second in Persian clothing. The banners seen alongside them symbolize the power and unity of the realm. The figure standing before him, dressed in Persian garb, appears to be making a request. All other figures are guards who carry lances and shields in Median clothing, standing facing each other as if poised for battle.

On the gatehouse with its elaborate ornamentation, one sees another king or noble person depicted sitting on a chair in Median attire, wearing a diadem resembling a crown. For such head ornaments were worn not only by kings but also by others who were highly regarded by the king. Xenophon confirms this, to whom I now refer my reader. (d)

The lower sculptures seem both to embellish and to underpin the structure. Their clothing is in the style of ancient Persians. The gatehouse, from which one sees the lowest foundation stone, contains a similar depiction.

The tomb at Persepolis, carved from rock, depicts a king standing before an altar where the eternal fire burns—a practice held in such high esteem by the Persians that they even carried it with them on silver altars during wartime, as evidenced by the writings of Q. Curtius. (e)

Maintaining this fire and ensuring it never went out was entrusted to the Persian Magi, who would not allow it to extinguish unless a king had died, as Diodorus Siculus testifies. (f)

The king, or whoever we consider him to be, standing before the altar is clad in a Median long robe, being crowned, and holding a half-bent bow in his hand. I am all the less doubtful of this gesture of offering because it is known that Cambyses and Cyrus were not only kings but also Magi or wise men, whose work was to

Regarding the bow I have spoken of, it is well known that the ancients in their symbolic representations indicated a king over a certain land with a half-curved bow: and when they wished to signify a monarch of many lands, they depicted a bow curved around, holding the state in its embrace. See here Horus Apollo (b). From this, I believe that this bow held by the king signifies the King of Persia. However, if someone were to think that this is not a bow but rather an archer's bow, it still remains a mark belonging to the Persians, who distinguished themselves from others by wearing bows and arrows as a distinctive emblem. This also appears from the images on the stairs, which have a quiver on their backs.

The image above, which Thomas Hyde considers to be a flying royal body or a soul ascending to heaven, has the same garments and head ornaments as the lower royal figure. Strabo (i) recounts that the Persians, when sacrificing to the sun, did not burn the sacrificial animals but divided them among themselves, believing they could offer the souls of those who sacrificed themselves or the hands of the sacrificers to the gods. Nevertheless, I cannot shake off the notion that this might represent a trace of an oracle, since one sees the image sitting on a tripod, as is customary in Delphi and other places where oracles were given.

The figures on either side of the tomb are dressed in Median fashion; those who support the ornamentation stand with their hands raised high, in the Persian style.

The bull heads with horns are

Bows and arrows—marks of the Persians.

1. Aethiop. 1. 10.
2. Cap. 5. §. 1.
3. Xen. l. 7. c. 25 feqq.
4. 1. 1. 1. 12, 17, 22, 23 & 28.
5. 1. 1. 1. 1.
6. 1. 1.
7. 1. 1. 1. 1. & l. 8. c. 38. & alibi.
8. Nicolaii Hieroglyph. No. 56, 58, 60, 61.
9. Geogr. l. 15. p. 732 feqq. edit. Cafaub. ## Reisen.

Several traditions signify royal power or dominion, as we have already stated.

The sun, deity of the ancient Persians.

The sun above the altar is a mark of the ancient Persian deity, as evidenced by Strabo and Curtius.

Finally, the strongest reason to believe that Zilminar must have been the old royal palace in Persepolis is that these cemeteries are found east of the castle, formerly known as the Royal Mountain.

I doubt that the tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam were built by Darius, son of Hystaspes, since their external appearance entirely corresponds with the description of Ctesias in his Persian history (a) after Herodotus, and with that of Diodorus Siculus, as well.

The meaning of his words comes down to this: That Darius had a double

1. 1. excerpt. Phot. Segm. 15. feu. p. 642. op. Herodot. ed. Francof.

2. 1. 1. 1. 1.

XL I. CHAPTER.

Origin of the name of the Persians. History of the Persian Kings up to Alexander the Great.

Difference amongst the writers concerning the name and origin of the Persians.

REGARDING the naming conventions and true origin of the ancient Persians, there is considerable disagreement among most ancient writers. Herodotus recounts that the Persians were originally called by the Greeks *κυφεινς*, that is, Cephenees, after Cepheus, son of Belus, King of Assyria, and even amongst themselves, as well as by neighboring peoples, *Ἀρταῖοι*, that is, Arteans. This latter name, according to Stephanus' testimony, signifies heroes among the Persians. (c) However, when Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danaë, married Andromeda, a daughter of Cepheus, and from this union produced a son whom he named Perfes; and who succeeded his grandfather Cepheus in the kingdom, this people took the name of Perfes after the testimony of the same (d) writer. Although Strabo (e) does not consider the entire history of Perseus to be among fables, and warns us that the ancient Greek writers recounting the war of Cyrus with the Massagetae have produced little certainty from that nation, so that they have found little credence in their records concerning the old affairs of the Persians, Medes, and Syrians, as being credulous and inclined to invent and fabricate idle fictions. For noticing that the writers who deliberately composed fictitious tales were held in esteem, they imagined that their writings too would be favorably received if they presented things under the guise of a true story, even though they had never seen or heard them, but merely brought them forth from imagination. Indeed, one would believe Homer and Hesiod more when they speak of their heroes, or even the tragic poets, than Ctesias, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and others who have followed this path. (f) However, this is to be understood not in general, but with distinction concerning the old affairs of the Persians, and not of later times. For after the Persians brought the Greeks who inhabited Asia under their power, and waged severe and almost constant wars with the Europeans of that nation, they became very well known among them; as Strabo (g) abundantly testifies.

G

In ## Cornelis de Bruins

In the leaves of the (a) Old and New Testaments, the Persians are mentioned as Elam or Elamites. The Jews, particularly Josephus, clearly state that the Persians trace their lineage back to Elam,

son of Sem (b). I believe it is likely that this ancient name originated from there. It's worth noting that writers consistently group the Elamites or Elam with the Medes and even the Parthians, which is justified as they were neighboring peoples. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that Strabo identifies them as Elymai, (d) and Pliny, a European and Roman by birth (e), placed these populations, also called Elymai, in Persia.

However, this name of the Elamites appears to have largely changed into that of the Persians during the time of Cyrus. This latter name seems to derive from the Hebrew word *Paras*, or the Arabic *pharas*, which means a pair. Xenophon (f) shows that as early as then, the Persians kept horses for viewing, not only because the horses in Persia were difficult to maintain but also because they could not be used in mountainous terrain. However, after Cyrus conquered the King of Assyria along with his allies, he established an army of cavalry from among the Persians who served under him, as Xenophon recounts (g). From that time on, the Persians trained their children from the age of five to twenty-five in riding horses, shooting arrows, and speaking truthfully, as we believe according to Herodotus (b). Thus, the Arabic word *Pharis* also means a rider, and likewise a Persian, which was identified by the learned Bochart (i), a word that the Greeks later translated as πέρης, meaning Per- fèn. Consequently, neither Moses nor the writer of the books of Kings, nor Ephaiah, nor Jeremiah mentioned the name Persians, because, as stated, they were from a newer era; instead, they appear in the books of Ezekiel and Daniel, who lived during the time of Cyrus, also in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, who came after Cyrus's time.

Regarding the Kings who ruled in Persia before Cyrus, the accounts of ancient Greek and other writers differ greatly. Herodotus and most other prominent writers alternately believe that the Persian kings are descended from the aforementioned Perfeus, but they do not even agree on the order of his descendants. Herodotus (k) says that the Pafargadae constitute the main people among the Persians, where the origin and kinship of the Achemenids is found, from which the Kings of Persia sprang. Thus, Xerxes the Great, King of Persia, fled from an Achemenes to the account of Herodotus (l). And Stephanus (m) believes that he was a son of Egeus, father of Theseus and Medea; while another writer (n) argues that he was a son of Perfes, son of Perfeus and Andromeda. However, there is such a mixture of conflicting accounts among the Greeks as well as among contemporary Persians that nothing can be said with certainty. For the former contradict each other, and these make the first's account of their Kings, called Pifchad by them, so numerous that they included all the Kings of Assyria, Chaldea, Babylon, Media, and Persia, as Lord Herbolet (o) clearly shows. It is also likely that

all this confusion arose from the vague understanding of writers who did not well distinguish the various overlords of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and others.

Let us therefore state beforehand that the Assyrians, under Nimrod and his successors, were the first to occupy the supreme territory in Asia, and both the Medes and the Persians were under their power. This is testified by the most credible ancient Greek, Jewish, and Christian writers from one mouth. It is not necessary to prove this here with further evidence. It will suffice to show that Arbaces was a Median by birth, who after forcing Tonofconcoleros, known as Sardanapalus among the Greeks, to burn himself and his wives in his own palace, established the kingdom of Media. This is testified by Eule-

1. Isa. c. xi. v. 11. Jerem. c. xxv. v. 25. Aëtor. c. 11. v. 9.
2. Gen. x, 22.
3. 1. Ant. Judaëe. l. i. c. 7.
4. Lib. xi. p. m. 22. 24. lib. xv. pag. 732.
5. Lib. vi. Hift. Nat. c. 25. 26. 27. & 34.
6. Cyrop. l. i. c. 11.
7. 1. 1. 1. 15 feqq.
8. 1. 1. 1. 1.
9. Phaleg l. 4. c. 10. sub finem.
10. 1. 1. cap. 125.
11. 1. 1. cap. 11.
12. Sub voce Α'χεωνια.
13. Autor Etrmol. magni.
14. dans la Bibl. Oriental. p. 243. sub voce Ca- jumarath, & p. 703. sub voce Pifchad. ## Early Travels

Eusebius (a), drawing from ancient writers who have been lost due to the passage of time, confirms this with Diodorus Siculus (b). Athenaeus alone recounts (c) that Sardanapalus, having lost his kingdom, died at an advanced age and provides several inscriptions from him, including: "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxis, built Anchiale and Tarfus (two cities in Lesser Asia) on a single day. Eat, drink, play. All other things are not worth a farthing." However, the first opinion is generally followed; thus, Eusebius can be tentatively considered the first king of the Medes and Persians from their earliest origins.

I. ARBACES

Arbaces. For when Sardanapalus, the thirtieth king of Assyria after Ninus, or, as others claim, after Nimrod, had surrendered to vice, folly, and pleasure, this Arbaces, a wise and discerning man among the Medes, also commander-in-chief of the king's army, to whose service he marched with his troops to Nineveh annually, on the advice of Belesis, governor of Babylonians, who foretold him a favorable outcome, plotted a conspiracy against the king and gained supporters from the Medes, Babylonians, even the Persians and Arabians, promising them freedom. He then marched against Sardanapalus three times, repeatedly defeating him until finally he overwhelmed him while he was indulging in luxury and pleasure, unexpectedly attacking him within his palace and bringing him to such a state of distress that, as is said, he threw himself into the fire. The defection of the Bactrians also helped considerably. Thus, Sardanapalus being deprived of all life, Arbaces was proclaimed king by all the aforementioned peoples, as clearly seen in Diodorus Siculus (e) and Herodotus (f). And Eusebius (g) states that this occurred during the reign of Uphas, or, as he calls him, Ozias, King of Judah, and Pekah or Phaceas, King of Israel. He adds that Arbaces reigned for twenty-eight years, which Diodorus (b) denies, claiming his kingdom lasted only twenty-two years. However, one must note that according to Eusebius (i) all

II. MANDAUCE,

son of Arbaces. Diodorus testifies (l) Mandau- that he ruled Afe L. years. Eusebius does not mention him. But Diodorus has recorded and left for us the writings of the ancient Persians, collected by Ctesias during the reign of Artaxerxes Macrochir, which have long since been lost. Nothing is written about his deeds. He was succeeded in the office or government

III. SOSARMUS.

This name is given to him by Eusebius and Dio-Sofarmus. Both testify that he reigned for thirty years. According to (m) Diodorus, after him in the government followed

IV. ARTIAS or ARTYKAS.

Eusebius (n) calls this Medidus. Artias, little is found written about his deeds in history. The same Eusebius (o) says that he reigned for forty years, and Diodorus that he reigned for fifty years. The latter also testifies that he was succeeded in the realm by

V. ARBIANES.

It appears that this man reigned for twenty-two years, and this is whom Eusebius (p) calls Cardiceas, and says that he was thirteen years long the protectors of the Medes during the reign of Hezekiah and Manasseh, Kings of Judah.

The entire period from Arbaces to the final year of Arbianes amounts to 174 years according to Diodorus's reckoning, but only 111 years according to Eusebius, within which time he says (q) that the kingdom of the Chaldeans or Babylonians stood out above all others, although they also had their own kings. Whether the Persians during this time had their own kings or were under the rule of the Medes cannot be said with certainty.

Gg 2

the-

1. Chr.part.pr.p.m.23seq.&part.posterior. p.110 seq.edit.Scalig.
2. Lib.2.p.109.edit.Wechelien.
3. v.exlib.4.Citarchi de Alexandro.Deipnosoph. lib.12.p.m.430.
4. vid.l.12.p.m.529.feqq.
5. Lib.cit.p.110.ufq.ad.p.115.
6. Lib.1.c.95.
7. loco citato.
8. p.m.118.ed.Auber.f.Francof.
9. loco citato.
10. l.1.cap.96.
11. loco citato.
12. pag.119.
13. P.1.Chr.pag.25.Posterp.115

14. P.1.p.25.PII.pag.115.

15. P.1.pag.26.enPII.p.118.

16. v.Diod.Sic.p.174.Euseb.P.1,24.P.2.pag.111. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

dewyl men daer niets van aanteeke vindt. If it were true that they had their own rulers, however, the writings of the celebrated author show that until Cyrus they were under the power of the Medes, as the following will further demonstrate. After Ar-bianes came

VI. ARSAEUS.

Arfaeus. Others give him the name of ARTAEUS: a name which, as we have shown above from Stephanus, apparently meant a hero among the ancient Persians. This appears to be the same person whom Herodotus, Eusebius, and others call Dejoces. The former recounts (a) that he was the son of a certain Phraortes, and through his wisdom in speaking justly in the districts, gained such affection from his people that he was elected king by unanimous vote. Diodorus says that at the time of this king, the Medes fought a fierce war with the Cadufiers, an opportunity which, it is believed, was given to Parfodas, a Perfaen by birth. This man was greatly esteemed by all men because of his courage and skill, and also beloved and valued by the king, who placed his advice above that of others. But this very man, as human affairs are fickle, was offended by the king in a certain legal proceeding and fled with three thousand foot soldiers and one thousand cavalry to the Cadufiers, among whom his daughter had married one of their most prominent leaders. His defection also encouraged others who he had incited to join him. The king Artaeus met him with an army of eighty thousand men and completely defeated him, so that fifty thousand were killed and the rest driven back, although he himself only had twenty thousand men under his command. Through this luck, and display of courage, his esteem grew so much that the inhabitants elevated him to be their king. However, the hatred received from the Medes was so rooted in his heart that he made his successor swear that he would never abandon the hatred against the Medes, wishing that if he ever made peace with them, all his flight and all the Cadufiers might perish utterly. From that time on, the Cadufiers bore a constant hatred towards the Medes and never wanted to obey their kings until Cyrus transferred the monarchy to the Persians. (b)

This Arfaeus, Artaeus, or Dejoces was the first monarch over the Medes according to Herodotus' testimony. As soon as he became king, he appointed bodyguards around him, so that no one could appear before the king but, if they had something to say, would have it conveyed by an intermediary. He also ordered that no one

laugh or spit in the presence of the king, because this was abhorrent to all men, but especially to those who saw him daily and were associated with him, and should not become common with him, and be distinguished from others by the appearance of the king. (c). This manner of doing was later adopted by Cyrus as well, as can be seen in Xenophon (d). According to Herodotus' testimony (e), he practiced stricter justice and built many fortresses in Media, especially the capital Ecbatana; with which Eusebius (f) agrees. But Diodorus says that when Semiramis came to a plain in Media, she had a royal palace built on that spot, and that at the time of Arbaces it was the royal court of Media in Ecbatana. (g). This would seem to indicate that the city existed long before the time of Dejoces. However, this could also be explained by saying that Ecbatana may have been a city with a royal palace at the time of Semiramis, but not yet particularly large or surrounded by walls, and that Dejoces subsequently enlarged it, embellished it, and enclosed it with high and strong walls, as Herodotus describes so clearly. This Dejoces or Arfaeus reigned for forty years according to Diodorus (b), thirty-five years according to Herodotus (a), or four and fifty years according to Eusebius (k). He was succeeded in the kingdom by his son

VII. ATYNES OR PHRAORTES.

The first name is given by Diodorus (l). Atynes. However, Herodotus, Eusebius, and others call him Phraortes. The two former writers say that he reigned for twenty-two years: the latter alone (m) with some new accounts, that he possessed the kingdom for twenty-four years. They are silent about his deeds. Herodotus alone recounts that he conquered the Per-

1. vid. lib. cit. cap. 98, feqq.
2. Cyrop. I. 8, cap. 50.
3. vid. loc. cit.
4. P. I. chron. p. 27, & P. II. p. 119.
5. vid. lib. c. p. 101. Coll. p. 115.
6. 1. 1. p. 119.
7. 1. 1. cap. 102.
8. vid. l. c.
9. vid. l. c.
10. P. I. p. m. 27, & P. II. p. 121. ## VIII ARTIBARNAS, ASTIBARA, or CYAXARES

Artibarnas. During this time, the Parthians of Media seceded and submitted to the Saken, who had a queen named Zarina. This led to a long war between these two peoples until peace was finally established on the condition that each party would retain what they held and live in mutual friendship with one another. Diodorus states this at the place mentioned. However, Herodotus praises him for being the bravest of all his ancestors and the first of all rulers to divide the Assyrian provinces, distinguishing between

pike-carriers, riders, and archers, and bringing them into good order and military discipline, where previously everything was mixed and confused. He also recounts that this king waged war against the Lydians, and that on the day the battle took place, it became as dark as night; a darkness which Thales of Miletus, one of the Greek sages, is said to have predicted due to an eclipse of the sun.

The cause of this war was as follows: An uprising occurred among the Scythians, known by the ancients as Pecuarii, or Herdsmen, and a portion of them migrated to Media seeking refuge with Cyaxares. He not only welcomed these people but held them in such esteem that he entrusted them with the Median youths to teach them the Scythian language and the art of archery. This tribe was accustomed to much hunting and often brought down game, though sometimes they would miss their mark. It happened that when the king returned to them at a certain time, they mocked their missed shots. These barbarians, unable to understand the mockery, took it as a bitter insult and, in revenge, killed one of the youths entrusted to them, impaled him, and placed him before the king instead of game, thereby fleeing to Alyattes, King of Lydia, father of Croesus. This powerful ruler took them under his protection and refused to hand them over to Cyaxares, who, as soon as he learned how he was being treated, pursued them and demanded their surrender; upon refusal, declared war on Alyattes, which lasted five years. However, when this solar eclipse occurred, the kings were so alarmed that they made peace and ratified it through a marriage between Arya, daughter of Alyattes, and Astyages, son of Cyaxares. The same Cyaxares also, after having conquered all of Asia as far as the river Halys, subdued the Assyrians and captured Nineveh. Thus Eusebius recounts (c). But Herodotus says that when he desired to avenge his father's death, the Cimmerians, a people who lived in the Tauric Chersonesus near the Palus Maeotis, or Black Sea, now called Mare delle Zabache by our modern writers (d), were driven from Europe by the Scythians under their king Madyes and pursued into Media. The Medes, seeing them approach, wanted to drive them beyond the Caucasus Mountains, but they themselves were defeated, thereby losing the upper dominion of Asia, which their enemies then plundered and held in subjugation for 28 years. Eventually, however, the greater part of that people was slain by Cyaxares after being kindly received and made drunk. In this way, the Medes regained the upper dominion and conquered, besides the portion of Babylon, Nineveh along with all of Assyria. Finally, this king died after ruling for 40 years, as Herodotus (e) states, counting the 28 years of Scythian rule. Diodorus writes at the place mentioned that he reigned only for 14 years. However, it seems that he did not include the time of the aforementioned Scythian rule and gives him only 26 years; otherwise, adding this time to his account brings it into agreement with that of

Herodotus. Eusebius differs, stating that Cyaxares ruled for only 32 years; even if one were to add the two years he assigns to Phraortes, there would still be

Gg 3 40

1. vid. Herod. I. i. c. 73. feq.
2. P. II. Chron. p. m. 123.
3. 1. Strabo. lib. 2. p.m. 108, en lib. 11. p.m. 494.
4. I. i. c. 103. feqq. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Forty years elapsed before his successor emerged. He was followed by

IX. ASPADA or APANDA.

The Greeks called him *Aspadas* or *Aspigan*, according to the testimony of Diodorus (a), Ctesias (b), and Eusebius. The latter recounts (c) that he appeased Alyattes, King of Lydia, his father-in-law. However, the ancient Greek writers mention nothing beyond what has been recorded concerning him; they make no reference to him under Cyaxares, although most (despite differing in many details) agree that he was conquered by Cyrus and stripped of his kingdom.

Therefore, based on the testimony of the majority of renowned authors, this Aspadas was the last King of Media who also held dominion over the Perians. Ctesias states (d) that he did not exist in Cyrus's lineage. But Herodotus (e), Xenophon(f), Justinus (g), and many others assert that he was Cyrus' maternal grandfather. Only Xenophon differs from Herodotus and all the others, stating that Cyrus' father was King of Persia, and further claiming that Aspadas favored his daughter, Cyrus' mother, and attributed a son named Cyaxares to Aspadas, who, with the help of Cyrus and his Persians, brought the exiled King of Armenia back to power, defeated Crefus and the Assyrians along with their allies, and finally married Cyrus to the princess, whom they called Mandane, giving him Media as a bridal gift. (b). However, Cicero had long ago judged that Xenophon described the reign of Cyrus not so much according to the truth of history but rather to create an image of a well-ordered rule. (i) A view shared by Erasmus, Lipius, Joseph Scaliger, Gerardus Joannes Voffius, and most men of letters, with whom we largely concur. Only Scaliger seems to go too far, claiming that there is not even a true word to be found in the history of Cyrus as described by Xenophon, and that even the names besides those of Cyrus and a few others are fabricated. For it is unbelievable that Xenophon, such a celebrated pupil of Socrates and great horseman who himself served long in Persia, would have included any fabrications in his account; although we readily concede that he may have polished the history of Cyrus with his outstanding judgment, thereby giving the truth some

distortion. Similarly, Josephus, otherwise a credible writer, erred by holding the aforementioned Cyaxares, son of Aspadas, to be Darius Medus, from whom mention is found in the history of Daniel (l), stating that he seized the kingdom of Babylon with the help of his nephew Cyrus. (m) This view was also held by Johann Christian Wagenfeil. (n) Others, particularly Syncellus (o), record that Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon, ruled over the Medes and Persians, sometimes calling him Darius Medus and at other times Aspadas; thereby causing Marsham(p) to fabricate two Aspadas—one spoken of by Herodotus and Ctesias, and one mentioned by Xenophon. Jacob Ufferius also recounts that Cyrus, after conquering Babylon, ceded that kingdom to Darius Medus, otherwise called Cyaxares the second. (q). All these diverse accounts greatly deviate from the earliest writers, Berossus, Megasthenes, Herodotus, and others. Therefore, it is not surprising that even the new Persian writers speak so confusingly of their first kings. Nevertheless, some light can be shed with the help of Berossus and Megasthenes, whose long-lost writings have been preserved for us by Josephus and Eusebius concerning this very matter, if they are compared with Herodotus, Diodorus, and others. For it is evident from the words of Berossus, brought by Josephus (r), and also from those of Eusebius (s) that there must be a list made of the Kings of Babylon from Nabuchodonosor to the last one, as follows:

I. NABUCHODONOSOR,

who destroyed the temple in Jerusalem in the 18th year of his reign, as appears

1. lib. cit. p. 120.
2. in Perficis prim. segm. I.
3. P. I. Chron. p. 29. & P. II. p. 125
4. loc. cit.
5. 1. 1. 1. 107, seqq.
6. Cyrip. I. I. cap. I. seqq.
7. 1. I. cap. I.
8. vid. tor. tr. de Cyrip.
9. vid. Cic. I. I. Ep. I. segm. 8. ad Q. fratrem,
10. Anim. ad Euf. Thef. temp. p. 85.
11. Dan. cap. 6.

12. vid. l. x Ant. Jud. cap. 12.
13. in manifesta de LXX hebdom. Dan. pag. 4.
14. vid. Chronogr. p. 231.
15. vid. Can. Chr. sect. XVIII. p. 563, & 578 ed. Londin.
16. Vid. Annal. aetat. mund. vii. p. 82. Conf. Georg. Hornius
Adnotat. ad Sulpic. Severum. Hist. I. II. cap. 10.
17. 1. 1. contra. Appion.
18. Præparat. Evang. lib. IX, c. 40, seqq. ## II. EVILMERODACH
who, due to his injustices and uncontrolled desires, was murdered
by the conspirators led by his sister's husband, Niriglifloroos. He
was succeeded in the realm by

III. NIRIGLISSOROOROS, or NIRIGLISSARIS,

who, because his own son was too young—having won the kingdom through his daughter with Nabuchodonosor—took power and reigned for four years. After him came

IV. LABORO SOARCHODES,

son of Niriglifloroos and Nitocris, who, still a young man, held the kingdom for nine months but was murdered by his friends because he displayed bad manners and seemed to be of a wicked nature. This is whom Daniel calls Belfazar, or Baltbazar (c). After his death, the perpetrators of this murder came together and, with general consent, chose

V. NABONIDUS,

whom Berofus says was a Babylonian and one of the cursed lineage. Megathenes also calls him *Μήδης* or Medus, and τὸ Ἀσσύριον αὐχμα, or Glory of Assyria, and King Nabannidochus. Now, this Nabonidus and Darius Medus, whom Daniel mentions (e), were one and the same; this is evident from the agreement among the aforementioned writers. For in Daniel (f) Belfazar is baptized, and then Darius the Mede receives the kingdom. This is also recounted by Berofus and Megathenes: these writers state that Nabonidus was the last king of Babel, who was conquered by Cyrus and succeeded by him. Thus, according to Daniel, follows Darius in the realm of Cores or Cyrus, King of Persia. Abul-

Pharajius, an Armenian by birth, recounts, as already mentioned (g), from ancient Eastern writers, that Beltaschafar—whom he considered a son of Bochtanfaris or Nebuchadnezzar—was deprived of power when he had received and understood the vision through the prophet Daniel by Darius the Mede. And then he says (b) that this Darius was called Nabonides by the Greeks, that he was the last of the Chaldeans, that after him the kingdom came to the Persians, and that he held Daniel the prophet in great honor. Nor does Sulpicius Severus say anything different on the cited passage, with whom many other writers agree.

It may be that before he obtained the crown, he was called Darius Medus, as Scaliger judges (i); or that Nabonidus, according to Berofus and Megathenes, means as much as Darius: there is no dispute that he was of Median descent, but nevertheless not a king of Media, as Scaliger shows (k). Nevertheless, it can be clearly proven from the historians that neither Aftya nor his descendants could have been this Darius Medus, because he had already fallen into Cyrus's hands before warring against the King of Babel, as will appear later: nor also Cyaxares, the son of Aftya, because all ancient Greek writers—Xenophon excepted—testify that Aftya did not have a male heir; this is clearly seen in Herodotus (l), Diodorus (m), and others. Therefore, it is safest to adhere to the account of Herodotus. He states plainly that Aftya, the last king of Media and Persia, having produced a daughter whom he named Mandane, dreamed that he saw her watering with such force that the water she released not only flooded his head covering but also swept away all of Aftia itself. Upon awakening, he revealed this fright to his Magi or (n) Wise Men, upon whose advice he married her to Cambyfes, a Persian born, who was of good lineage but considered less than a prominent Median.

Therefore, there is no doubt that Cambyfes was the father of Cyrus, a notable man among the Persians and son of Cyrus, sprung from the loins of the aforementioned Achemenes; as this too is confirmed by (o) Herodotus. But because the Persians were under the power of the Medes, it is easy to understand that even the most prominent lords of that nation had to submit to their rulers, even if they were not so highly esteemed by birth. However, this point is of little importance. It should only be noted that scholars are of the opinion that Cyrus was called in the oracle by (p) Eusebius the Persian mule-mule, because he was from a Per-

1. Jerem. c. 52. § 12.
2. loc. cit. c. 4c. sub finem.
3. vid. Jof. Scal. ad Euseb. loc. citato.
4. 1. 1. cap. 41.

5. cap. 6. vf. 1.
6. cap. 5. vf. 30.
7. Hift. Dyn. Dyn. IV. sub fin. pag. 70.
8. Dynastia feqq. pag. 80.
9. Jof. Scaliger de Eth. Temp. I. VI. Part.2, de duab. quaest. Dan. p. 581. feqq.
10. 1. 1. ex cap. 10. Dan.
11. 1. 1. cap. 109.
12. Diod. Sicul. loco citato.
13. vid. Herodot. I. cit. c. 107.
14. l.c. cap. 111. sub fin. coll. 1.3, cap.65.
15. lib. cit. 9. pr. Euang. c. 41. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Tale

der, and a Medical mother had been raised. (a) It is further related that Aftyages, having married the aforementioned daughter for a second time, had another dream. He saw that from her son's belly would spring forth a vineyard whose vines covered all of Asia. Upon this, he was warned by his wise men that this signified that his daughter's descendants would rule over Asia in his place, being summoned from Perfie to Media while pregnant and awaited at her side to suckle the fruit she would bring into the world. She bore a son named Cyrus. The king took this child away from his mother's arms and entrusted him to his favorite Harpagus, ordering him to kill him. But fearing to incur the mother's hatred upon himself, he entrusted the execution of the king's command to Mithradates, the keeper of the cattle. While this man was deliberating over this matter, it happened, whether by chance or design, that his wife gave birth to a dead son. Seeing her husband come home with Cambyfes and Mandane's child, she went to him and urged him to raise this child as if he were her own, and to present the dead child to his lord in place of Cyrus. The man consented; he brought the dead child to Harpagus, from whom it was buried for Cyrus.

This deception remained hidden for a long time, but was eventually discovered in this way. At a certain time, when the children were playing together—among them Cyrus—he was chosen king. He punished Artembaris, son of a Median nobleman, because he would not obey him, and treated him as a slave. The father of the child, deeply offended by this, brought his complaint to the king, showing how unworthy the son of a cattle keeper's favorite was of such treatment. The satrap offered the childish king, along with his accustomed father, and questioned him sharply about his actions. But Cyrus gave him an answer more

spirited than one might expect from a common youth. "All that I have done, my lord King," he said, "has been justly done by me. All my playmates—including this one—chose me as their king. I took up the kingdom, and they all obeyed me. He alone refused to obey my commands, and therefore deserved the punishment he received. If anyone is worthy of punishment now, see me before you." The king considered this bold answer and saw something in his features that resembled his daughter's, so he sharply questioned the cattle keeper, summoned Harpagus, and uncovered the deception.

Thus having come to know the secret of this matter, the king acted as if he were not displeased and was content with this adventurous preservation of Cyrus. He then gave Harpagus leave to depart and ordered his only son, about thirteen years old, to be brought to court to keep Cyrus company, commanding him also to appear at the thankoffering feast that one was obliged to hold in honor of the gods by whose providence Cyrus had been preserved. Harpagus, suspecting nothing evil, sent his son and appeared to participate in the offering feast. But the king, brooding revenge in his heart, ordered the boy to be killed and cut into pieces, and a portion of these to be cooked and roasted, and presented to the father at the meal, while other meat was offered to the king and the invited guests. Harpagus ate from it unknowingly and, being satisfied, was questioned by the king whether the food had pleased him. When he declared that he had eaten with pleasure, the king gave a signal to one of his servants. Upon this, the head, hands, and feet of the slain boy were brought in a covered dish, and Harpagus discovered what he had been eating. Doing so, he found the sad remains of his son. But he bit back his grief with steadfast patience, so that when asked if he recognized anything from what he had eaten, he replied yes, and that the king's will was his own. Upon this, he departed to his house with the remaining pieces, pretending to go bury them. In such a bitter way the king satisfied his thirst for revenge.

Nevertheless still unappeased by Cyrus, he summoned the wise men again, desiring to know their opinions regarding Cyrus and the state of his kingdom. They replied that since Cyrus had already been ranked among his equals and had ruled justly as king, the king's dream was now fulfilled, and there was nothing more to fear on that account. Approving of their explanation and inclining himself to these thoughts, he summoned Cyrus to him and addressed him kindly,

1. 1. Her. I. c. cap. 55 & 91. ## Reizen.

Aen, verhaalde hem kortelyk zyn afkomst, en zond hem naer Perfie aan zyne ouderen, die hem, dien ze dus langh doot gewaent hadden, met vele teederheid ontvingen, en van hem begeerde te weten op welk een wyze hy zoo wonderlyk in't leven gebleven was. Hy verhaelde hun hier op, dat hy noit anders gedagt hadt, of

hy ware geweest de zoon van Aftyages Veehoeder, maar dat hy op den wegh beter onderrecht was: dat de huisvrouw des Veehoeders, genaemt Cyno, hem opgevoedt hadt, en dat hy haar daer voor eeuwigen dank schuldigh was.

Het is waerschyndlyk dat de ouders van Cyrus dezen naam van Cyrus, die in 't Perfaensch een hondt of teef betekent, tot hun voordeel opgevat, en om hunnen zoon den Perfanen aengenamer te maken, uitgefroit zullen hebben, dat Cyrus, te vondelingh gelegd zynde, van een hond gezocht is. Hoedanigh het ook van Herodoot (a), Jufinus (b), en Valerius Maximus (c) verhaelt wort.

Dogh ontrent het oeffenen en opvoeden van Cyrus is groot verschil onder de Schryvers. Xenofon verhaelt dat hy nogh jongh van jaren by zynen Grootvader Aftyages in Medie, en naderhand by zynen vader Cambyses in Perfie onderwezen is geweest in al wat dienen kon tot leeren van deugt, gerechtigheid en dapperheid (d). Atheneus (e) vertelt uit Dinon, eenen Schryver, wiens boeken langh verloren zyn geweest, dat Cyrus, eer hy naer Perfie gezonden wiert, een der genen geweest is, die den Koningh Aftyages den staf, even als de Roomse Gerechtsdieners, plagten voor te dragen; en naderhand onder de lyfwachten gediend heeft, tot dat hy eindelyk naer Perfie gezonden is. Dat ook Aftyages, als Cyrus nu vertrokken was, een gaftmael aengerecht, en daer by geroepen had zekeren Angares, eenen zyner voornaemste Zangmeesteren, die onderandere liedtjes in het zingen zich had laten hooren: dat een afgrysfelyk beeft in de moeraffen gezonden wiert; een beeft nogh gruwzamer dan een wilde beer; dat dit over zyne landen beefschien, en met weinigh volk tegen veelen fryden zoude. Dees van den Koning gevraagd zynde, wie dit beeft was, zoude Cyrus genoemt hebben. Waer op Aftyages hem geloof gevende, Cyrus te rugh ontboden hadt, doch vergeefs. Maar beide deze verhalen fryden regelrecht tegen het reeds verhaalde uit Herodotus, Jufinus den verkorter van Trogus Pompejus, en andere Schryveren, die by de geleerden het meefte geloof verdienen. Want geen

van hun alle ontkennt, dat Aftyages Cyrus, als hy maer even geboren was, heeft willen ombrengen, en dat hy buiten zyn weten wonderlyk bewaert is, totdat hy tien jaren out geworden is. Waer uit volgt dat Cyrus by zynen Grootvader niet opgevoedt is. Even weinigh waerschyndlyk is het dat Aftyages zyn dogters zoon in diergelyke bedieningen, als Dinon wil, zoude gebruikt hebben, gelyk ook zeker is dat dit verhael geene betrekkingh ter werrelt op de jaren van Cyrus kan hebben. Wy houden het dan met Herodoot (f) verhalende dat Cyrus zyne manlyke jaren by zynen ouders in Perfie bereikt hebbende, onder alle zyne tydtgenooten de manlyxte, dapperite, en beminlykste geworden was; dat ook Xenofon (g) getuigt.

Ondertuffchen had Harpagus zynen haet tot den Koningh en begeerte van wraak over den moort zyns zoons geveinfdeylik verborgen tot dat Cyrus zyne manlyke jaren bereikt hadde. Deze tydt was nu gekomen, en gaf hem de gelegenheid van zich te wreken in handen. Waer by nogh tot zyn voordeel quam dat Aftyages zich zeer hart en ftrengh tegen zynen onderdanen droogh, dat niet alleen van Herodoot, maar ook van eenen Nicolaus in zyne Aenspraak aan de oproerige gemeente van Syracufe by Diodorus (b) getuigt wort.

Deze gelegenheid nam Harpagus dan waer, en kreeg de voornaemste Meden op zyn zyde, om Aftyages van den troon te ftooten, en Cyrus in zyne plaats te zetten. Dit voornemen wilde hy Cyrus zeer gaerde bekend maken, doch wift, omdat de toegangen van Medie naer Perfie naukeurigh bewaert werden, geen beter middel hier toe te vinden dan dit. Hy schreef eenen brief aan Cyrus, waer in hy hem vertoonde, hoe Aftyages getracht had hem pas geboren zynde, te doden, en hoe hy van den Koningh gelaft zelf dien moort te bedryven, hem aan den veehoeder des Konings had overgegeven, door wiens hulpe hy wonderbaerlyk in 't leven behouden was. Hy voegde daer by hoe hy hier door des Konings gramfchap op zynen hals gehaelt had, en van zynen eenigen zoon berooft was geworden. Vorders vermaande hy hem tot het nemen van wraak over Aftyages, waer toe hy de Perfen tot afval bewegen, en uit hun een leger moest zien op de been te brengen, om tegen de Meden op te trekken. Wat hem belangde, dat hy, wan-neer Aftyages zyne legerbenden tegen Cyrus uitzenden, en hem of een ander Kryghshoof het bewint daer over geven zou, zekerlyk tot hem overkomen, en van

1. 1. 1. cap. 108. feqq. ufque. ad. c. 123.

2. 1. 1. cap. 4. feq.

3. 1. 1. 1. 1.

4. Xen. de Cyriped. l. i. t.

5. Deipn. l. 14. p. m. 653.

6. 1. 1. 1. 1.

7. 1. cit.

8. 1. 1. p. 342. ## Cornelis de Bruins

To escape from falling into disgrace, he ordered a sealed letter to be sent. He entrusted it to a traveling merchant, hid the letter within, and instructed him to find Cyrus and request that he open the letter alone, without anyone else knowing.

Having read the letter, Cyrus considered how best to proceed. And in his contemplation (as Justin relates) (a) he was awakened by a dream, foretelling that he would choose someone on the morning of the following day as his helper and companion in this endeavor. Cyrus awoke and, rising early the next morning, traveled inland and encountered a man from Media named Sybaris, Oebares, or

Soebares, who claimed to be Persian by birth. He freed him from his shackles and brought him to Persepolis. Then Cyrus summoned the people and informed them that Aftyages had appointed him as leader over the Persians: therefore, he requested they appear before him with honor and gifts. Having given this command, he ordered a portion of land approximately 18 or 20 feet long to be cut off each day for a period of time. When they had completed this task, he commanded them again the following day to appear before him, dressed finely and proudly. Upon their arrival, he greeted them with lavish hospitality, offering meat from his father's flocks and abundant wine. After being so welcomed and experiencing such wonder, Cyrus asked what had pleased them most – the previous day's treatment or that of this day. When they responded in unison that this day of welcome and entertainment was far superior to the day on which they had performed such arduous labor, he said that if they wished to enjoy such days always, they should follow him; otherwise, as subjects of the Medes, they would forever be enslaved and forced to work. With these words, he ignited their desire to rebel against the Medes and to gain freedom under his rule. All this is confirmed by ancient writers (b).

It is likely that these events and occurrences did not unfold quite so smoothly as the aforementioned writers relate, but rather that a considerable period of time must have elapsed between them.

Why Joseph Scaliger (c) believes that Cyrus reigned over the Persians for several years before conquering Aftyages—a detail omitted by Eusebius—remains unclear. It is certainly evident from Herodotus (d) that Cyrus must have made substantial preparations for war, so significant that news of his efforts eventually reached Aftyages, prompting him to send an envoy and summon Cyrus to himself. But Cyrus replied that he would arrive sooner than would please Aftyages.

Seeing no other recourse, Aftyages armed his army and marched against Cyrus, appointing Harpagus as governor over the campaign—without considering how much grief he was inflicting upon him. Harpagus then secured command of all his troops and defected to Cyrus, after which the others, unaware of the defection, were easily overcome.

Upon hearing this news, Aftyages became enraged and had executed all the advisors who had urged him to send Cyrus to Persia. He armed young and old and marched with numerous supporting forces himself toward Persia. There was a fierce battle, and in order to ensure his victory, Aftyages sent additional troops forward, threatening that if they did not fight, they would be destroyed both by their pursuers and by the enemy. This necessity for peace instilled an incredible courage in the Medes, allowing the Persians to flee toward the city. But their mothers and wives intercepted them, raising their garments and asking whether they

intended to hide within the wombs of their mothers or wives. Ashamed by this reproach, they resumed the fight with renewed vigor, overwhelming their enemies and capturing Aftayages himself (e). Plutarch (f) recounts that Cyrus then enacted a law stipulating that each woman would receive a gold coin whenever a king made his entry into the city.

Whether the city of Persepolis should be considered here cannot be stated with certainty, as it is not mentioned by either Plutarch or Trogus, nor by Justin—although it otherwise...

1. de Em. temp. in Fragm. p. 42.
2. cap. 128.
3. Her. & Justin. I. c.
4. de Virt. mul. c. 9 sen. T. II. op. Edit. Francof., Aubrior. p. 247.
5. 1. 1. 1. 6 aliter hoc somnium memorat Cicero I. r. de Divin.
6. Herod. I. c. c. 123. feqq. ufq. ad cap. 128. Justin I. c. c. 6 ##
Reisen

It is not entirely improbable. For Cyrus conquered the King Aftayages in the interior plains of Persia, where the bravest of that nation, called Pafargadae, and among them the Achemaidēs, reside; and built a city and a royal palace, named Pafargadae, on that very place as a memorial, as **Strabo** (a) and **Stephanus** (b) testify. This place was not far from Persepolis, which can be measured from here, noting that the city of Strabo and Ptolemy and others is placed in the plains of the Pafargaden, through which a river, formerly called *Agradatus*, and later Cyrus, after the name of this great monarch, flows; but it differs from the great river Cyrus, which falls into the Caspian Sea (c). Near this very city of Pafargadae, Cyrus was also buried, his tomb still visible in the time of **Alexander the Great**, bearing this inscription: "O mortal, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, King of Asia, who conquered and ruled over the Persians; treat my burial place with respect." It is also very likely that this Pafargada was located where **Shiraz** is now found, and the river *Brendamir* is the same as the aforementioned stream Cyrus: which is clearly indicated by **Don Garcia de Silva**, (e) Spanish Envoy to **Shah Abbas**, and **Isaacus Voffius** (f). Indeed, the former says (g) that even in his time, signs of Cyrus's tomb were still to be found near Shiraz.

Whatever may be the case, it is certain that at this place the Median rule over Asia ended with Aftayages, thirty-five years after Herodotus's (b) or thirty-eight years after Eusebius's reckoning, and the Persian rule began. The writers agree on this point that Cyrus treated his grandfather Aftayages kindly, despite being mocked by Harpagus. And they differ only in the circumstances. For Herodotus recounts that Cyrus kept Aftayages with him as long

as he lived. Justin says that he exiled him to the Hyrcanians, a very large people, because he himself had no desire to return to Media. Ctefias says that Cyrus honored him as a father and married his daughter **Amytis**, widow of Spitamas (i). But that woman must have been quite advanced in years by then, so we give credence to the judgment of Xenophon (k). Finally, Ctefias (l) believes that Aftyages was left alone in a hunting lodge by Petifas, one of Cyrus's freedmen, at the behest of Oebars or Sebares, as he would fetch him from Persia to Media; where he died of hunger and thirst. However, Scaliger thinks (m) that he was killed in the fourth year of Cyrus's kingdom, which is the same year he was conquered.

Now I will follow with the Persian kings who are descended from their own land.

I. CYRUS

In the sacred writings, this prince Cyrus is called Cores (n). Plutarch says that the Persians call Cyrus the Sun, and that this monarch received his name from it. (o) He subdued the Medes, conquered Crefus, King of Lydia, along with his allies, captured Sardes, their capital, and took him prisoner himself. It is recounted that when he saw his son, who was mute, realize that a certain soldier in the siege of the city intended to kill his father, he regained his speech. Cyrus, however, did not want to spare him but had him bound on a wooden stake to be burned alive. The unfortunate king, brought into this plight, cried out three times, "O Solon, Solon!" When Cyrus inquired about the meaning of this cry, and he answered that it was in remembrance of Solon, who had often told him while sitting in his full glory that no one could be called happy before his death, he not only freed him from the stake but honored him, sometimes seeking his advice, and allowed him to live in Baren, a small town not far from Ecbatana, in a state almost royal. (p) After now conquering Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and other regions himself or through his lieutenants, he marched towards Babylon and besieged that city. The King **Darius Medus**, or Nabonidus, of whom we have spoken before,

(a) lib. XV. p. m.

730. (b) ex

Diotini l.65. sub

vore

μυσαγγάδιτ. (c)

v. Strab. I.

c. p. 729. Conf.

Salm. ad C.

Jul. Solin. Polyh.

p. 1201. feqq.

(d) v. Strab. l.

cit. Arrian. de
 exp. Alex. Magn.
 l. 6, sub fin.
 p.m. 144.
 ed. Henr.
 Stephani &c. (e)
 p. 118 de
 l'Ambassade. (f)
 ad Pompei. Mel.
 de Situ Orb. l.3.
 c. 8. (g) pag.
 129. feq. (h) l.
 c. c. 150. (i) vid.
 Exc. fegm. 2. (k)
 l. 8. Cyrip. c. 39.
 (l) l. c. fegm. 5.
 (m) l. c. in
 proleg. p. 35. (n)
 2 Paral. c.6. v.
 22. Efd r. c.1. v.
 1. Dan. c.10. v.1.
 (o) In Artax.
 cap. l. T. l. op.
 p.m. 1012. (p)
 Herod. l.c. c.85.
 feqq. ufque ad c.
 91, itemc. 155,
 156, 207. conf.
 Xen. l.7. Cyrip.
 Ctefias fegm. 4.
 Justin. l. c. cap.7
 &c. ## The Life
 and Death of
 Cornelius de
 Bruins

Cornelis de
 Bruins fled with
 a few others to
 the city of
 Borsippe, where
 he was
 besieged.
 However,
 unwilling to wait
 for violence, he
 presented
 himself before
 Cyrus and
 surrendered to
 him, receiving
 freedom to

reside in
Carmania, as
recounted by
the oldest
writers Berossus
and
Megasthenes by
Josephus and
Eusebius.
Herodotus calls
this king of
Babylon
Labynthos (a),
and then
recounts that
Cyrus, having
crossed the
Euphrates,
forced his
Persians
through the
water, which
only reached
their hips, into
the city, so vast
and large that
those living in
its center did
not learn until
the following
day that they
had fallen into
the enemy's
hands. (b) This
conquest
occurred after
21 years, at the
beginning of the
22nd year that
Cyrus ruled over
the Persians and
Medes; which in
sacred scripture
(c) is notably
called the first
year of the reign
of Darius, namely
over the
Babylonian
Empire, because
he granted the
Jews under

Zerubbabel and
Ezra freedom to
return to their
land and rebuild
their temple,
and restored all
the consecrated
vessels that
Nebuchadnezzar
had carried to
Babylon. (d)
Nothing seems
more
noteworthy here
than Abul
Pharajus giving
a reason why
Cyrus allowed
the Jews to
return to their
land, which I do
not know if it is
found with
anyone of the
Jewish or other
writers. Namely,
that Cyrus had
married the
daughter of
Salathiel, sister
of Zerubbabel,
and having been
captivated by
her love, he
granted at her
request that all
who wished
might go to
Jerusalem. (e)
How he came to
this information
is unknown to
us, yet it is
certain that
through this
permission from
Cyrus the
prophecy of
Efaïas (f) was
fulfilled; it being
worthy of note
that the Holy

Spirit in that prophecy of Efaïas, which according to Josephus' testimony was written two hundred and ten years previously, mentioned the name of Cyrus or Core. Furthermore, the book of Daniel shows that he saw Cyrus there and at that very time was placed in Zufa; demonstrating this, among other writers, also Josef Scaliger. (g) For from Herodotus and others it is clear enough that after conquering Babylon, Cyrus subjected not only what belonged to the Persian but also what belonged to the Babylonian territory. But that he ascended to India and killed the king of that land, as the aforementioned Abul Pharajus recounts, or merely fled with seven thousand men from there, as Nearchus would have it, is

contradicted by
Strabo through
Megafthenes,
who points out
that no troops
ever came from
India to the
outside world,
nor any from the
outside world to
India.

Regarding the
death of Cyrus,
the writers also
greatly disagree
among
themselves.

Ctesias recounts
that while
fighting against
the Derbices, a
people living on
the Calipian Sea
towards the
East, and their
allies the
Indians, who
came into battle
with their
elephants, he
fell from his
horse and was
mortally
wounded by an
Indian above his
hip.

Nevertheless,
after having
conquered his
enemies
beforehand, and
raising up his
still-living
friends, he
declared his
eldest son
Cambyses as his
successor to the
kingdom, and
his youngest
Tanyoxares as

ruler of Bactria,
Choramnia,
Parthen, and
Carnmanners.

(i) Xenophon
recounts that he
died on his bed
after having
earnestly
exhorted his two
sons with a
powerful reason
to fear God,
peace, and
unity,
recommending
the eldest the
kingdom, and
the youngest
Tanaoxares the
governance of
Media, Armenia,
and Cadufie, by
external will. (k)
Herodotus and
Justin tell that
he held himself
as if retreating
against Tomyris,
or Tamyris,
Queen of the
Massagetae,
leaving in his
supposed
retreat a great
store of wine
and food. And
when one-third
of the army of
the Massagetae,
under the
leadership of
Spargapises,
son of Tamyris,
came to the
place where all
this food and
drink was, they
indulged so
much therein
that all the
fighting force

fell prostrate
from the drink,
killing a great
multitude of
them, and
taking captive
the queen's son.
Tomyris,
learning of this,
sent Cyrus a
message...

(a) 1 c. cap. 74.
188. (b) Conf.
Xenoph. l. 7.
Cyrp. cap. 23.
feqq. Jof. Scalig.
1. c. in fragm.
p. 21. (c) 2
Paralip. 36.
Efrd. c. I &c. (d)
Efrd. r. c. 1.
Conf. Joseph. l.
t. Ant. Judaic.
cap. r. Clem.
Alexandrinus
from. 1. I.
Scaliger 1. c. in
proleg. p. II.
Dion. Petav.
ration. tempor.
part. 1. l. 2. cap.
9. (e) v. Dyn.v.p.
82.Arab.text.&p.
53.verfin.Latin.
c.45. Y. I. feq.
Jerem. 25.Y.II.
feq. &c.29. Y 10
feq. (g) l. c. in
proleg. pag. 37.
(b) 1. xv. p. m.
686. (i) v. I.
c. fragment. 7 &
8. (k) 1. 8. Cyrp.
c. 46. feq. ##
Reisen

He had not
elevated
himself, that he
had conquered
his son through
wine, and thus

by lift rather
than by bravery;
that they
advised him to
flatter his son
and send his
mother back
home
unpunished.

And if he would
not do so, she
swore by the
Sun, divinity of
the Massagetae,
that whether he
might be as
bloodthirsty as
he wished, she
would know how
to satisfy herself
with his blood.

This request had
been flagged by
Cyrus in the
winter, and
Spargapises
awakened from
his drunken
sleep, and freed
from his
captivity after
praying for the
loosening of his
bonds, released
himself with
impatience by
laying hands on
himself. Others
say that he
perished during
the
aforementioned
raid by the
Persians. But if
we follow the
first account,
Tomyris would
have been
unable to gain
anything over
Cyrus, having
lured him into

narrow straits,
both from
behind and in
front with a
multitude of
people, and
having
overcome him in
a very fierce
battle, where
Cyrus had fallen
with 20,000
Persians.
Furthermore,
she found him
among the dead,
had his head cut
off, and filled it
with human
blood in a
leather bag or
bucket, thus
burying him:
"You have taken
my son, Son of
the Vanquisher,
by deceit, and I
will now satisfy
you with human
blood, as you
always dared,
and from which
you were never
satisfied." This
account of
Cyrus's death is
considered the
best and most
truthful by
Herodotus. (a)
But Diodorus
says without any
further
circumstances
that Cyrus was
held captive by
the Queen of the
Scythians, of
whom the
Massagetae
formed a large
part, during the

campaign
against the
Persians, and
impaled. (b)

As Cyrus, or his
allies, the
Indians—as we
learned from
Megasthenes
with Strabo—did
not always wage
war, and
therefore could
not be defeated
in it: so also
does Strabo
himself state
that, although
the Greeks say
much about this
war of Cyrus
with the
Massagetae,
there is no
certainty to be
found
concerning it.
(c)

Therefore, we
would rather
adhere to the
opinion of
Xenophon, who,
though he
questions the
history of Cyrus
with fabricated
circumstances,
nevertheless
presents many
truths which he
undoubtedly
heard himself in
Persia when
serving Cyrus
the Second
against
Artaxerxes
Macrochirus, his
brother, among
the Greek

mercenaries in
the war. Also,
Cyrus was never
known in the
sacred writings,
nor in the books
of the most
esteemed
writers, to be as
bloodthirsty as
Tomyris
portrays him to
be through
Herodotus and
Justin. For his
piety shines not
only from the
divine scriptures
(d) but also from
the books of
almost all the
pagan writers,
who give
unanimous
testimony of his
devotion and
integrity, so that
the Persians
held him as
their father, and
none of them
considered
themselves
worthy enough
to be compared
with him. (e)
Indeed, more
than that, his
goodness and
love for his
subjects have
proven to him
the affection of
many peoples
and the
dominion over
Asia. This is
clearly evident
from the
aforementioned
speech of
Nicolaus to the

Syracusans by
Diodorus. (f).

Otherwise, he
reigned for a
total of 30
years, namely
21 over the
Medes and
Persians, and 9
over Babylon
and Asia, as we
believe
according to
Ctefias (g) and
Eusebius (h).
Herodotus alone
(i) states that he
only reigned for
29 years; this
position
however does
not agree with
the oldest
reckoning of
Ptolemy.

This Cyrus, and
after him all
Kings of Persia,
had four
principal seats
of their
dominion,
namely
Persepolis,
Susa, Ecbatana,
and Babylon,
the last being
the most
important.
Xenophon says
that Cyrus
resided at Susa
in the autumn,
at Ecbatana in
the summer
where there is
cooler air, and
at Babylon in
the winter.
Strabo wants
the court of

Persia to have
been at Gaza in
the summer, a
city in Media,
called Atropatia,
and at Ecbatana
in the winter.

Which is
unlikely, unless
the Kings spent
an entire year in
Media. I
therefore
adhere to
Xenophon or
Athenaeus, from
whom the
former says that
the Kings of
Persia resided at
Susa in the
middle of
winter, at
Ecbatana in the
summer, at
Persepolis in the
autumn, and
during the rest
of the year at
Babylon. (l). He
was succeeded
in the reign by
Hh 3 II.

(d) 2 Paral.
c. 36. 'P. ult. Efd
r. c. I. 'P. 2, 3. &
Dan. 6. 'P.
ultimo. (e) v.
Herod. l. 3. cap.
89 & 160. f. ult.
Conf. Xenophon
l. c. Cyrip. cap.
45. & 48. (f) I.
13. T. II. op.
p. m. 342. (g) I-
XI. in fin. fen. in
exc. Photian,
fegm.-8. Juft. l. c.
(h) Chron. part.
pr. p. 28. &
poster. p. 127.

(i) l. r. cap. 214.
(k) v. I. c. Cyrip.
cap. 44. (l) v. lib.
12. p. m. 513.

II.

CAMBYSES

Cambyeses was
so deeply moved
by events that
he gave orders
to execute the
unfortunate
King's son,
adding that he
would bring him
before
Cambyeses in
freedom;
however, this
son had already
perished under
tragic
circumstances.
Yet, Cambyeses
initially honored
this young man
and showed him
no disrespect.
Ctesias calls this
Egyptian king
Amyrtaeus, and
states that one
of his
confidants,
named
Combapheus,
revealed the
secrets of Egypt,
including its
bridges, to
Cambyeses;
whereupon
Cambyeses
captured King
Amyrtaeus and
did him no harm
other than
exiling him with
seven thousand
Egyptians to
Syûê. He also

recounts that in
the military
campaign,
50,000
Egyptians and
20,000 Persians
were slain (f).
Herodotus adds
that
Phamenitus,
after inciting
the Egyptians to
revolt against
the Persians,
had to drink
poison or be
publicly
executed, and
subsequently
died (g). He also
recounts the
cause of this
war at the
beginning of the
book (b), saying
that Cyrus
requested a
skilled eye
doctor from
King Amyrtaeus,
whom he
obtained.
However, this
physician
harbored
resentment
toward
Amyrtaeus
because he had
separated him
from his wife
and children
and fabricated
accusations.
Seeking
revenge, he
advised
Cambyses to
desire
Amyrtaeus's
daughter,
suggesting that

if Cambyses
granted the
request, it
would cause
Amyrtaeus
distress; or that
Amyrtaeus
should face
Cambyses'
wrath if he
refused. Thus,
Amyrtaeus (as
Cambyses
orchestrated
this request)
found himself in
a difficult
position and
could not bring
himself to give
his daughter,
knowing she
would serve as a
concubine
rather than a
queen with
Cambyses. He
also dared not
refuse, fearing
the power of the
Persians. In this
predicament, he
devised a plan
to save himself.
He had with him
the daughter of
his predecessor
Apries, or, as
Eusebius calls
her, Vaphres; in
whose place,
due to the
Egyptians'
unrest, an
influential man
among them,
who had come
to power after
Apries was
murdered by the
enraged
populace, now

stood. This is what Herodotus recounts (i).

**The
Steadfastness
of the
Egyptian King.**

Cambyes, captivated by Pharnaces's daughter, Candace, a prominent noblewoman among the Persians, over whom Cyrus and all those under his command bore heavy mourning. (a) The Egyptians claim that Cambyes was born from a daughter of Apries, king of Egypt, named Nitetis; (b) however, this is not widely believed. Eusebius and, through him, Abu Pharajus state that Cambyes is considered to be the second Nebuchadnezzar or Nabucodonosor, under whose reign the story of Judith would have occurred. (c). But Scaliger demonstrates that the entire book of Judith is unknown even

to educated
Latins, and
Jerome himself
ridiculed it
before
translating it
from a Chaldean
manuscript
found in his
time. (d)

In the fifth year
of his reign, he
waged war
against Egypt
and formed an
alliance with the
Arabs after
securing free
passage through
their territory;
subsequently
conquering
Egypt and
capturing King
Phamenitus
along with his
son and
daughter.

Regarding this
history, it is also
recounted that
when Cambyses
had Egyptian
women,
including the
king's daughter,
dressed in
maidenly attire
to draw water
and pass before
his father, he
bound the son
as well as 2,000
young men of
his age at the
neck and, like
horses, led them
to their deaths
before the
father's eyes.
The father

merely lowered
his eyelids,
showing no grief
or sign of
sorrow, just as
other Egyptian
nobles did with
their children.
But when he
saw one of his
friends in old
age begging in
the Persian
army, he cried
out bitterly.
When Cambyses
inquired why he
had witnessed
his children's
misfortune with
a dry eye and
now grieved so
deeply for this
old man, he
received the
reply that his
own family's
tragedy was too
great to weep
over, but the
misery of an old
friend who had
fallen from
great wealth
into extreme
poverty in his
advanced years
deserved to be
mourned with
tears. Upon
hearing this,
Cresus, who was
with Cambyses,
burst into tears
out of pity, and

1. 1. Herod. I. 2. cap. 1.

2. 1. Herod. I. 3. cap. 2.

3. Euf. P. I. Chr. p. 28 & P. II. p. 128. Ab. Pharai. Dyn. v. p.83-
text.Arab.f.p.54.verf.Lat.Pocockii.

4. vid. Animadv. ad Euf. pag. 91.
5. 1. Herod.l. I. c. I. feqq.ad cap. 16. Conf.Justin. l. c. cap. 9.
Eufeb. Part. post. Chron. p. c.
6. 1. Exc. Phot. fegm. 9.
7. 1. I. c. cap. 15.
8. cap. 1.
9. 1. 1. 1. 16c. feqq. ## Reizen
10. Diodorus vertelt dat Amafis en zijn dochter Apries, genaamd Nititis, op een misleidende manier werden gepresenteerd aan Cambyzes, in plaats van zijn eigen dochter te sturen. Maar Cambyzes hield haar enige tijd vast, noemde haar de dochter van Amafis, en ontdekte later dat hij bedrogen was; ze was in werkelijkheid de dochter van Apries, die Amafis had laten vermoorden. Hierdoor ontstond hevige woede bij Cambyzes, en aangetrokken door Nititis besloot hij hem te oorlog verklaren. Maar het was al te laat. Amafis was reeds dood en begraven toen Cambyzes in Egypte aankwam, waardoor zijn zoon Pfammenitus erom moest lijden. (b) Cambyzes, echter, zo misleid door zijn hebzucht, liet na in de stad Sain aangekomen, het lichaam van Amafis uit het graf halen, scheuren, nippen, slaan, markeren en allerlei andere wrede handelingen verrichten, zelfs tot op zekere hoogte tegen de gebruiken van de Perzen en Egyptenaren branden. De laatsten beweren dat Amafis door een orakel was gewaarschuwd voor zijn dood om in het binnenste van de graftombe te worden begraven, en dat van een ander voor aan zou worden gelegd: en zo werd het oorspronkelijke lichaam verbrand in plaats van dat van de koning. Maar Herodotus gelooft dit niet. (c) De Egyptische schrijvers wilden dat Cyrus Nititis zou trouwen en Cambyzes, en andere kinderen uit haar zou krijgen, zoals Herodotus vermeldt. (d) En Polienus zegt dat Cyrus al eerder een tocht naar Egypte had gepland om de dood van zijn schoonvader op Amafis te wreken, die door zijn overlijden was verhinderd: tot Cambyzes op verzoek van zijn moeder dit voornemen in werking stelde en hierdoor Egypte opnieuw aan het geslacht van Apries terugbracht. Maar wij achten het verhaal van Herodotus en de schrijvers die met hem overeenstemmen, geloofwaardiger. Echter, wat Polienus vertelt dat Cambyzes blijkbaar allerlei dieren, zoals honden, schapen, katten en ooievaars, die door dat bijgelovige volk werden vereerd, voor zijn leger had opgesteld, en de Egyptenaren dit vernemende uit angst voor een van deze dieren, die heilig bij hen werden gehouden, ophielden met het werpen van pijlen, en hij zich daardoor met zo'n oorlogstactiek in bezit kon maken van de stad Pelusium, is niet onwaarschijnlijk, maar integendeel wel aannemelijk voor een volk dat zo zeer met afgoderye was bevuild.

Cambyes op deze manier Egypte veroverde, onderwierpen zich vrijwillig de Lybiërs en Cyreners uit vrees, betaalden belasting en brachten geschenken aan de koning: hoewel de laatste niet erg aangenaam waren vanwege hun geringheid. (g) Verder nam hij drie militaire expedities voor, een over water tegen de Carthagers, en een over land om de tempel van Jupiter Ammon te bestormen, evenals nog een tegen de Ethiopiërs die in het zuiden van Afrika woonden, en de Macrobieërs, die de Grieken lange levenaars noemden. (b) Hij wilde de eerste expeditie hebben uitgevoerd tegen de Feniciërs: maar deze weigerden te vechten tegen hun nakomelingen en bondgenoten, en Cambyes durfde hun woede door dwang niet op zijn schouders te laden. De tweede expeditie pakte niet beter uit, omdat ze werd verwoest door stormwinden en zandstormen die het uitgezonden leger vernielden. Dit wordt dus verteld door Herodotus (i) en Justinus (k). Om de derde expeditie tot stand te brengen zond hij boodschappers vooruit met geschenken aan de koning der Ethiopiërs, onder het voorwendsel om de Tafel van de Zon te mogen aanschouwen, maar in werkelijkheid om de zaken van het land te bespieden. Met betrekking tot de Tafel van de Zon is het verhaal bij de oude schrijvers als volgt. Buiten de grenzen van Ethiopië wordt een weide gevonden waar in de vroege uren van de nacht heimelijk allerlei gebakken vlees van vierpotige dieren wordt gebracht. Zodra de dag aanbreekt, mag iedereen daarvan eten. De inwoners geloven echter dat de aarde deze gerechten voortdurend produceert door middel van de zon, waaruit de naam Tafel van de Zon is afgeleid. De schepen die Cambyes hier gebruikte, waren genomen uit het volk genaamd Ichthyophagi, of vissers, en werden naar de koning gebracht als een geschenk van een purperen kleed, een gedraaide gouden ketting, armbanden, wat parfum en een vat wijn. Toen ze aankwamen en in hun toespraak aan de koning beloften hadden gedaan van Cambyes' vriendschap, ontdekte hij bedrog en zei hen openlijk voor hun ogen dat ze spionnen waren en leugens verspreidden: dat hun heer ook een onredelijk man was, omdat hij, met een redelijkheid over zich heen hebbend, het land van...

1. I. r.p.m.43.ed.Steph. & p.62.edit. Wecheliana.
2. Conf. Diod. Sic. l.c. & Athen. l. 13. pag.m. 560.
3. vid. l. 3. cit. cap. 16.
4. 1. 1. cap. 2.
5. Strateg. l. 8.
6. 1. 1.
7. 1. Herod. l. c. cap. 13.
8. 1. Mela de fitu orb. l. 3. cap. 9.
9. 1. 1. cap. 16.
10. 1. 1. cap. 9. ## Cornelis de Bruins

did not desire to rule, but wished to be at peace with his own people, nor seek out those who had never offended him under a yoke. Having said this, he gave them a large bow, after first stretching and shooting it, to deliver to Cambyes, and to convey

in his name that, if the Persians were as skilled at drawing the bow as they claimed, he might freely come against the Ethiopians with a great army to wage war, but thankfully, they had not yet surrendered another land beyond their own. Here, he also took the purple garment and asked about its fabric and how it was made. When the envoys reported this to him, he replied: "Deceptive people, deceptive garments." He also inquired about the chains and bracelets, and after receiving an answer, mocked them, considering them as shackles, saying that he had bonds far stronger. Regarding the balm, he said the same thing as with the clothes, asking what the King of Persia used for ice, and how many years a Persian typically lived. They replied that the king ate bread, which was baked from wheat, and that the highest age of Persians did not exceed eighty years: and upon this, he said that he was not surprised that they lived so few years holding the body with dung, and that they must surely know that they owed their long lives to the wine, as they themselves claimed. The envoys then asked him about his own lifespan and longevity of his people, and received the answer that most of his subjects reached one hundred and twenty, and some even higher years: and that their food was cooked meat, and their drink milk. When they were astonished by this, he led them to a fountain where the water was so light that it could not hold wood or anything of the lightest fabric above the ground, and which had the property that anyone who washed with it gave off a scent as if they had been rubbed with oil that smelled like violets. Furthermore, he showed them the churches where prisoners were chained with golden chains, and nearby the glazed tombs, under which lay dead bodies covered with shrouds and depicted as if alive. Having received this display of affability, the envoys reported everything to Cambyses, who was enraged by the answer of the Ethiopian king; but his war bands had been brought to such a state of distress on this difficult campaign due to lack of everything that they had drawn lots to select one man in ten to be slaughtered and eaten: so he was forced to abandon this campaign to prevent the complete destruction of his army, and return to Egypt. Herodotus (a) gives an even more detailed account of this, which the reader can consult. But Strabo says that Cambyses penetrated deep into Ethiopia and built a city on an island which he named Meroë after the name of his wife or concubine who had died there. At least, he further states, the name was given to this island and city in honor of a woman. (b) Josephus agrees with this, saying that Cambyses named this city in memory of his wife Meroë, where it previously bore the name of Saba. (c) Although Diodorus stated that Cambyses gave the name Meroë to the city in honor of his mother. (d) However, this contradicts what Herodotus says, who calls Cambyses's mother Cassandane, and brings forth appropriate circumstances to confirm his account. Nevertheless, from the accounts of Diodorus, Josephus, and Strabo, it seems that Cambyses penetrated further into Ethiopia than Herodotus recounts. But we leave the reader to form their own judgment.

When Cambyses now withdrew back to Memphis, and the Egyptians with their priests celebrated their Apis (this was a calf, black in body, having a white square patch on its forehead, a mark of an arrow on the back, a tuft or wattle on the tongue, and two-handed hair in the tail) with a stately procession and great rejoicing, he became very angry, believing that they were celebrating his failed campaign against Ethiopia to mock him. The priests, embarrassed by this, tried to appease him by saying that a god had appeared to them. Upon which he ordered them to bring him this calf. When it arrived, he drew his sword, intending to strike the belly, but instead wounded the hip. Seeing the blood flow, he laughed heartily and rebuked the priests as deceivers who dared to pass animals with flesh and blood off as gods before him, that could be pierced with steel—

1. 1. 1. 1. 21.seq. ufq. ad caput 26.
2. vid. l. 17. p. m. 790.
3. 1. Anr. Jud. I. z. c. 5.
4. vid. l. i. p. 20. ed. Steph. vel. p. 29. ed. Weche liane. ## The Reign of Cambyses

The Egyptians were accustomed to treating Apis with great reverence; they considered him a god worthy of the Egyptian people. What concerned them was that he would display his power, so that no one dared mock him openly. Having said this, he executed the priests and killed those Egyptians who had held this sacrilegious festival. Apis died in the sacred temple from his wounds and, without Cambyses' knowledge, was buried by the priests. Thus far, according to Herodotus' account of the blindness of this people. Strabo and Justinus add that Cambyses burned down the temple of Apis and other pagan shrines in Egypt. The Egyptians claim that Cambyses was punished for this act, becoming insane as a result; however, Herodotus' words suggest he wasn't entirely sound before this event. He testifies that this ruler had been afflicted with a debilitating illness from his youth, so it would not be surprising if such a severe physical ailment also brought about mental instability. Nevertheless, it appears he only began to implement his schemes at this time, eliminating his own brother Tanyoxarcas, or Smerdis (as Herodotus, Justinus, and others call him), from the scene. The reasons for this act vary among historians. Herodotus cites two motives: jealousy and fear. First, he says, Cambyses was jealous of his brother because he had managed to stretch a large bow, sent by the Ethiopian king, with two fingers – something no Persian could replicate. Secondly, he dreamt that a messenger from Persia (where his brother had gone) came to announce that Tanyoxarcas' crown reached the heavens. This filled him with dread that his brother would kill him and seize the kingdom. Seeking to escape this worry, he ordered one of his trusted Persians, named Prexalpes (Justinus calls him Cometes), whom he greatly relied upon, to assassinate his brother, who had traveled to Persia and was being hunted by Sufa on a

hunting trip; others claim he lured him into the Red Sea (here *Sinus Perficus* is meant, also called that by some) and drowned him.

Although Ctefias recounts that Tanyoxarcas had dismissed a Magus named Sphendadates – whom Herodotus calls Smerdis – for some offense, and this Magus accused his brother to Cambyses out of spite, claiming he had plotted the king's death, presenting as proof that Tanyoxarcas would not appear when summoned. It is said that Cambyses then ordered his brother to come to him, and upon his arrival, embraced him before secretly arranging for his demise. He then conspired with the Magus, who claimed that Tanyoxarcas looked exactly like him, as if he were cut from the same face. The Magus advised him to order the execution of the messenger, claiming that in this way, his brother, who resembled him so closely, could be eliminated, and a false impression given to his mother and the people that the Magus had been killed; thus, the Magus was dressed in Tanyoxarcas' clothing. The advice was accepted, and accordingly, Tanyoxarcas was given poisoned wine to drink, which caused his death. The Magus, disguised as the king's brother, was then sent to Bactria, where he performed the same deeds that Cambyses' brother had done. This deception remained hidden for some time, as the king only revealed it to three men: Artifyras, Bagapates, and Ixabates. However, five years later, it was exposed by a Scythian named Tibrethes, a eunuch who had been dismissed by his master, the Magus, and therefore revealed it to Queen Amytis. She then demanded that Cambyses hand over the Magus, but when he refused, it is said she cursed him and took poison, giving birth shortly thereafter.

The second indication of Cambyses' madness or cruelty was his murder of his wife, who had been unfaithful with one of his eunuchs. Herodotus recounts that he fell in love with one of his eunuchs and desired to marry her, which violated the customs of the Persians. The royal judges (who were chosen from among the most prominent Persians to interpret the laws) ## Cornelis de Bruins

(and having asked them whether they knew of any law that allowed a man to marry his own daughter, after they had answered that they did not know such a permission existed, but rather there was another, whereby a king of Persia was empowered to do whatever he pleased) requested, or if they knew of any law that permitted one to marry his own sister; and when they replied that they did not know of such a permission, but rather there was one where a King of Persia was empowered to do whatever he pleased; he then summoned his eldest daughter *Arofa*, who later married *Smerdis*, and finally took another wife, also marrying afterwards his younger daughter, who had followed him on the journey to Egypt and appeared to have borne the name of Meroë, and who was cruelly slain by him. The Greek writers

say, according to Herodotus's testimony, that Cambyses had made a young lion fight with a young dog, and when the lion began to overpower the dog, another dog, which had also been thrown at the same time, seeing his brother (so to speak) in need, broke free from the rope to which he was bound and came to his aid, and that they both thus overcame the lion; and that Meroë, witnessing this, shed tears and, when asked about it by Cambyses, replied that she had thought of her brother *Smerdis* or *Tanyoxarces*, being assured that no one would avenge his death. This would have aroused in him such resentment that he ordered them to be put to death. But the Egyptians relate that while they were sitting at table and removing the leaves from the cress, he asked his wife and sister whether the cress was cleaner with or without the leaves. And when she replied that it seemed to her that the cress was cleaner with the leaves, he drove her to it, saying that she had once disguised this cress as if it were a whole crop when he stripped Cyrus's sons of their inheritance; over which he became so enraged that he kicked her pregnant belly and gave her leave to die. He also shot an arrow through the heart of the son of *Prexaspes*, his favorite, who was his benefactor, in order to convince his father *Prexaspes* that the Persians had judged him, as they said he was mad and drunk. For when this man asked what his subjects thought of him, he replied that everything was praiseworthy in him, except that he was too fond of drinking wine.

Thus, having slain this son, he ordered the body to be embalmed, and finding the point of the arrow in his heart, he asked the father with a mocking laugh whether he knew anyone who could do such a deed. *Prexaspes*, noticing the king's madness, and fearing for himself as well, could not deny that even God would not strike so surely. The following day Cambyses ordered twelve of the most prominent Persian nobles to be buried alive in an arena, without any reason to deprive them of their lives. *Crefus* seeing this, advised him against it, showing how he made himself hated by his subjects in such a way, and adding that at his father's command he dared to advise him against such behavior. But Cambyses became so enraged that he insulted him with abusive words, accusing him of having caused Cyrus to engage in war against the *Massagetae* on his advice, and thereby lost his life. Saying this, he seized his bow, intending to shoot through him. *Crefus* fled from him, but his guards were ordered to bring him down. But knowing the king's changeable moods, *Crefus*'s guards hid *Crefus*, so that if the king should regret having taken such a cruel decision, they might bring him before him, judging that he could be put to death at a time when the king would no longer think of him. Not long afterwards Cambyses began to miss *Crefus*: which the court officials noticed and informed him that he was still alive. He received this news with joy but forced all those who had kept him alive against his command to inherit. Cambyses made many such

shifts, offending both the Persians and his allies, so that he himself opened the old tombs to see the dead bodies; in order not to stir up further excesses. (a)

The death of Cambyses is also recounted by the writer in various ways. Herodotus says that when he was thus mad and spent some time in Egypt, the two *Magi*, who were brothers, one named *Patizithes* having proven himself capable in matters concerning the king, swore a curse to abandon Cambyses and seize the kingdom for themselves. To this end, there seemed to be greater hope because the other brother, named *Smerdis*, so-

1. vid. Her. I. 3.c. 31. feqq. ufque ad c. 38. Conf. cap. 68 & 88 & Jull. l. c. ## Reisen

So, driven by suspicion, he sought out the brother of Cambyses, whom he had previously ordered to be killed, believing that there would be no way to distinguish between them. From this deception, they spread a rumor that Smerdis, Cambyses's brother, was still alive and had seized control of the kingdom. They commanded the people not to obey Cambyses any longer but to follow Smerdis instead. They also knew that everyone would readily seize an opportunity to escape Cambyses's cruelty and turn against his brother. Therefore, they dispatched messengers to Egypt and other lands to inform Cambyses's armies about this ruse.

When one of the messengers arrived, Cambyses learned of it and assumed that Prexaspes, whom he had tasked with murdering his brother, was deceiving him and keeping the man alive. He summoned Prexaspes and asked if he had killed his brother as instructed. The latter stood firm and requested permission to investigate, claiming he could discover where the deception lay. Cambyses granted his request; whereupon he learned that the messenger had not received the order from Smerdis himself, Cyrus's son, but from a Magus who managed Cambyses's household affairs.

From this, Prexaspes realized that the Magus had devised the scheme and substituted Smerdis for the king's brother. Returning to the king and being questioned, he revealed the messenger's account and his suspicions regarding the Magus Smerdis. Cambyses was horrified upon hearing the name and realized he had misinterpreted a dream, wrongfully depriving his brother of life. Overcome with grief, he mounted his horse and marched against the Magus at Sufa with his army.

As he rode out, his sword slipped from its sheath and wounded him on the hip, in the very spot where he had recently inflicted a blow upon Apis. Wounded, he inquired about the name of the place where he was, and received the answer Ecbatana. It was then reported that an oracle from the Egyptian city of Butus had foretold to him that he would die at Ecbatana: a place he had

always understood to be the capital of Media. However, hearing another Ecbatana mentioned in Syria, he became perplexed by the Magus's scheme, exclaiming, "Here Cambyses, son of Cyrus, must die."

Twenty days later, he summoned the most prominent nobles of Persia and lamented how he had been deceived by a dream and had killed his own brother. He implored them, especially the Achaemenids, to avenge the injustice done to him by the Magus and to ensure that the kingdom did not fall back into the hands of the Medes. If they did so, they would be showered with blessings; if not, he wished them a fate as dire as his own. Having said this, he recounted all his deeds and died shortly thereafter, having reigned for seven years and five months and leaving no children.

1. Cteas recounts this story differently, stating that when Cambyses had his brother killed and his mother Amytis committed suicide by poison, the sacrificial blood would not flow, bringing him great misfortune. He also said that Roxane, his wife, gave birth to a son without a head, which the Magi interpreted as signifying that he would leave no successor in the kingdom. Furthermore, his mother appeared to him in a dream and threatened him for murdering his brother. Moreover, he traveled to Babylon where, shortly before dying, while attempting to pierce a piece of wood with a knife, it slipped from his grasp and cut through a muscle in his hip, leading to his death eleven days later after having reigned for twenty-one years.
2. Strabo (c) recounts that he was robbed of the kingdom by the Magi, using the Greek word *Kalanio*, which means both "to deprive of life" and "to rob of a kingdom." However, we believe that this writer used the word in its latter sense.
3. Oforius states that Cambyses was killed by the Wise or Magi, without however recounting how many they were; whereas Hieronymus (e) expressly says that seven Magi murdered Cambyses. But both are greatly mistaken, contradicting the oldest and best writers. For if we believe Paufanias (f), a fable or story about an unexpected wound sustained by Cambyses was later preserved in Athens. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Halven dit verhaalt Eusebius (a) dat Cambyses acht jaren het Rijk bezeten heeft. Maar hij schynt een vol of even getal (numerus rotundus by de Latynen genoemd) voor een oneven gebruikt te hebben. Om Ctefias nu met Herodoot over een te brengen, meenen eigne geleerd dat Cambyses nogh bij het leven van Cyrus den titel van Koningh over Perzie verkregen, en Ctefias die jaren mede by die van zyne volftandige regeringh gerekent heeft, gelyk ook Clemens Alexandriner ook gedaan zou hebben, die Cambyses

negentien jaren toe schryft. (b) Jofeus legt Cambyses maar zes jaren toe (c), hoewel t'onrecht. Wyders is Cambyses, gelijk reede gezegt is, in de regeringe gevolgt van

1. Smerdis den Magus, ondersteunt door zynen Broeder
PATIZITHES.

Dezen noemt Ctefias, als reets gezegd is, Sphendadates, en verhaalt dat Bagapates en Artafyras, twee gefnedenen, al by het leven van Cambyses voorgehad hebben het Koningryk in handen van den Magus te stellen, (d) gelyk hy dat ook na de doot van Cambyses verkregen heeft. Hierin verschillen eenigzins Herodoot en Justinus, waer van de laatste hem Oropastes noemt, zeggende dat syn broeder, wiens naam hy verzwylt, dezen, al eer de doot van Cambyses rugtbareert, in de plaats van Mergis, of Smerdis, broeder van Cambyses, dien het ryk uit erfrecht toe quam, en dien hy in alle deelen geleet, gestelt heeft: gaande dit te gemakkelyker, en heimelyker toe, omdat by de Perzen onder schyn van Majesteit de persoon des Konings weinig gezien wert. Herodoot verhaalt, dat de Perzen, die ontrent Cambyses waren, als hy storf, zich geenfins konden inbeelden, dat de Magi het Koningryk ingenomen hadden, zich vaft latende vooritaen, dat al het gene Cambyses van de doot zyns broeders hun gezegt hadt, enkel uit afgunst geschiedt was, om hem hier door by alle Perzen verdacht en gehaat te maken. Hierom beelden zy zich vaft in dat Smerdis syn broeder op den troon zat, inzonderheid toen Prexaspes na Cambyses doot uit vrees niet bekennen dorft dat hy s'Koningsbroeder van het leven berooft hadt, ja het zelfve plat uit ontkende. Dus regeerde de Magus onder den naam van Smerdis, Cyrus zoon, gerufliek zeven maanden, die nogh overigh waren tot vervulling van het agtite jaar van Cambyses. En opdat hy in dezen tydt de gunst en liefde des volks mogt winnen, ontfloegh hy alle de natien, die onder syn gebiet stonden, voor drie jaren van alle schattingen, en den laft des krygdsdiensts. Ook hielt hy by zich alle de wyven en bywyven van Cambyses. Maer dewyl hy noit uit het Koningklyk Paleis of Slot quam, nochte iemandt der Perfiante Grooten voor zich liet komen, kreegh Otanes, of Oftanes, een voornaem en rijk Heer, zoon van Pharnaspes, en broeder van Caffandane, gemaline van Cyrus, ook uit dien hoofd Oom van Cambyses, als by Herodoot (e) blykt, groot agterdenken, of hy niet eer de Magus dan de zoon van Cyrus wezen mogt. Hierom liet hy syn dogter Phaedyra, die mede onder de Koninglyke bywyven deze bedrieger ten dienst stond, heimelyk afvragen, of ze by Smerdis Cyrus zoon, of by een ander sliep, latende haar aanzeggen, zoo ze hem niet kende, dat ze zich des bevrage zou by Atoffa, zuster van Cambyses, en Smerdis. Maer deze liet hare vader boot schappen, datze nogh met Atoffa, noch met eenige andere vrou spreken konde, dewyl deze Vorst, wie hy ook wezen mogt, zoodra hyden Koninglyken troon bekloomen hadt, alle wyven en bywyven van elkander had gescheiden, en elk bijzonder bewaren liet. Dit antwoordt fierkte Otanes in syn vermoeden: waerom hy syn dogter belafte datze, als het haar beurt was by

den Koningh te flapen, stillekens, als hy in slaep was, zyn hoofd zou betaften, om te weten of hy ooren hadt, gevende haar te kennen dat hy ooren hebbende Cyrus zoon, en zonder ooren zynde de bedriegelyke Magus was, dien Cyrus, gelyk Herodoot, of Cambyses, gelyk Justinus wil, de ooren om eenig wanbedryf had doen affynden. Als de dogter dus onderregt kort daer aan haar vader te kennen gaf, dat de Koning geene ooren hadt, ontdekte Otanes het bedrogh eerst aan Asphathines en Gobryas, twee voorname hoofden der Perfianen, nemende nogh eerst drie andere vertrouwde vrienden, namely Intaphernes, Megabyzus, Hydarnes, en eindelijk ook Darius, Hyttaf pes zoon, die Lantvoogt van Perzie was, en die by geval van Sufa uit Perzie gekomen was, in het vloekverwantchap aan. Onder deze zeven eedtverwanten werd befol ten dezen bedrieger den hals te breken, en den aenflagh zonder toeven in't werk te stellen, opdat niet het een of d'ander door verwylen van het stuk den moedt laten vallen, en de zaak dus uitlekken mogt. Terwyl zy hier mede bezigh syn, hadden de twee Magi Gebroeders befloten Prexaspes, die alleen van de doot van Smerdis, wettigen zoon van Cyrus, kennis hadt, en onder de Perzen zeer gezien was, op hunne syde te trekken. Zy hem

1. P. I. Chron. p. 28. & II. p. 128.
2. vid. Ed. Simf. Chron. Cathol. part. V. sub ann. 3483. feu p. m. 9.
3. lib. XI. Ant. Jud. cap. 3.
4. vid. l. c. segm. 13.
5. I. 2. cap. I. ## Reisen: The Conspiracy Against Smerdis

Having been summoned and sworn to secrecy, they made him lavish promises and urged him to climb a tower from which he could publicly declare to all the Persians, deceived as they were behind the walls of the castle, that **Smerdis**, Cyrus's son, and no other Persian ruled. Prexaspes agreed to do this but broke his word. Upon reaching the designated height, he began recounting the lineage of Cyrus, starting with Achemenes, and finally arrived at Cyrus himself, detailing the numerous benefits he had bestowed upon the Persians. He did not omit the fact that he had killed his brother **Smerdis** through **Cambyses**, fearing for his own life and concealing this until now. He added that he had decided to no longer hide the truth from the Persians and cursed them if they failed to avenge the Magi's treachery. After uttering these words, it was said that he threw himself down from the tower.

The seven conspirators were not deterred by this incident. While on their way to the king's palace, they heard news of what had happened to Prexaspes. Alarmed, they diverted from the road to deliberate further among themselves. **Otanes** and some of his companions wanted to proceed immediately, but **Darius**, **Gobryas**, and their friends insisted that no moment should be wasted. As they debated, they witnessed seven pairs of hawks

fighting against two pairs of vultures, fiercely attacking and pursuing them. They took this as a favorable omen and continued toward the royal court.

The guards at the gate allowed them to pass without question, recognizing them as men of importance and splendidly adorned. However, when they ventured further inside, the soldiers on duty stopped them and questioned their purpose, challenging their entry. The Magi, sensing an opportunity, rushed towards the commotion, shouting at the soldiers and preparing to defend themselves. One seized a bow, another a spear with which he wounded **Affathernes** in the hip and blinded **Intaphernes**, but did not take his life—although Justin claims that he killed two of these men, a claim denied by other writers. The man who had taken up the bow could not use it effectively due to the proximity of his enemy and fled into a sleep. However, he was pursued by Darius and Gobryas, who seized the Magi around the waist so that Darius might strike him down. But fearing to wound one of his own companions in the darkness, Gobryas told him to wait, even if it meant sacrificing himself. Darius then stepped forward, and the situation proved favorable, resulting in the death of the Magi while Gobryas remained unharmed (a).

Ctesias differs from Herodotus regarding the names of the individuals and other circumstances. This writer recounts that **Ixabares** (whom he identifies as no one other than Prexafpes mentioned by Herodotus) arrived in Persia with Cambyse's body and, upon seeing that the Magi held power under the name of **Tanyoxarces**, revealed his treachery to the entire army. He then fled to a temple but was lured out by the Magi and beheaded. Following this, he says, seven Persians—namely, **Onophas**, **Idernes**, **Norondabates**, **Mardoونیus**, **Bariffes**, **Artaphernes**, and **Darius Hytafpe's** son—conspired to eliminate this deceiver, gaining the support of two soldiers, **Artafras** and **Bagapates**. Thus, they seized control of all the keys to the royal palace and found the Magi lying with a Babylonian concubine. When the conspirators burst into the room, she jumped out of bed but, finding no weapons at hand (this had been secretly arranged by Bagapates), broke a golden chair and defended herself with its legs until she finally succumbed to death after having reigned for seven months (b). From this account, one can see that these ancient writers agree on the core events, even if they differ in some of the details. Therefore, **Ammianus** (c) and **Valerius Maximus** (d) are far from the truth when they claim that seven Magi seized power after Cambyse's death—when in fact only one ruled, and he was...

Broeder in the government supported was, who both subsequently were killed by seven prominent lords, as also testified by Curtius (a) and Florus. (b)

It must also be considered that some scholars, particularly Jacobus Capellus, maintain that Cambyses was the same Abasfueros, and the aforementioned Magus who was Artabasta, mentioned by *Esdras* (c) as having hindered and prevented the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem by Darius (d), whom they consider to be the son of Hyftalpes, as also testified by Josephus (e) and Eusebius (f), and Abul Phara-jus regarding accounts. (g) However, Josef Scaliger demonstrates with thorough reasoning from Herodotus (i), that this is a great misunderstanding. For he proves with numerous details that at *Esdras* (j) it was not Darius Hyftalpes' son, but Darius Norbus, of whom more will be spoken later: understood by the holy writers; showing that during the interval between Cyrus's last years and those of Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hyftalpes' son, the enemies of the Jews only hindered the temple construction through the servants of the aforementioned kings, but that they first in the beginning of Xerxes' reign, or Abasfueros, and then at the time of Artaxerxes Macrobius, or Artabasta, wrote letters of complaint against the Jews, as mentioned (k) by *Esdras*. (l) We would adhere to this opinion for the future, with this caveat that we would consider Ether not as the wife of Xerxes, but as that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as we will show in his place later.

But to return to the story of the seven Persian lords who punished the Magi according to their merits, it is said that they divided the two dead bodies and that the five unharmed lords, running with great clamor to the place of the palace, showed them to the other Persians, revealing the deception and destroying all the Magi who approached them: a precedent followed by all the Persians so that no Magus would survive if the rising night had not prevented the murder. It is said that on this day the Persians held an annual festival, called *Μαγοφονία* or circumambulation of the Magi, during which no Magus was allowed to appear in public but was obliged to remain hidden at home.

After five days had passed, as the disturbance began to subside, counsel was taken regarding the state of the kingdom, and after much deliberation and discussion, a decision was finally reached to choose a new king, with the condition that if one of them seven were elevated to kingship, he would annually honor Otanes, who had been the leader of this covenant, and his descendants, placing them among the glorious and esteemed ranks of the Persians. It was also stipulated that each of the seven lords would be free, without being accountable, to come to the royal palace when the king was in bed with one of his wives; and finally that the king should not marry except from the family of one of the aforementioned lords.

The method of this election was also thus determined: they were all to appear on a certain day before sunrise in the suburb, or, as others say, before the royal palace, riding horses, so that he whose horse would first be noticed under the rising sun, which was honored as a deity by the Persians, would be made king. Darius, son of Hyftalpes, one of the allied lords, had a stablemaster named Oebares, who, having understood this agreement from his lord, ordered him to have good horses, knowing that he could advise him to be elected king before others. Therefore, at night, he brought a mare not far from the place where the gathering would take place the next day, and brought the stallion whom Darius would ride the following day nearby, and let them mate. Darius, having mounted his horse with the other lords the next day and arrived at the appointed place, began to give the signal he desired after all appearances, as if remembering the pleasure enjoyed with the mare. Upon which, according to Herodotus' account, a lightning bolt and thunderclap followed. This had not yet happened when the other lords immediately jumped off their horses and

1. lib. iv. c. 46.
2. lib. III. c. 5. in princ.
3. 1. 1. 'P. 6.
4. 'P. 5.
5. lib. cit. cap. 2. & 3.
6. P. I. Chr. p. 30. fecq. P. II. p. 129.
7. Dynaft. cit. p. 80. fecq. text. Arab. & verf. Latin. p. 52.
8. Conf. Ed. Simf. Chron. Cath. part. cit. fub A. M. 3477. feu p. m. 7 ed. Oxonienf.
9. A. 'P. 5.
10. 1. 1. Efd. 'P. 6 & 7.
11. 1. 1. Efd. 'P. 6 & 7.
12. vid. Anim. in Euf. Chron. p. 90. & lib. VI. de Em, Tempor. p. 589. fecq. ## IV. DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES

Although the hereditary rulers of the kingdom, acquired by Cyrus, died out with his own son Cambyes and the name of his second son was misused by a deceitful Magnus, divine providence nonetheless arranged events so that one of his relatives—however seemingly insignificant the election might appear—ascended to his throne. It is not amiss to show here, as Juffinus rightly points out, how surprising it is that these lords, who had lost the kingdom through the cost of their lives against the power of the Magi, were alike in virtue and birth, yet so differed in opinion regarding the election, and so readily yielded to a mere circumstance. But divine governance, as in all other matters, has shone forth in this instance as well. The reader will find further details on this subject with (a) Herodotus, (b) Ctefias, (c) Juffinus, (d) Valerius Maximus, and (e) Agathias. Here follows the lineage of the Kings of Persia:

ACHEMENES CAMBYES I. CYRUS I. TEISPES ARIAMNES

CYRUS II. (i) ARSAMES or ARSACES CAMBYES II. HYSTASPES, Governor of Persis DARIUS or the III. XERXES.

The first line from Ariaramnes to Arsa-mes, and the subsequent one, leads from word to word on the place indicated by Herodotus. The sideline of Ariamnes to Cyrus the Second, grandfather of Cyrus the Great, who brought the dominion of Asia to the Persians, we have traced as far as it agrees with the accounts of other credible writers. Although Salmafius (k), otherwise a learned and very well-read man, wishes to persuade us that Darius did not exist in the bloodline of Cyrus at all, confusing and altering here the genealogical register mentioned by Xerxes in Herodotus, so that it neither hangs nor fits. For he wants to split the genealogical register, and divide it into two branches, namely a maternal and a paternal lineage, as follows:

ACHEMENES TEISPES CAMBYES ARIAMNES CYRUS ARSAMES CAMBYES, ATOSA HYSTASPES, Wife of Darius. Governor of Persis DARIUS XERXES

He also believes that these two lineages were not united in marriage. But his entire misunderstanding arises from the fact that he has neither distinguished the names on one hand, nor the time, nor the intervals between the descendants well enough. For from the passages added by Herodotus, who wrote about or shortly after the time of Xerxes, according to the testimony of (l) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and from (m) Suidas, it appears that a son of Achemenes was named Cambyes, and a grandson of his was named Cyrus. This latter one cannot be our Cyrus, who transferred the supreme dominion over Asia from the Medes to the Persians. For (n) Herodotus himself clearly states that the father of this our Cyrus was Cambyes, and his grandfather another Cyrus, as (o) Salmafius also does not deny. How can Cyrus the Great have had Achemenes as his grandfather, when a previous Cyrus preceded him? It is at least clear from this that

1. I. c. c. 80. ufque ad 88.
2. in exc. fegm. 15.
3. 1. c cap. 10.
4. lib. VII. cap. 3. ext. 2.
5. lb. 2. &c.
6. lib. VII. c. XI.
7. I. II. Hift. Sacr.
8. of this has already been spoken above.
9. vid. Herod. l. I. c. 3. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Regarding whether two or more individuals have borne the name Cyrus, and consequently who was the father of the first Cyrus, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, there can only be answers based on conjecture. If one says that it was Cambyes, son of Achemenes, then one must also necessarily allow for a second

Cambyses as the father of Cyrus the Great. And if this is assumed, then this latter Cyrus was merely the fourth generation in the descending line of Achemenes; which cannot be true unless we accept what (a) Lucian states about those who lived over a hundred years. This too is no more likely than what (b) Cicero recounts: namely that Cyrus the Great had dreamt three times of seizing it, but failed each time because he rolled away; and that a wise man advised him to rule for thirty years; and that the outcome confirmed this, since he lived seventy years and began his reign at forty. Even if one were to blindly follow these accounts, they would still be difficult to reconcile with history. For if Achemenes was a son of Peres, and whose son was Perfeus and Medea, as the writers claim, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, then Cyrus the Great could no more be the fourth generation in descent from Achemenes than a horse can speak; because at least over 700 years must have elapsed between Perfeus, Achemenes himself, and Cyrus the Great, according to the reckoning of (c) Eusebius. And if Achemenes, as we believe, was a person of later times among the ancient Persians, then called Elamite, so many more than four descendants would be required to populate entire histories and colonies springing from his seed. For (d) Herodotus recounts in the equipping for war by Cyrus against Aftyages, entire histories of the Achemids under the Pafargads in Persia. Also, (e) Strabo testifies in his time from the accounts of ancient writers that from Perfopolis to the south, as well as other peoples, the Achemids also resided, including those who lived in Carmannie. Cambyses himself, Cyrus's son, reminds the Persians in his final address, according to (f) Herodotus, especially the Achemids who were present with him, that they should not allow the Medes to regain what had been seized; from which it necessarily follows that many histories of Achemenes must have sprung from a long period. It is also likely that during the time of Sardanapalus, the Persians had an Achemenid—that is, a descendant of Achemenes—as their leader, as did the Medes an Arbaces, or the Babylonians a Belis, under the authority of the Assyrian monarch. Therefore, in our opinion, it is not necessary to alter the register of Xerxes mentioned by Herodotus, nor to raise or lower the collateral line, unless we wish to assert that Darius began his reign at a young age. Does anyone know anything better to bring forward on this matter? I am willing to abandon my feelings and follow theirs. At least against Salmafius, who flatly denies that Darius was related to Cyrus, little helps us (g) Justinus, the abridger of Trogus, saying around that Darius was a relative of the preceding kings. Even (b) Herodotus calls Hyftapes, father of Darius, a son of Arfames or Arfaces, and particularly a descendant of Achemenes. Sulpicius Severus.(i) further states this, and says that Cyrus the Great and Hyftapes were *fratres patraneles*: which words, when taken in a narrow sense, mean brothers' sons; therefore Drufius in his notes on Sulpicius believes that Arfames, father of Hyftapes, and Cambyses, father of Cyrus, were brothers. But this cannot be grasped, because it is known that the father of Arfames was

Ariaramnes, and that of Cambyses, Cyrus the second. Therefore, we believe that the expression *fratres patraneles* by these learned writers should not be understood in a narrow sense as brothers' sons, but according to the style of the Holy Scriptures, as relatives, which also (k) Augustine testifies, and confirms with the example of Abraham, who calls (l) Lot his brother, although he was merely his brother Haran's son. Thus we believe that Hyftapes had a relationship with Cyrus through his grandfather's brother, although it cannot be said who of them came from the older brother. As far as we are concerned, we leave it to...

1. lib. de Macrobiis.
2. 1. 1. de Div. fegm.23. ex Perficis Dinonis.
3. Part. post. Chr. p. 84. coll. p. 127.
4. 1. 1. cap. 125.
5. lib. XV. p. m. 727.
6. lib. III. c. 65.
7. 1. cit.
8. 1. 1. cap. 109.
9. 1. 1.
10. tr. XXVIII. in Joann. & l.XV. de Civ. Dei cap. 19.
11. Gen. cap. 13. v. 8. ## Reisen

Regarding the judgment of the observant Reader.

Now, concerning the fate of Darius himself, his ascension to the throne fulfills the dream that men wished Cyrus had before his death. For Herodotus recounts that Cyrus, before engaging in war with Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetae, dreamed one night that the eldest son of Hystaspes had two wings on his shoulders, one shading Asia and the other Europe. Darius was then about twenty years old. Whereupon Cyrus feared that he might lay him low, summoned his father Hystaspes, told him the dream, and hastily returned to his province, keeping his son with him, so that as soon as he returned from the war with the Massagetae, he could account for it. But it is likely true that Cyrus, as mentioned above, perished in battle, and Darius's fortunate election fulfilled his dream. (a)

As soon as Darius became king, according to Herodotus and Justinus, he took two daughters of Cyrus—namely Atossa, who had been married to her brother Cambyses, and then to the Magus Smerdis, or Sphendadates, as Ctesias calls him—and Artyftona, still a virgin, also the daughter of Smerdis or Tanyoxarces, brother of Cambyses and son of Cyrus, named Parmys, and Phaedyrna,

daughter of Otanes, or Oftanes, according to the custom of the land, for marriage. Considering these thoughts of possessing his kingdom, he erected a stone image of a king riding on horseback, with this inscription: "DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES, THROUGH THE VIRTUE OF HIS STEED AND THE ALERTNESS OF HIS STABLEMASTER, ACQUIRED THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA." (b)

However, it is not recorded where this monument was erected. But I would venture to guess that it was the same one seen today at Naxi-Rustan. For there one sees a king riding on horseback, who is worshipped by two men standing before him.

Furthermore, he divided the lands under his rule into twenty satrapies, commonly called provinces, and imposed a certain tribute upon each, except for Persia and other countries that were not entirely subdued. These brought only gifts; as Herodotus (c) reports extensively.

Regarding his military campaigns, the first of these was when the Assyrians revolted and seized Babylon. The city was difficult to recapture, and the Persians had been besieging it for twenty months. But Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, one of the seven nobles who had helped the Magus, devised a strange and unheard-of war stratagem. He allowed himself to be horribly flogged and flayed all over his body, including his nose, ears, and hair. In this disfigured state, he appeared before Darius, and when his true identity was discovered, he went over to the Babylonians, persuading them that he had been mistreated by the king in this way because he had advised him to break the siege and withdraw from the city. The Babylonians, as might be expected, believed his words: whereupon he, under the pretext of avenging himself, gained control of some military forces, with which he, to confirm his credibility with the Babylonians, slew several Persian bands, thereby gaining such esteem among the Babylonians that they appointed him commander-in-chief of their entire army and guardian of the city. But when Darius, according to his agreement with Zopyrus, brought all his military forces near the city, and the Babylonians were on the walls protecting them with all their might, Zopyrus opened two gates for the Persians, through which they entered the city and seized it. Darius then had the walls and gates of the city torn down, something Cyrus had neglected to do, and hanged three thousand of the most prominent Babylonians, granting freedom to the remaining citizens to remain living there, and summoning five thousand women from his other lands to bear children, since the Babylonians had deprived all the women except one for each man in order to prevent pregnancies during the siege. Zopyrus, whom Darius judged, as no Persian before or after him, except Cyrus alone, had surpassed in courage and valor,

was rewarded with the entire city of Babylon for life, to draw revenues from it without any tributes, and to be gifted annually with splendid and significant gifts. A certain Kk Da-

1. 1. Her. I. c. cap. 209. feq.
2. vid. Herod. I. III. c. 88. conf. Justin. I. c. cap. 10.
3. 1. 1. 1. feqq. ufque ad cap. 96. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Darius declared, after that time, that he would rather Zopyrus were free of body and limbs than that he should conquer twenty (some say a hundred) Babylons. He also recounts, at one point, while presenting a pomegranate, being asked how many things he would willingly give as there were seeds in the fruit, and having replied that he would desire nothing more than to have so many Zopyruses. (b) Although Herodotus tells this story with some variation regarding Megabyzus, father of Zopyrus. This conquest of Babylon must have occurred after the calculation by Christophorus Helvicus in the twelfth year of Darius's reign, or in the third of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

Shortly thereafter, Darius, now powerful in men and delighted by great revenues from the European Scythians who lived beyond the Danube—where now lie the Ukraine and other neighboring lands—declared war. Herodotus claims he did so out of vengeance because, for more than a hundred years, the Scythians had fallen into Asia, defeating the Medes under King Cyaxares. (d) But this reason seems quite far-fetched. Justinus and others believe that the king of the Scythians was the cause of this war because he refused to give his daughter to Darius in marriage. (e) Ctesias offers no explanation, thereby indicating that Darius sought out this war from mere caprice and a display of his great power. The beginning of it is said to have been initiated by Ariaramnes, governor of Cappadocia, whom the king had ordered to attack the Scythians and carry away men and women captive. It is said that Ariaramnes, while in prison for misconduct regarding his office, released Marfagetes, or Mafagetes, brother of the Scythian king. Upon this, King Scytbarces (Herodotus calls him (f) Indathyrsus, Plutarch (g) Idathyrsus, Justinus (h) Jancyrus, Orofius (i) Athyrus or Antyrus; Jornandes (k) Antri-regirus), angered, wrote insulting letters to Darius and received an equally insulting reply. (l) Now Darius sent orders everywhere for his governors to recruit foot soldiers and cavalry: ordering also those of Ionia and Aeolia, and other peoples who inhabited the Aegean Sea and the Hellespont, to sail their warships to the Hellespont and await him with his military forces, which he would use on land, at the Thracian Bosphorus. Upon this, having set out from Sufa, he arrived at the Bosphorus or channel separating Europe from Asia, which is five stadia wide, according to the testimony of Pomponius (m) Mela. His army amounted to approximately one hundred thousand men, as attested by Ctesias (n), Diodorus (o), and Jornandes (p). Although Herodotus (q) states that, besides the fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships, he had 700,000 men both on foot

and horseback, a claim with which Justinus and, from him, Orofius also agree. At the Bosphorus, where the bridge builder Mandrocles of Samos constructed a wooden, or as Jornandes testifies, a pontoon bridge, two pillars were erected; on one was inscribed in Assyrian, and on the other in Greek, the names of the peoples who were in his army for eternal remembrance: these pillars are said to have been subsequently carried to Bithynium and placed in the temples of the goddesses Diana and Bacchus. Across this bridge, Darius's great army (after having first surveyed the Pontus Euxinus from the islands—formerly Cyanae, now by modern writers Le Pavonare, also Farcazes—and at the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus) crossed into Europe, while the fleet turned toward the mouth of the Ister or Danube, across which another bridge was constructed.

Meanwhile, Darius marched with his land forces through Thrace and, having arrived at the source of the Tearus River, remained there for three days to rest. Herodotus (r) notes that this river has forty-two springs or sources, all flowing from a single rock, some emitting warm water and others cold water, by which various diseases, especially scabs on humans and tremors, are cured; being further of a clear and pleasant taste.

1. 1. Her. l. cit. c. 150. seqq. ufq. ad fin. Juft. l. c. Polyaeen. I. 7. Strateg. &c.
2. vid. Plut. in Apoph. in princ. feu T.II. op. p. 173.
3. 1. 1. 1. 1.
4. lib. IV. c. 1.
5. 1. lib. 2. cap. 5. confer. Orof. Hift. l. 2. c. 8. Jornand. de rebus Getic. cap. 4.
6. 1. 1. capit. 126.
7. in Apopht.
8. 1. cit.
9. 1. cit.
10. 1. cit.
11. Ctes. l. c. Segm. 16.
12. 1. 1. de fit orb. cap. 19.
13. 1. 1. Segm. 17.
14. 1. 1. p. 93. ed. wech. Ffirtt.
15. loc. cit.
16. 1. 1. cap. 87.
17. 1. 1. cap. 90. ## The River Tearus and the Scythian Campaign of Darius

A spring has been created here, and a monument erected with the following inscription: "The springs of the river Tearus yield water superior to all other streams; it was here that Darius, son of Hystaspes, King of Persia, and indeed the best and most beautiful man among all men, halted when marching against the Scythians." It is remarkable that neither Mela nor Strabo, nor any other ancient writers as far as we know, mention this river—except for (a) Pliny alone, who names it in his description of

Thrace *Aftice*, and says nothing further. However, since Herodotus shows that the river Tearus flows into another river called Contadeflus, which itself empties into the stream Ayrianes, which finally pours into the Hebrus, it is likely that [Tearus] was merely a small brook to which mapmakers gave little attention.

Now concerning the beauty of Darius, so highly praised in the inscription, Strabo (b) also testifies that he was the most handsome of all men, except for his long arms and elbows, which reached down to his knees; hence he calls him Darius Macrochir or Longarm.

But let us return to the Scythian war: The Thracians, who lived north of the city of Salmyderfus, readily submitted to Darius without resistance, more prudently than the Getes, who offered opposition and were brought into subservience by the weapons of the victors. When Darius approached the Ister (Danube), he had bridges constructed beforehand and led his army across them into enemy territory, assigning the Ionians to guard the bridges for fifty days, hoping to have conquered the Scythians within that time; hence he granted the Ionians permission to return home after this period. But the Scythians, not standing their ground, kept him at bay by now and then retreating, devastating everything before him and thus leading him into vast and unproductive plains: so his army was brought into great distress, lacking supplies and suffering from disease. Therefore, he finally allowed himself to be persuaded by the advice of Gobryas and other military leaders to turn back towards the bridge to avert the defeat of his army. He accomplished this quietly at night, leaving all the sick behind and retracing his steps along the same route he had come. When the Scythians learned of Darius's flight the next day, they pursued him in vain, but gathered before the pontoon bridge guarded by the Ionians and other Greeks. Here they decided to break down the bridge, not wanting to miss this opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of the Persians. They sought to strike Darius so that he would lose all desire to wage war again. Miltiades, strategos of Athens and commander over their people at the Hellespont, who had also been entrusted with guarding these bridges by Darius, strongly urged them not to neglect this desired opportunity to restore their freedom but to pursue the proposal of the Scythians. But one of the guards, named Histiaeus or Istaicus of Melitene, said in response that the ruin of Darius was entirely detrimental to the interests of himself and his colleagues present, who, as rulers and overseers of their fellow citizens, were entrusted by Darius; their entire prosperity depended on his preservation and rule. For if Darius perished, their citizens would rather place themselves under the governance of a community than recognize them as their superiors, not to mention that they might rob them not only of their offices but also of their lives. Therefore, nothing was more beneficial for the common good than confirming the kingdom of the Persian King. For it could be assumed that the king had given

each of them and their colleagues over their city and land a similar guardianship, as he did not doubt that through their efforts he would keep the Greeks who inhabited Asia under his obedience and dominion; thus attaching the prosperity and interests of the lords to whom he had entrusted such authority. Thus Darius's foresight was not in vain: relying on this, he and his army were saved from destruction.

1. I. 4. cap. xi.

2. lib. XV. p. 735. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Account of Darius's Campaign

The impending doom threatened to deter him. For all the minor rulers and overseers of territories along the Hellespont, in Ionia, and Aeolia rejected Miltiades' counsel and instead adhered to Histiaeus, believing that Darius's safety depended on it. Nevertheless, they resolved to dismantle the bridge beyond arrowshot, preventing the Scythians from crossing with armed force. Simultaneously, they assured Histiaeus, through him, that they would follow his advice and return home. Hearing this, the Scythians retreated to seek out the Persian army. However, believing that the same route would provide fodder for their horses rather than traversing barren lands where nothing could be found, they were deceived in their approach and encountered Darius, who arrived safely at the bridge with his troops. Miltiades, fearing that his disregarded advice might reach the King's ears, decided to return to Athens. Meanwhile, as Darius continued his journey, he discovered the bridge partially destroyed; therefore, facing a predicament, he commanded a certain Egyptian with an unusually powerful voice to go to shore and call out for Histiaeus. Upon hearing of the King's arrival, Histiaeus brought the ships and restored the bridge, enabling the royal troops to cross. Thus, Darius escaped this danger, and the Scythians, driven by regret, blamed the Ionians for their cowardice and treachery, deeming them worthy of complete exploitation. It is said that Darius lost 80,000 men on this campaign—a loss not even counted in such a vast population. Furthermore, he retreated through Thrace, transferring himself across the Hellespont to Asia with ships accompanied by Megabyzus as military governor over 80,000 men left behind in Europe. The esteem Darius held for Megabyzus is evident in his saying that he would rather have many Megabyzuses than Greece under his rule. (a) It's likely that Darius left these troops to prevent the Scythians from invading Asia and retaliating by destroying Persian lands. For Strabo clearly states (b) that, out of fear, he burned several cities located near the Propontis—a small sea between the Thracian Bosphorus and the Hellespont, called *mar di marmora* by modern writers; including Abydus, to prevent them from lending ships for his enemies' crossings. Ctesias also seems, according to some accounts, to assert (and Herodotus does not deny) that the twenty thousand men Darius left behind in Europe were destroyed by Scytharces or Indathyrfus, as others say, without mentioning Megabyzus; adding

that Darius, on his return journey, burned the houses and temples of Chalcedon because the inhabitants of that city had attempted to break apart the bridge over the aforementioned strait and had demolished the altar he erected in his passage to honor Jupiter Diabaterius—named so as a benefactor of crossings. (c) However, it's likely that Ctesias is not referring to the eighty thousand men who remained under Megabyzus' command in Thrace but rather to the many sick and infirm Darius left behind before departing for Scythia, partly because they could not be moved and partly to deceive his enemies and facilitate his departure. For Megabyzus, with his troops, conquered the coastal region of Thrace and the city of Perinthus, located on the aforementioned Propontis and called Heraclea by others, and defeated the Peonians—a people living in Macedonia near Mysia—and transported them to Asia at Darius's command. He also sought signs of submission for Darius and received Amyntas' request favorably. But when these individuals, heated by wine, behaved inappropriately towards the women invited to this feast, Alexander, son of Amyntas, had them killed by young men disguised as women. Subsequently, when Megabyzus sent Bubares with a portion of his troops to inquire about the missing envoys, Bubares was appeased through the marriage of Gygea, daughter of Amyntas, and the matter was concealed. When Megabyzus then arrived at Sardis to see the King, he induced him to believe that the construction of the city Myrcinus in Thrace on the Strymon river,

1. This can be found extensively in Herod. 1. c. 75 ff. up to c. 94; also c. 97, 98, 122 ff. up to c. 145. Plut. in Apoph. T. II. p. 174. c. Nepos in Miltiade, Justin. I. & c. cit. Orolf. & Jorn. I. cit.
2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
3. See I. c. segm. 17. ## Reisen: Early Encounters and the Prelude to War with Greece

The gift of Histiaeus, ruler of Miletus, to Darius was abruptly halted, done out of caution that a rift might arise from any separation. For Darius treated Histiaeus as if he could not exist without him. He appointed him to his secret council and took him along to Susa, leaving his brother Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, in Sardis to govern the satrapy; just as he placed Otanes, son of Sifamnes, a royal judge, in charge of the naval forces instead of Megabyzus. Cambyses had previously stripped Otanes of his position and displayed his flayed skin on a rack in the Royal Palace – a grim warning for Otanes who was to succeed his father – because he had been bribed with money and thus corrupted justice.

While these events unfolded in Asia and Europe, Aryandes (so the rumor went) whom Darius had appointed over Egypt, sought revenge against Phereclymenus, mother of Arcefilus, son of Battus Claudus, King of Cyrene. Arcefilus had fled to Barca and been

killed there after attempting to seize power, and his mother sent a large army to Libya to avenge her son's death, conquering the city of Barca and pushing deep into Libya as far as the Eueferides. Herodotus (b) details many aspects of this campaign, though Strabo attributes it to Eudoxus, citing Herodotus, and notes that the compiler either miscalculated or fabricated the entire account. (c)

Finally, war with the Greeks began, specifically with the Athenians: we will briefly outline the causes. Before Darius became king, Oroetes, who had received Sardis from Cambyses, deceitfully lured Polycrates, ruler of Samos, to Magnisia, a city in Lydia not far from Sardis, and without cause, ordered him crucified and put to death along with his advisors. However, after Oroetes and Darius were killed by these and other machinations, Democides – a physician born in Croton who had followed Polycrates to Lydia and been detained there – was brought to Susa before the king. First, he cured Darius of an eye ailment; then, he healed Queen Atossa from a melancholy affliction. As a result, Democides gained considerable influence at court. Yet, longing for his homeland, he devised a plan to escape, persuading Atossa to urge Darius to wage war against Greece, promising that he would secretly scout the land's approaches with Persian agents if such an undertaking occurred. However, during the journey, he managed to slip away from the Persians accompanying him, and they returned home empty-handed, thwarting the planned invasion. (d)

Following a campaign against the Scythians, the war against Greece resumed through this circumstance. Aristagoras, Histiaeus' nephew and son-in-law, ruled Miletus in his father-in-law's stead while Histiaeus was stationed at Susa. Driven by ambition to restore exiled citizens of the city and the island of Naxos, he persuaded Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis and brother of Darius, so thoroughly that through courtly influence, he secured the Persian fleet – which Megabyzus, an Achaemenid, commanded – to join forces with that of Aristagoras and other Ionians. However, due to discord and doubt between the two commanders, justice was not served at Naxos, and Megabyzus betrayed Aristagoras before Artaphernes out of fear of Darius' displeasure, and Histiaeus, weary of his stay in Susa, was urged by a messenger – whose shaved head had been covered with writing and then regrown – to take action. Aristagoras sought assistance from the Lacedaemonians but was rejected by King Cleomenes; he then turned to Athens for support and managed to convince the council to send twenty ships from Athens and five from Eretria under the command of Melanthius. This small fleet became the genesis and cause of many difficulties. The Athenians, united with the Ionians and other allies, landed at Ephesus and advanced further, capturing and burning Sardis. However, Artaphernes not

only bravely defended the fleet but also, shortly thereafter, reinforced it from surrounding lands under Persian control, preparing for a Greek war.

1. Her. l. IV. c. I. 2. 11. feqq. usque ad cap. 26. Just. l. 2. c. 5. sub fin. l. 7. cap. 3 &c.
2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. feqq. ad c. 169. item c. 200 feqq. usque ad finem.
3. Strab. II. p. 98. b, & p. 100. c.
4. Her. lib. 3. c. 120 feqq. usque ad c. 139. ## Cornelis de Bruins

The Ionians were relentlessly pursued by **Cornelis de Bruins**, and fled. Then, the Athenians abandoned the Ionians, not turning to plead with Ariftagoras, who continued to seek help. However, the Ionians sailed on, reaching the Hellespont, conquering **Bifanflen** and other cities, even inciting the Cypriots and Carians to revolt against the Persians. All of these events are recounted in detail by **Herodotus**.

It is said that Darius, hearing that Sardis had been set ablaze by the Ionians with the help of the Athenians, took a bow and shot an arrow into the air, exclaiming: *Jupiter, grant me vengeance upon the Athenians!* Upon this, he commanded one of his courtiers to remind him every evening at mealtime to invoke: *King, remember the Athenians*. **Hiftiaeus**, the lieutenant, summoned and questioned about his son's work, presented himself as if he knew nothing at all; indeed, he behaved so convincingly that he made the king believe that he himself was somewhat responsible for these disturbances, by leading him to Sufa, where otherwise remaining in Miletus would have kept the people of that city and its land under the king's obedience. In addition, he promised the king that if he were allowed to march into Ionia, he would not only quickly subdue everything but also deliver Ariftagoras, the instigator of this uprising, into his hands. He further pledged that as a guarantee of his words, he would not remove the clothes he wore when going to Ionia until he had made the great island of Sardinia acceptable to the king. Darius, swayed by such assurances, gave him leave, stipulating that he should first return to Sufa after accomplishing the promised task.

While this was underway, the Persians under **Artybius** conquered the Cypriots and Salaminites, as well as the Carians, Ionians, and other peoples and tribes living on the Hellespont and Propontis, under the leadership of **Artaphernes**, **Daurifes**, **Hymenes**, and **Otanés**. Ariftagoras himself fled from Miletus to Thrace, where he was killed by the Thracians along with all his people while besieging Myrcinus. When **Hiftiaeus** arrived at Sardis and was asked by Artaphernes what he thought of the Ionians' revolt, as fellow countrymen, he remained evasive, as if he knew nothing about it. But Artaphernes, knowing that he had been complicit, told him plainly to his face that he had tied his shoe and drawn Ariftagoras closer to him. Upon hearing this, he was greatly

frightened; so that night he fled to the seashore, transferring himself to Chios, where he was captured but spared on his declaration that he was against Darius. Thus, returning to Miletus, his homeland, he was not admitted by the citizens and was forced to return to Chios. From there, he reached Lesbos, and after obtaining eight ships, sailed to **Byfanffen**, joining the ships coming from the Pontus Euxinus. Meanwhile, the Persians had brought a large force on land and sea against Miletus and the Ionians together. Although also strengthened at sea by their allies, the Ionians were overcome by the Persians, with the city being captured and destroyed after a fierce siege. **Hiftiaeus**, along with his Lesbians and some reassembled Ionians and Eolians, having embarked on a ship towards Mysia, was attacked by the Persians under Harpagus as he came ashore, his people being defeated and himself taken captive alive. He was brought to Sardis, where Artaphernes had him crucified and then his head cut off, sending it to Darius at Sufa. This did not greatly please the king, who would have preferred to keep him alive and now had the severed head washed, covered with a flute, and buried, because he had rendered good services to the Persian cause. Not long afterward, the Persians also reconquered the rebellious lands and peoples and seized many other islands in the Aegean Sea, of which a detailed account can be found by **Herodotus**.

Now, the Persians also began to advance against the Athenians. During the second year of the 71st Olympiad, according to the testimony of Helvicus, being the 4219 M.C. according to the Italian reckoning, Darius dismissed the other generals and appointed Mardonius, son of Gobryas, who had recently married Artozofra, Darius's daughter, and was still young in years, with a large army to be used on land and sea. He first ordered the country people to march to the Hellespont, while he himself sailed towards Ionia, where he removed the individual rulers of the cities and left the better part of them to the community; furthermore, he equipped a great fleet and sailed with it along the Hellespont. Upon arriving there, he had his army cross from Asia into Europe, then advanced toward Eretria and Athens, in order not only

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. feqq. ad c. 39. item c. 49 feqq. ad c. 55. & c. 97 feqq. ad c. 105.
2. 1. Her. l. c. cap. 105, 106. & 107.
3. 1. 1. cap. 108. feqq. ad fin. & Lib. vi. c. i. feqq. ad c. 32. ##
Reisen.

Throughout Greece, and seemingly other cities as well, he sought to conquer. Upon arriving in Macedonia, he brought the remaining free tribes under Persian control. The Bryges, a people from Thrace, attacked him at night within his camp, killing many of his soldiers and wounding him himself; however, they were defeated and subjugated. The Persian fleet then conquered the island of Tyrus (or Thaffius as it was called) and sailed on to Acanthus, which now bears the name Eriflo. But when attempting to round

Mount Athos, a storm from the north shattered approximately 300 ships, resulting in over 20,000 people either drowning, being torn apart by wild animals, or perishing in the tempest. Consequently, Mardonius was forced to return to Asia with little success. (a)

Darius, however, to test whether the Greeks would fight or simply surrender without resistance, sent envoys bearing earth and water – signs of submission. But the Athenians and Spartans treated these messengers harshly, imprisoning some in deep pits and forcing them to retrieve earth and water from within before delivering it to Darius.

1. Many regions of the mainland nevertheless submitted out of fear, as did the Greek islands, including Egina (now known as Engia), not far from Athens. This led to a war between Egina and Athens, believing that the Eginetans were conspiring with the Persians to wage war against them; this is detailed by Herodotus (c). Darius subsequently gathered a large army from all lands under his control and equipped ships to fight those who refused to submit, particularly against the Athenians. He was incited to do so not only by his nobles but especially by Hippias, the exiled tyrant of Athens, son of Pifiltratus, who had fled to Persia after being expelled by the Athenians. Plato states that Darius's army numbered 50,000 men (d), although C. Nepos estimated it at only 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry (e). Justinus (f) puts it at 60,000, and Plutarch (g) at 30,000. Herodotus does not specify the number but simply describes it as a large and powerful army reinforced by a fleet of six hundred rowing ships; the ships carrying horses are included in this count, whereas Nepos estimates only 500 ships, and Plato counts just 300 transport ships separately. Darius entrusted command of this force to Datis, a Mede by birth, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, ordering them under penalty of their lives to destroy Eretria and Athens and deliver the captives to him. (b)

This great force first sailed from Samos through the islands of the Aegean Sea towards Greece. As they passed, the Persians set fire to the city and temples of Naxos, one of the Cyclades or Ring Islands, capturing all the inhabitants who had not fled into the mountains. The island of Delos suffered no damage. Indeed, Datis recalled the priests of Apollo and Diana, who had taken flight out of fear, promising that neither the place nor its inhabitants would suffer any harm. It is said that he then offered 300 pounds of incense on the altar, causing the previously immobile island to float; this continued until the time of Herodotus and served as a harbinger of many misfortunes for Greece, as he himself testifies. (i) The Persians from Delos then destroyed Carytus and captured the city of the same name because its inhabitants refused to provide supplies or join them in attacking neighboring places, Eretria and Athens. They subsequently arrived on the coast of Eretria, where they disembarked their army, besieged the city of

Eretria for six days (Plato (k) says three), and finally conquered it through treachery by Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philargus, son of Cineus, two prominent citizens, plundering the temples and setting fire to the city out of spite, as they had previously done to Sardes when the Eretrians allied with the Athenians. (l) After spending three days there, they sailed by ship towards Athens and encamped in the plain of Marathon, approximately ten thousand stadia from Athens. Upon learning of the enemy's arrival, the Athenians sent Philippides (Herodotus calls him Phidippides) (a messenger), to Lacedae-

1. 1. Her. I, c. c. 94, feqq. Plato I, c. &d. IV. de LL. p. m. 818.
Conf. Plut. in Arift. T. I. p.m. 321. & de vit. aere al. T. II. op. p.m. 829.
2. lib, c. c. 97. feqq. Conf. Paufan, in Phocic. feu I. X. c. 28 circa fin.
3. 1. 1.
4. 1. Her. I, c. c. 101. Pau. in Ach. feu lib. VIII. cap. 10. C. Nep. I. c.
5. 1. Herodoot. I, c. c. 43. 44 feqq.
6. 1. Her. lib. VII. c. 133.
7. lib. 6. c. 49. feqq.
8. 1. in Men ex. p.m.520-a, op. ed. Franc. Marn.
9. in Vit. Milliad.
10. 1. 1. cap. 9.
11. Vid. in Parall. pr. ## The Battle of Marathon

During the early reign of Emperor Yongle, the consolidation of central power facilitated an unprecedented expansion of maritime trade. Officials meticulously documented encounters with foreign envoys, emphasizing both the diplomatic significance and the cultural exchanges inherent in these missions. These records reveal the dynasty's strategic approach to fostering international relations while maintaining internal stability.

Cornelis de Bruins recounts that when assistance was sought, some troops were granted; however, according to their laws, they could not advance until the full moon. Ten *Veltoversten* (military commanders) had been elected at Athens, as recounted by Herodotus and Nepos, among others. Plutarch corroborates this in his biography of Aristides, although he mentions only four *Veltoversten* elsewhere (*a*) – Cynegirus, Polyzelus, Callimachus, and Miltiades. Nevertheless, the higher number is more reliable and accepted by most other writers. Among these military leaders, there was debate whether to await the enemy on the walls of the city or to advance with boldness. Miltiades advocated for the

latter, strongly urging that their citizens would be greatly encouraged if they saw no hesitation in their courage, and that the Persians would proceed more slowly if they perceived the Athenians had the audacity to confront them with such a force. Ultimately, through the influence of Callimachus, Miltiades persuaded Aphidneus, who presided over the war council, to his view, and it was decided to offer the Persians battle.

The Athenians possessed only 9,000 of their own soldiers, and 1,000 had been sent from the city of Plataea for assistance; no other city in all of Greece offered aid. When this small fighting force displayed a burning desire to fight, it was ordered to advance to a suitable location to spend the night before the battle. The command of the ten *Veltoversten*, which they would rotate, was given solely to Miltiades by the council of Aristides. On the following day, when it was his turn to lead, he initiated the attack. Callimachus commanded the right wing; the Plataeans held the center; and a few Athenian divisions under Aristides and Themistocles formed the left wing – the weakest part of the line.

The Persians, standing in formation, were met by this small contingent of Athenians with such ferocity that after a fierce struggle, both Persian wings were routed and fled. However, the division composed of Persian and Median troops broke through the Athenian lines. Nevertheless, the two wings, having already driven off the Persians, rallied together, aided their compatriots who were struggling, and drove the remaining Persians pursuing them to the coast, where they destroyed seven ships with fire. The Persians then boarded their remaining vessels and sailed towards the Athenian shore, hoping to reach the city before their enemies and easily seize it while it was sparsely populated. But the Athenians moved so swiftly that they reached the city before the arrival of the Persians.

Subsequently, the spoils taken by the army, which were considerable, were guarded with such diligence by Aristides and his divisions that no one could lay hands on them or remove anything. However, the Persians seized a nearby harbor or shipyard belonging to the Athenians, where they lingered for some time due to the unpredictability of the weather.

It is noteworthy that the Athenians fought with only 10,000 men in total, as Herodotus and Nepos attest, against 10,000 infantrymen and 1,000 cavalry – merely a portion of the Persian force; or alternatively, they fought with 30,000 men against 30,000 Persians, as Pausanias (b) and Valerius Maximus (c) recount. The number of casualties on both sides differs among the writers. Herodotus states that approximately 6,300 Persians and 192 Athenians perished. Justinus claims that 200,000 died, either by shipwreck or in battle, including Hippas, a traitor to his homeland; this view is also held by Cicero (d). Of the Athenian *Veltoversten*, Callimachus, Stefileus (son of Thraflyus), and

Cynegirus – who attempted to seize a Persian ship as it fled, losing both hands in the process – were killed. Crefias (e) reports that the Persian general Datis also perished, and that the Greeks refused to surrender his body to the Persians. However, Herodotus, whom we generally trust here, assures us that this Datis, along with his colleague Artaphernes, and the remainder of the army, safely reached Asia and even Sufa, carrying with them the captured Eretrians, whom King Darius did not punish as he had previously intended, but instead sent to a pleasant land of Ciffe, a part of ancient Persia located about 210 stadia from Sufa, where they would continue to reside – even at the time of this writing.

(a) in Parallel. I. c. (b) in Meffien. feu lib. iv. c. 25. (c) l. 5. cap. 3. (d) ad Att. I. IX. Epist. 10. (e) Exc. Segm. 18. ## Reisen

These accounts have been used as sources by many historians, and they demonstrate that the flagellum occurred twenty years after Brutus's death, as shown by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (a). Plutarch states it happened a year later. Eusebius (c) and Julius Caesar Scaliger (d), along with Jacobus Capellus and Christophorus Helvicus, indicate in their chronologies that it occurred during the first year of the 72nd Olympiad (e).

Not long after, four years specifically following the defeat at Marathon, the Egyptians, who had been brought under Cambyses's rule, were overthrown by Darius as he assembled an army from all his territories to avenge himself on the Greeks, as attested by the ancient writers Herodotus (f) and Eusebius (g). To subdue these two nations, he sought to recruit more soldiers and build a larger force. However, discord arose among his sons regarding the inheritance of the kingdom. For Darius, before ascending the throne, had fathered many children with the daughter of Gobryas, including Artabazanes or Artamenes, as Plutarch and Justin from Trogus name them. Among the children born to Atossa was Xerxes, the eldest. Artamenes relied on his seniority. Xerxes, in contrast, depended on the influence his mother held with the king, and which he himself possessed through her, aided by a fabricated story presented by Demaratus, King of Lacedaemon, who had been banished from his land at that time. Demaratus claimed that Artamenes was born to Darius before he became king, while Xerxes came into the world while his father sat on the throne. Herodotus (b) states that Darius's brother, Artaphernes, settled this dispute and assigned the kingdom to Xerxes. Plutarch recounts that this disagreement arose two years after Darius's death and was resolved by Artabanus, to whom the matter had been entrusted. Through his judgment, Xerxes was declared king; Artamenes, realizing he had been outmaneuvered, rushed forward on foot, seized him by the hand, and placed him on the royal throne. Recognizing his brother's affection, Xerxes appointed him as his first advisor, that is, gave him the closest position to himself; a distinction which

inspired such gratitude in Artamenes that he bravely fought and perished during the naval battle at Salamis for the glory of his brother (k).

Furthermore, writers mention the remarkable virtues of Darius. His kindness and nobility towards his enemies are evident in the case of Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, who fled his father's death from Tracian Cheroneus and offered himself to King Darius. Instead of being punished, he was generously rewarded with goods, a house, and a Persian woman (l). We have already discussed the captives from Eretria. A testament to his gratitude is found in Solyon of Samos, brother of Polycrates, the former tyrant of that island, whom Darius, though unaware of their relationship while serving as a bodyguard for Cambyses in Egypt, generously clothed with fine garments and restored to his brother's possessions and position (m). His generosity towards those who had shown him or his family kindness is also demonstrated by Sandoces himself, Thaumasius's son, governor of Cumae in Eolia. When he was condemned to be crucified for passing an unjust sentence in the council of royal judges and that punishment had already been carried out, Darius spared him from impending death due to the kindnesses previously shown to him and his family. Although this ungrateful man later betrayed Xerxes (as recounted by Herodotus). (n)

Diodorus Siculus (o) also testifies that Darius condemned Cambyses's impiety against the temples of the Egyptians, upheld their laws, and practiced piety towards the gods and kindness toward people. He mingled with Egyptian priests, gaining knowledge of their theology and the things recorded in their sacred scrolls; from which he learned how magnificent the ancient kings had been and with what gentleness they treated their subjects, striving to emulate their lives. As a result, he gained such honor that even during his lifetime he was called *Divus* or blessed—a title never

granted to any ## Cornelius de Bruins

It happened that no other king had occurred, and after his death, with great justification, he honored the tributes paid to the Pharaohs of Egypt. The same writer recounts that Darius initially desired in Memphis that his statue be placed before that of Sephoris, but the refusal of the High Priest, who at a meeting of priests opposed this, stating that he had not yet surpassed Sephoris' deeds, was not only not accepted but, on the contrary, the open frankness of the High Priest seemed to have fallen into disfavor, having responded that he would place his statue when he had as much time in life, so as not to yield to anyone in any matter (a).

However, Herodotus seems to indicate that this king was of a cruel and vengeful nature. For Intaphernes, one of the seven nobles who killed Magnus, wishing to enter the king's palace without ceremony, and being prevented by the guards under the pretext that the king was lying with one of his wives, opened the way with his dagger when they did not believe him; and Darius, fearing a stroke because of this, had him executed with the general consent of the royal princes. (b)

He recounts another example of cruelty and vengeance (c). To wit, three sons of an Oeobazus followed the king when he was campaigning against the Scythians. Oeobazus, having missed all his children, prayed that the king would keep one of his sons with him. Darius responded by saying that he would indeed let them all stay with him, but have the young men killed, and thus send the father home. But in my judgment, these things are not so weighty as to warrant a damaging blame on a prince who otherwise lived a life of virtue and fame, especially since not all writers relate the causes and reasons that may have prompted him to overstep the boundaries of mildness.

However, his greed is evident from more than one credible writer. He was the first of the Persian kings to devise the levying of assessments, where in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses one could satisfy them with gifts. Therefore, Cyrus, a gentle father, Cambyses, a lord because of the firmness of his character,

received Darius' cruelty.

and he is called a broker by the Persians for his avarice. (a) It is also said that to the inhabitants of certain plains around the land of Chorafmiers, Hyrcanians, and Parthians, the waters coming from the stream or river Acis, flowing from the adjacent mountains, which had previously been diverted and distributed to everyone through water channels and troughs by gates and dams, he compelled them to pay other money besides the usual assessments. (c) Semiramis, as it is said, built a carving above the famous gates of the city of Babylon on which these words were engraved: IF ANY OF THE KINGS OF BABYLON WHO COME AFTER ME LACK MONEY, OPEN THIS TOMB AND TAKE AS MUCH MONEY AS HE NEEDS; BUT LET HIM NOT NEED IT, AND KEEP THE TOMB CLOSED. FOR IT WOULD BE NO BENEFIT TO HIM. Cyrus and Cambyses left this tomb untouched, but Darius, driven by greed, opened it himself, but found nothing in it except this inscription: IF YOU HAVE NOT UNSATISFIED DESIRE FOR MONEY AND GREED AFTER SHAMEFUL GAIN, DO NOT OPEN THE TOMBS OF THE DEAD. (f) Whether this is true cannot be said. The philosopher Plato certainly says that Cyrus the Great had no knowledge of his wealth, having given his sons to be raised by guards and women; but that Darius cared especially for Hyftafpes' son, who was neither king nor king's son, and did not commit himself in any matter more severely than

letting his son Xerxes be raised in royal splendor (g). He was the first of the Persian kings to make money out of pure gold. He also had Aryandes, governor of Egypt, killed for minting coins of the finest silver to follow him. (b)

That all this is brought here to set Darius down from our side,

1. Herod. l. III. c. 89.
2. Herod. l. c. c. 117.
3. Herod. l. I. c. 187. Plut. in Apopht. l. c. &c.
4. 1. 1. de LL. p. m. 815, feqq.
5. Her. l. 3. c. 166.
6. 1. I. c. p. 54. &c.
7. 1. 1. 1. 118 feqq.
8. 1. 1. 1.

^{1.} Xerxes, Nicknamed “The Great”

It is no cause for wonder that he conquered provinces and territories that Cyrus had left behind, becoming the only Persian king to have done so. I consider Xerxes to be the most powerful of all the Persian kings. However, the fact that all these possessions were transferred to him from his father is attested by the most credible writers. For Herodotus (b) shows that the assessment levied on the subjects each year, apart from gifts and the accounting of the various peoples, amounted to a sum of fourteen thousand, five hundred, and fifty talents. He melted this money down and added it to the royal treasury, storing it in earthen vessels until he needed it, as both Herodotus and Strabo (c) attest.

Furthermore, he also undertook public works projects; this is sufficiently evident from the construction of the tomb on the double mountain, which we discussed earlier (d). The inscriptions there are not understood by any writer. Athenaeus (e) writes that it stated: “Darius poured a good cup without hindrance.” Porphyry (f), however, recounts that it was written that he was the *sage* or *magus*. And I would believe this more readily. For besides (g) his father Histaspes having learned some secrets of philosophy or magic from the Indian priests or Brahmans, it is plausible that Darius, who was so familiar with the Egyptian priests, also practiced these arts. The royal palace of Persepolis, moreover, I do not deceive myself in attributing to this magnificent king, who either founded it or at least enriched it with such glorious adornments. For anyone examining Herodotus’s (b) description of Xerxes’ march against the Greeks will find that the garb of the

peoples depicted is expressed through images of Chilmar. And it is clearly evident that this attire was not in use among the Persians during Cyrus' time, when they were still wild in their customs. My belief is therefore that this court of Persepolis was decorated with these images either during the reign of Darius or Xerxes. For subsequent kings were not powerful enough to spend so much on a building, and no historian would readily dispute that Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes should be counted among the most powerful.

Finally, Darius, while engaged in equipping for war, was struck by an illness and, after suffering from it for thirty days, died in the 31st year of his reign, as Ctesias claims, but with greater probability in the 36th, as (b) Herodotus and (t) Eusebius relate. He appointed

V. XERXES, Nicknamed "THE GREAT" N.

He succeeded to the kingdom after his father's death, and Plutarch (k) recounts that Darius brought the royal crown or diadem to Xerxes' door at the urging of Atossa. He allowed himself to be persuaded by Mardousius, son of Gobryas and his father's satrap, to wage war against the Greeks. However, Artabanus, his father's brother, opposed this in a full assembly of the Persian Great Ones, whom he had summoned for that purpose; the king greeted him with no favorable words in their presence. After seeing a specter in a dream urging him to war, he reconsidered the advice of Mardousius and Artabanus and abandoned his plan to attack the Greeks. Following this, the specter reappeared, threatening that if he did not wage the war he himself had proposed, he would not escape unscathed. Herodotus also recounts that Artabanus, having put on Xerxes' garments and gone to bed in Xerxes' chamber as he was ordered, saw the same apparition that appeared to him, telling him that fate was unavoidable (l). But I leave this to the writer's account. Thus, he decided upon the advice of Artabanus himself, with the encouragement of the satraps of Lydia contributing greatly to inciting the Greeks to war. People were recruited from all the provinces. Orders were given to manufacture ships, wagons, and whatever else was needed. However, there was a lack of time. Herodotus says that four years after the revolt of Egypt, others claim it took three years to complete the preparations (m). The same writer recounts that

L12 Xerxes

1. cap. 11. Y. I.
2. 1. 1. cap. 95 feqq.
3. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

4. vid. Ctesias l. c. fegm 15.
5. 1. X. p. m. 134.
6. 1. iv περὶ ἀποχαί
7. tefte Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 23. c. 6.
8. 1. 1. 1. 1. feqq. ufq ad c. 90.
9. 1. 1. 1. 1.
10. P. I. Chron. p. 30. & P. II. p. 129.
11. de virt. Al. T. II. p. m. 340 b.
12. Herod. l. vii. cap. 5, 6. 8 feqq. ufq ad c. 19.
13. Her. l. c. c. 5, 7. feqq. ufq. ad c. 19. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Xerxes had, toen hij zijn tocht begon, nog een droom gehad. Hij zag zichzelf gekroond met een olijfkrans waarvan de takken de aarde raakten, en de kroon waarmee hij was gekroond verdween plotseling. Hij voegde eraan toe dat de Wijzen hem hadden voorspeld dat alle mensen Xerxes zouden dienen (a). De schrijvers getuigen dat Xerxes tijdens deze oorlog naar Babylonië trok om het graf van Belus te bezoeken. Volgens het verhaal van Eliën lag Belus in een glazen sarcofaag, zijn lichaam overgoten met olie, behalve de brede lip van een palmboom die werd afgeknipt. Bij de sarcofaag stond een zuil waarop deze woorden waren gehouwen: *Wie het graf opent en de sarcofaag niet vult, zal straf ontvangen*. Xerxes zou hierdoor geschrokken zijn geweest en bevolen hebben dat men de sarcofaag vol olie zou gieten, maar er was geen manier om hem te vullen. (b) Ctesias vertelt dat de Babyloniërs na hun overwinning Zopyrus doodden, waardoor hij van Xerxes afviel. En Plutarchus lijkt hier niet tegenin te gaan. Hij vertelt dat Xerxes hen daarop boos was en hen vervolgens onder zijn macht bracht, hen verbood wapens te dragen en dwong zich te vermaken met fluiten en snaarharpen, het opzetten van tavernes en bordeelen, en het dragen van weelderige kleding. Maar dat ze beide de tijden van Darius en Xerxes in verwarring leefden, is genoeg bewezen door Herodotus en anderen.

Dat een Artabanus, oudste zoon van Artafyras, Mardonius de oude, en uit de gefundeerde Natacas toen in genade bij Xerxes waren, wil Ctesias (c) ons doen geloven. Herodotus (d) zegt daarentegen dat Artabanus de zoon van Hytafapes was, en vaderlijk oom van Xerxes. Alles gereed zijnde zette hij zijn tocht naar Griekenland voort. Xerxes moest in Sardes overwinteren en werd in zijn verblijfplaats ontvangen door Pythius, de zoon van Athys, een Lydiër die hem aanbood het bezit dat hij had, bestaande uit 30 tonnen zilver en 240 tonnen goud, minus 42 duizend gulden. Xerxes verlaagde deze gift, en voegde de ontbrekende 42 duizend gulden toe uit zijn eigen schat, bevolend de ontvanger dit geld te gebruiken. (e) Als vorsten tegenwoordig dergelijke aanbiedingen zouden ontvangen, denk ik niet dat ze die af zouden slaan.

Herodotus (f) en via hem Athenaeus(g) vertellen dat alle Grieken die Xerxes ooit hadden ontmoet, arm waren geworden en gedwongen werden hun vaderland te verlaten. Want Antipater,

zoon van Orgis, een vooraanstaande burger in Tha-fus, had tijdens een maaltijd veertig talenten zilver uitgegeven, nadat hij gouden en zilveren bekers had laten opstellen die de Perzen eveneens droegen, zodat men toen rechtmatig zei: dat ze, als Xerxes daar twee maaltijden zou hebben genoten, door de gruwelijke kosten gedwongen zouden zijn om te vluchten.

Xerxes begon deze tocht naar Griekenland in het vijfde jaar van de LXXIVe Olympische Spelen, volgens Eusebius; in het eerste van de LXXVe, volgens anderen. De schrijvers komen niet overeen over het aantal troepen in dit leger. Herodotus (b) en C. Nepos (i) zeggen dat zijn troepen veelvuldiger waren dan die van Darius tegen de Scithen, en die van de Scithen tegen de Cimmeriërs, toen ze hen tot in Medië vervolgden: en dat alle deze troepen uit verschillende volkeren samen ongeveer zeventienhonderd duizend man vormden voor het leger op het land (k). Justinus (l) meldt uit Trogus dat Xerxes zeventigduizend mannen uit zijn eigen rijk had gewapend, en driehonderd duizend mannen als hulpbronnen had bijeengebracht, zodat de bewering niet onwaar was dat zijn legers hele rivieren hadden opgedroogd, en Griekenland nauwelijks groot genoeg was om zijn krijgsmacht te bevatten. Ctefias vertelt dat Xerxes met een leger bestaande uit achthonderd duizend Perzen en duizend schepen naar Griekenland trok. Diodorus Siculus heeft vastgelegd dat, naast het landleger, meer dan 1200 oorlogsschepen in zijn eigen gebied waren toegewezen voor deze tocht (m). Nepos komt hierin overeen in het leven van Themistocles. Eliën vertelt op dezelfde plaats dat Xerxes zeventig miljoen mensen tegen de Grieken had verzameld. Naar Abydus getrokken zijnde, en begonnen hebbende een brug te slaan over de Hellespont, kwam er een storm op die de brug vernielde. Waarom hij, zo dom als hij was, beval de Hellespont te slaan en af te sluiten met boeien. Hij stelde echter andere plannen in werking, waardoor een nieuwe brug ontstond, waarnaar hij met zijn leger trok.

(f) l. vii. c. 118
feqq. (g) l. iv.
p. m. 146. (b) l.
c. c. 20 feq. (i) in
Themift. (k)
Herod. l. c. c. 6.
feqq. ad c. 63.
coll. c. 184. (l) l.
ii. c. 10. (m)
Diod. Sicul. L.
XI. p. m. 242
edit. Steph. ##
Reisen.

Having spent the
day with clear
weather, the sun
set, and night

appeared in
place of the day.
By what
wondrous sign
did the Magi find
him, indicating
that the downfall
of the Greek
cities was
imminent, since
the Greeks had
taken Helios,
Perseus, and
Selene as their
protectors? (a)
Pythius, who
prayed that one
of his five sons
traveling with
the king might
remain at home,
rejected his
request. For he
cut the eldest in
half, placing one
portion on the
right side of the
road by which
the army must
pass, and the
other on the left
side. (b)

Having
transported his
army across
Europe, a
journey that took
an entire month,
he proceeded
through Thrace
and Macedonia
to Thermopylae.
Mount Athos, a
great
promontory
where the
Persian fleet
once suffered
shipwreck under
Darius, was
breached; the

Isthmus was
separated by a
trench, and the
Strymon River
spanned with a
bridge. (c) It is
said that Xerxes,
lamenting his
people, cried
out, because
after one
hundred years
none of all those
who had fought
against him
would be alive.
The Athenians,
consulting the
oracle of Apollo
at Delphi,
received the
answer that they
should defend
themselves with
wooden walls.
But when no one
among them
could
understand the
meaning of this
prophecy, as it is
read by the
interpreter of
Aristophanes,
Themistocles
informed the
assembly that
these wooden
walls signified
ships. He
advised them to
sail with their
wives and
children to
Salamis. Other
cities in Greece
were inclined to
risk peace.
Therefore, an
army was raised
for this purpose.
When the

Lacedaemonians
sought advice on
this matter from
the oracle, the
Pythia replied
that either the
king or the city
must perish.
Leonidas,
instead of his
brother
Cleomenes, King
of Sparta,
without
hesitation,
marched with
300 Spartans
and other
auxiliary troops
—approximately
four thousand
men—to occupy
the narrow pass
of Thermopylae
and defend it
bravely. After
inflicting a great
defeat upon the
Persians, he was
finally
surrounded;
whereupon he
yielded to the
allies and
perished for his
country along
with his
Spartans.
Having bypassed
Thermopylae,
Xerxes
proceeded to
Athens and set
fire to the city,
which he found
deserted, also
killing the
priests whom he
discovered
there. The
Athenians
meanwhile

gathered near
Artemisium
between Euboea,
in a place where
they could not be
surrounded, and
engaged the
fleet of Xerxes in
battle,
destroying it
after a fierce
naval struggle.
Now
Themistocles
wished that
ships should be
sent to the
Hellespont and
the bridge built
by the Persians
set ablaze;
although
Aristides thought
that another
measure should
be taken against
the enraged
enemy. Finally,
Xerxes was
deceived by
Themistocles
and turned back
toward Asia. For
it is said that he
sent Arnes, one
of the royal
counselors,
whom he found
among the
captives, to
inform Xerxes
that the Greeks
were
approaching to
destroy the
bridge;
whereupon he
wished to
preserve his own
life, fearing for
the king's safety.
And so, Xerxes,

having been
frightened by
this warning,
entrusted
Mardonius with
supreme
command of the
troops and left
the royal
household affairs
with him, sailing
back toward
Asia. Along the
way, he
plundered Platea
and other cities
from which the
inhabitants had
fled. After the
king's departure,
Mardonius took
the city of
Olynthus with a
military force of
three hundred
thousand men.
He
unsuccessfully
attempted to
persuade the
Athenians to
submit to the
king and secure
peace, with
assurances of
royal friendship
and a promise to
rebuild and
improve the city.
But they
remained
steadfast in their
determination to
preserve their
freedom, and
with the Greek
army, which was
one hundred
thousand strong,
they utterly
defeated
Mardonius. (a)

Ctesias writes
that Mardonius
escaped alive
from the battle,
and Justinus
shares this view
(c). But that he
was afterward
sent by Xerxes,
who had been
infected by the
superstitious
religion of the
Greeks, to set
fire to Apollo's
temple, perished
along with all his
war bands by a
storm of
lightning and
hail, is shown by
Ctesias himself.

Although
Herodotus (d)
testifies that he
was killed by
Arymnefthos in
the battle near
Plataea, a city, as
has been said, in
Boeotia. Plutarch
says that this
Arymnefthos was
a Spartan
soldier, and that
Mardonius was
killed by him
with a stone
which he hurled
at his head (e).
Pausanias writes

(a) See this
Herodot. I.
c. Diod. S.XI.
Ifocr. in
Panathen. Plut.
in vita Them.
C.Nepos in
Them. Strab. l.
IX. p.m. 394, 395
& 443. Coll. l.

XIV. p. 634. Plin.
lib. XXX. c. 10.
juft. I. II. c. 11,
12, 13, 14.

(b) Segm. 25.

(c) I. c. c. 14.

(d) l. IX. c. 62

(e) In Ariftid. T. I.
op. p.m. 330.c.
Cornelis de
Bruins' Writings

(a) Concerning
Paufanias, King
of the
Lacedemonians
and Victor in this
battle, who
forbade that his
dead body be
mishandled
against the
feelings of
Lamppo Egineta.
The latter
recounts (b) that
the tomb of
Mardonius in
Boeotia is shown
to the right side
of the war path,
not far from the
ruins of the city
of Hyfie; but he
adds shortly that
all writers agree
that the body of
Mardonius was
scornfully
mocked after the
end of the battle
and flag, and
that it cannot be
said with
certainty who
might have
buried him:
although one
knows enough
that Artontes,
Mardonius's son,

gave great gifts
to Dionyphanes,
an Ephiphier,
and another
Ionian, so that
they would
arrange his
father's burial.
The same writer
(c) testifies that
the fable of
Mardonius is
preserved within
Athens in the
church of
Poliades among
the oldest
church offerings,
and his splendid
image carved
from white
marble within
Sparta in the
most beautiful
gallery, which is
called Persian
because it was
built from spoils
taken on the
Persians, has
been seen
recently. This
defeat occurred
in the first year
of the 75th
Olympiad, as
Eusebius (d)
notes, or in the
second, as
Scaliger (e)
indicates.

Furthermore, the
poet Cherilus
recounts, who,
according to the
testimony of
Eusebius (f),
lived during the
Persian times
around the
second year of

the 74th
Olympiad and
described the
march of Xerxes
to Greece in
verse, that at
that time the
Jews, who dwelt
on Mount
Solyma, as he
says, served
among the
Persians in the
war. Certainly
Josephus (g) and
Eusebius (b)
bring forth some
verses from this
Cherilus which
tend towards
this point.
Wherefore one
must also
compare
Scaliger (i) for
further clarity.

The rest of
Xerxes's army,
which he had
entrusted to his
war leaders to
guide from
Greece to Asia,
had been
exhausted by
daily labor and
lack of food, so
that it had
already lasted
many days due
to the pestilence;
and the flank of
the dying people
was so great that
the roads were
filled with
corpses, and
birds and
animals,
attracted by the
stench, followed

the army. Xerxes
himself,
frightened by
news received
from
Themistocles,
withdrew to
Abydos, where
he found the
bridge broken
(which had
happened due to
the storms and
thunderstorms of
winter) and
crossed over as
quickly as he
could in a five-
oared boat. It
was certainly a
spectacle worthy
of consideration,
and wondrous to
behold how
human fate was
changed by such
a shift in
circumstances,
to see him taking
refuge in a small
boat which
shortly before
could contain the
entire sea, and
how he now
relied on the
service of his
dependents,
whose armies
had recently
been used to
make the earth a
feast for the
great multitude,
as Justinus
would say (a).
Thus he returned
to Asia in less
than thirty days,
having
previously spent
six months with

the journey to
Greece, and
judged that he
was not
conquered by
Themistocles,
but preserved,
as Nepos (b)
says.

Herodotus says
that others
relate that
Xerxes, when he
had departed
from Athens,
came to the river
Strymon and,
having
surrendered his
army to
Hydarnes, went
in a boat from a
Phoenician ship
to Asia. That this
ship, laden by
the Phoenicians
who
accompanied the
king, suffered
much from the
storm; so that
Xerxes, seized
with fear, asked
the captain
whether there
was any hope of
reaching land
safely, and this
replied, no,
unless the ship
were unloaded of
people. Xerxes
having received
this answer
inquired of his
Phoenicians
whether any of
them would care
for their king,
whose safety
was in their

hands. They then
fell prostrate
before him out of
respect and
willingly jumped
into the sea;
whereby the
ship, freed from
its excessive
load, brought
Xerxes safely to
Asia. Here he
had another
clever trick up
his sleeve.

For no sooner
had he arrived
on land than he
rewarded the
captain with a
golden crown
because he had
brought the
king's people
safely across,
but shortly
thereafter had
him beheaded
because through
his actions so
many
Phoenicians had
perished (c).

It is said that
after staying for
some time at
Sardis, he
gathered
together the
remaining
Persians who
had survived
from both the
battle and the
sea flight.

Ctesias (d)
recounts that
there were one
hundred and ##
The Fall of
Xerxes

Twenty thousand
men were slain.
Others claim the
number was far
greater. Xerxes
then stirred up
the air of his
brother's wife,
Mafista's
consort, as well
as at Sardis,
causing turmoil.
Unable to reach
his wife, he
married Darius,
his brother's
son, to Artaynta,
his brother's
daughter, hoping
through this
means to gain
more favor with
his daughter's
mother than
before. From
there, he
proceeded to
Babylon and
then to Persia,
where, as Ctefias
(a) states, he
arrived at Sufa.
There, he
committed incest
with his
stepdaughter.
While secretly
engaged in this
unlawful liaison,
Ameftiris, Xerxes'
wife, presented
him with a
garment, richly
embroidered by
her own hand,
spacious and
worthy of
admiration.
Pleased with the
gift and having
donned it, he
took it to

Artaynta. The king, overjoyed, entered into conversation appropriate for such an occasion and, prompted by her, promised her whatever she desired as reward for her affection.

Reluctantly complying because he feared Ameftris, he nevertheless granted her request and presented her with the garment.

Artaynta donned it with joy. But when Ameftris learned of this, she harbored a deep resentment—not against Artaynta herself, but against her mother, believing that she was responsible for this affair.

It happened during the solemn festival, which the Persians call *Tyfla*, the Greeks τέλειον (perfect), and which is celebrated annually on the day the king was crowned, when it was customary for the king to distribute gifts

to the Persians;
Ameftiris
requested
Xerxes to
surrender his
brother's wife.
Xerxes found
this request
highly improper
and impious, but
ultimately
yielding to the
queen's plea and
the customs of
the nation—to
which nothing
can be refused
on this great
feast day—he
reluctantly
granted it. Upon
this, he ordered
his brother to
abstain from his
wife, promising
him his daughter
in marriage as
compensation,
threatening him
otherwise if he
did not comply.
To this threat,
his brother
responded only
with, "*Lord, you
have not yet
killed me.*" He
then stepped out
the door.
Meanwhile,
Ameftiris
summoned some
of the royal
guards and
mistreated
Mafista's wife,
tore off her
breasts, cast her
to the dogs, and
sent back her
nose, ears, lips,

and tongue
severed.

Upon this
happening,
Mafista fled with
his children and
some of his
friends to
Baêtra, where he
was governor.
But Xerxes,
fearing that he
might plot
against him,
dispatched
troops to pursue
and bring him
back.

Consequently, he
and his children
were brought
before him. (b)

Joseph Scaliger
attempts to
demonstrate
through
numerous proofs
(c) that Xerxes
was the son of
Efter, whose
history is found
in the sacred
writings, and
that he was the
same Ahafueros
mentioned in
those writings by
Efira (d).

Regarding this
last point, it
would be futile
to deny its
possibility. For
there is no doubt
that Xerxes was
among the kings
of Persia the
most powerful
who, according
to the prophecy
of Daniel (e),

waged war
against Greece
with mighty
armies, so that
he is not
improperly
called the terror
of Greece. It also
testifies
Herodotus (f)
that both Xerxes
and Artaxerxes
mean ἄγχιος in
Greek, which
means “warlike.”
Plutarch writes
Artaxerxes
instead of this
name, a name
Scaliger (g)
demonstrates to
be Hellenistic,
not ending in an
‘s,’ as is the
custom in
Persian
language, but
rather being
Artaxafte or
Artoxaste. The
Hebrew
Maorites call
him
Abasebwerus—
whom the
Greeks
shortened to
ἄγχιος or Xerxes
—and
Artaxerxes, or
rather Artaxafte,
Arthafasta,
which differs
little from the
other. From this,
it seems likely
that Efira in the
aforementioned
passage means
Xerxes and
Artaxerxes the
Long-Armed, and

that Darius
 mentioned there
 (b) is not Darius,
 son of Hyltapes,
 but the bastard
 Darius, as we
 will show below.
 But whether
 Efter was the
 same woman
 Xerxes married,
 whom Herodotus
 calls Ameftiris
 (Scaliger
 believes this to
 be Persian,
 formed by
 adding the
 letter-cluster
ham to Efther,
 creating
 Hamefber),
 cannot be clearly
 demonstrated
 from history. For
 the
 aforementioned
 Ameftiris is said
 to be the
 daughter of Ota-
 nes, the
 governor, who
 was in the
 procession of
 Xerxes against
 (b) vid. Herod. l.
 c. c. 10'8 feqq.
 ufque ad c. 113.
 (c) Anim. in Euf.
 Chr. p. m. 70. &
 de Emend.
 Temp. l. vi.
 p. 592. (d) Efr.
 c. 4. 'P. 6. (e)
 c. 11, 'P. 1. (f) l.
 vi. c. 99. (g) l.
 c. p. 586 feqq.
 (h) 'P. 24 fcu
 ultimo.
 (a) segm. 17. vid.
 & Herod. l. ix.

c. 107. ## The
Treacherous
Actions of
Paufanias

The Greeks,
following the
testimony of
Herodotus (a),
have
demonstrated
their inhumanity.
I believe this is
further
evidenced by the
mistreatment of
Xerxes's wife
and the cruel
execution of ten
(according to
Plutarch (b)) or
fourteen (as
Herodotos (c)
states)
prominent
Persian nobles,
whom they left
alive in pits to
appease Pluto,
or the
underworld god,
demonstrating
their gratitude.

Now, Esther is
mentioned in the
sacred scrolls, or
the book bearing
her name (d),
called Hadassa,
and that, as the
Chaldean
interpreter says,
because she was
righteous. And
this praise of
righteousness
cannot be given
to the
aforementioned
Amefris.
Furthermore,
Ahafuerus, about

whom the Book of Esther (e) speaks, was in Susa during the seventh year of his reign; however, Xerxes was hindered from warring against the Greeks beyond the land during both the same seventh and eighth years of his kingship. Add to this that the Jews (f) and Epiphanius testify that the Book of Esther is the last among the books of the Old Covenant. Therefore, Abul Pharajus (g) plainly states that the tradition holds that the events of Esther and Mordechai occurred during Xerxes's reign cannot be doubted. For if this were true, it would surely have been mentioned in the Book of Esra, which describes everything that befell the Jews during the time of this king.

While these matters concerning Xerxes and Amefris were being carried out

in Susa, the
Greeks,
particularly the
Spartans, sent
Paufanias with
the common
fleet to Cyprus
and the
Hellespont to
drive out the
Persian
garrisons from
those regions.
With this fleet,
the Greeks
captured many
cities of Cyprus
and
subsequently
seized
Byzantium.
There they took
numerous noble
Persians and
some relatives of
the king captive,
whom Paufanias
secretly returned
to Xerxes,
pretending that
they had
escaped from the
land's prison,
along with a
letter to the
king, which he
entrusted to
Gongylus of
Eretria. In this
letter, he
promised the
king that he
would surrender
Sparta and the
rest of Greece to
him if he were
given his
daughter in
marriage.
Upon receiving
the letter, Xerxes

sent Artabazus,
son of
Pharnaces,
commander of
the Persian war
bands, with a
reply, assuring
Paufanias that he
would not refuse
any request he
made as long as
he kept his word.
He also
instructed him to
send a large sum
of money to buy
off influential
figures among
the Greeks.
Thus, having
reached far in
his ambition,
Paufanias
displayed so
much commotion
and zeal in his
undertaking that
the
Lacedaemonians
began to suspect
him. They
summoned him
home and
demanded an
accounting,
claiming he had
forfeited his life
by his actions;
however, he was
acquitted but not
sent back to the
fleet, remaining
instead at home.
Nevertheless,
not long
afterward, he
returned of his
own accord
without any
pretext to the
army, where he
did not live a

modest life but
rather in a
conspicuously
ostentatious
manner. He
dressed in
Median fashion,
accompanied by
Median and
Egyptian
attendants. His
table was also
more lavish than
those around
him could
tolerate. No one
who spoke with
him received an
answer; he
responded
arrogantly, ruled
harshly, and took
counsel with
Artabazus,
giving advice
detrimental to
both his
homeland and
himself. This
treacherous
undertaking
remained hidden
for a time
because
Paufanias had
arranged
matters with the
Persians so that
no one bringing
a letter to him
would be
allowed to
return, lest their
secrets might be
discovered by
anyone.
Consequently,
none of the
messengers who
carried
messages to
Artabazus

returned. From this, Argilius, a young man with whom Paufanias had been engaged in improper relations, learned about it; and after being informed of what had happened to the letter carriers and foreseeing nothing better for himself, he surrendered him to the High Council of the Lacedaemonians. They ordered Argilius to go to the Temple of Neptune at Tenedos, which was religiously honored by the Greeks and which they held inviolable. In this temple, beside the altar where Argilius had sat, a pit was dug in the earth from which one could easily hear what anyone spoke with Argilius, so that he might save his life by—

(a) l. VII. c. 61.

(b) lib. περὶ διαδοχῆς; feu de superstitione in fin. T. II. oper.

p. m. 171. (c)

c. 2. 'Y. 7. (d)

cap. 1. 'Y. 1. (f)

in Seder olam.

(g) Dyn. cit.
p. 87 text. Ar. &
p. 56 verf. lat.

The Treacherous
Actions of
Paufanias ##
The Flight of
Paufanias and
Themistocles

A struggle
seemed to be
underway. Why
some members
of the
government
were involved in
this matter.

Paufanias,
having heard
what Argilus had
said, appeared
out of fear to
have gone there,
asking the young
man what had
happened, why
he had suddenly
sought refuge in
this church.

Then he revealed
to him what he
had noticed from
the letter.

Paufanias then
pleaded and
prayed that he
would not break
his promise to
him, from whom
he had received
so many benefits
and kindnesses,
if he were to
save him from
such great need,
richly rewarding
him. After this,
Paufanias
departed; and
when the
government

ordered him to be seized, as they had plotted to seize him in the city by the neck, he noticed the demeanor of someone who wanted to warn him that he was being led astray. Then he fled into the church of Minerva, commonly called Chalciacus or the copper house. The government did not want to take him out of the church so as not to violate it, they stopped the entrance and removed the roof, leaving him wretchedly freezing from cold and hunger. They carried him out of the church before he was completely dead, but he escaped quickly, and then gave up. It is told that Paufanias's mother, an old woman, having heard of her son's misdeed, herself brought a rope to help stop the entrance of the church. This is recounted by Thucydides (a), Diodorus Siculus (b), C. Nepos (c), and Polyaeus (d).

Xenophon alone
(e) says that
Paufanias was
condemned and
fled to Tegea,
where he died
from an illness.

Not long after,
Themistocles
tested his
fatherland's
ingratitude,
having so often
escaped the
dangers of
enemies. For the
Lacedaemonians
accused him
before the
Athenians of the
same treason for
which Pauhanias
had been guilty,
claiming that he
had held a
meeting with the
Medes or
Persians, which
was proven by
the evidence
through which
Pauhanias had
been convinced,
and therefore
condemned him
to the same
punishment that
Pauhanias had
received.
Themistocles,
having
previously been
driven out of the
city by the
flames of the
people for
fearing his
power, had fled
to Argos, where
he heard that he
was banished

from the
Athenians, who
believed the
accusations of
the
Lacedaemonians
because of
treason, and
then departed
for Corcyra, and
then, noticing
that the
government of
the city intended
to make war on
the
Lacedaemonians
and Athenians
through him,
went to
Admetus, King of
the Molossians,
with whom he
maintained the
right of
sanctuary, and
when rejected by
the king, fled
into a chapel,
having
previously taken
his daughter by
the hand,
intending not to
set foot outside
the chapel until
the king
promised him in
good faith that
he would take
him under his
protection.
Admetus kept his
word here. But
when
Themistocles
was publicly
demanded by the
Athenians and
Lacedaemonians,
he did not give
up the one he

was protecting,
but advised him
to seek a better
refuge, as it
would be
difficult for him
to be safe in a
place so close.
Having learned
this, he set off
without anyone
knowing to
Pidna, where
Admetus had
sent him with a
bodyguard, and
from there, when
a ship was
driven by a
storm to Nexus,
where the
Athenian army
then lay, he
understood that
if he came there,
he was a dead
man. In this
distress, he
revealed to the
shipmaster who
he was, making
great promises if
he could save
him. Polyaeus (f)
recounts that
Themistocles,
discovering who
the shipmaster
was, threatened
him as if to say
that if he did not
save him, he
would accuse
him before the
Athenians of
having been
bribed by money
to take him on
his ship and
transport him.
But what is more
likely is what

Thucydides and
others maintain.
They say that the
shipmaster,
moved by pity
for the man who
was adrift,
anchored his
ship far from the
island, nor did
he let anyone go
ashore until he
came to
Ephesus, where
he set
Themistocles
ashore, who
afterward richly
rewarded him.
For his friends
had secretly
carried most of
his possessions
from Athens and
brought them to
Asia, if we
believe Plutarch
(g), Thucydides
(b), C. Nepos (i)
and Diodorus
Siculus.(k).

Mm

Themistocles
falls out of favor
with his own
people.

His flight to
Admetus.

The great
journey of
Themistocles.

(a) l. I. p. 31, 41,
42, feqq. edit. H.
Steph. 1564. (b)
l. xi. p. m. 265,
feqq. ed. Steph.
feu p. 34 feqq.
ed. Wech. (c) in
vita Paufan. (d) l.
VIII. Strateg. (e)

l. III. de reb.
Graec. in extr.
(f) l. I. Strateg.
(g) in vit.
Themist. T. I.
Oper. p. m. 125.
(h) l. c. p. m. 44,
feq. (i) l. c. (k) l.
c. p. 270 feq.
edit. Steph. feu
p. 41. fed;
edition.
Wecheliana. ##
Cornelis de
Bruins:
Themistocles
Having been
informed that
within Ephesus,
or as Plutarch
wishes, at
Cumae, he had
been laid low by
the intrigues of
maritime affairs
- Ergoteles in
particular and
Pythodoros,
because Xerxes
had placed two
hundred talents
upon his head -
Themistocles set
out for Ege, a
city in Aeolia,
where he lodged
with Nycogenes
(Diodorus calls
him Lyftheides),
a friend of
Xerxes, who had
received this
king with great
honor when he
passed through
the region with
his army. These
associates took
Themistocles
under their
protection, but

initially refused
to bring him
before the king,
claiming that
coming to court
would likely lead
to his death,
given how
severely he had
undermined the
state of Persia.
However, they
later realized it
would be
beneficial for the
empire and
granted him his
request. Thus,
having a
carriage
constructed with
sails and
clothing – in the
manner
commonly used
to transport
women and
attendants of the
Persian king –
Themistocles
was safely
brought before
the king.

Most writers
believe that
Themistocles
passed away
while Xerxes
reigned in Asia.
However,
Thucydides
states it
occurred during
the reign of
Artaxerxes, with
whom, as they
had lived at the
same time, were
associated
Charon the
Lampacener by

Plutarch on the
aforementioned
occasion and C.
Nepos in his *Life*
of Themistocles.

Nycogenes or
Lyftheides,
having secretly
conferred with
the king about
Themistocles,
promised to do
no harm. But
Thucydides, and
through him
Nepos, recount
that
Themistocles
first sent a letter
to the king, in
which he
demonstrated
how he had been
compelled to
take up arms
against the
king's father and
defend his own
homeland, but
also how after
the battle at
Salamis he had
warned the same
man by letters
about an attempt
to break the
bridge Xerxes
had built across
the Hellespont,
thereby freeing
himself from his
enemies. Now,
having fled
Greece, he
sought refuge
with the king,
hoping that if he
could gain the
king's
friendship, he
would prove

himself no less a
friend than his
father had been,
a valiant enemy.
He requested
the king grant
him a year to
speak about
matters he had
in mind and,
after a year had
passed, to come
before him. But
Diodorus and
Plutarch recount
from Dinon,
Clitarchus,
Heraclides, and
others that
Themistocles,
without anyone
knowing, was
received by
Artabanus,
Xerxes' war
chief. Whether
this occurred
during the reign
of Xerxes or his
son Artaxerxes is
immaterial; all
writers agree on
these
particulars.
Themistocles
spent the year
granted by the
king learning the
Persian language
and speech with
such fluency and
alertness that it
was said he
delivered
speeches in
Persian more
skillfully than
those born in
Persia.
Meanwhile, it
became known
that Mandane,

daughter of
Darius and
Xerxes' full
sister, had been
robbed of her
children when
Themistocles
destroyed the
Persian fleet; she
appeared before
the king dressed
in mourning and
begged him to
punish
Themistocles.
Unable to
achieve this
through her
brother, she
stirred up the
Persians and
finally incited
the populace to
demand his
punishment. This
led to a riot,
which the king
quelled by
announcing that
he would
convene a
council of the
empire's great
men and act
according to
their decision.
Much time was
taken preparing
for this
assembly,
allowing
Themistocles an
opportunity to
master the
Persian
language, which
he subsequently
used to refute
the charges
against him,
thereby clearing
himself of all

harm and
disgrace,
according to
Diodorus. The
king himself
rejoiced in the
man's
preservation,
lavished gifts
upon him, and
held him in such
esteem that he
shared with him
the hunt and the
courtly
entertainments,
as well as access
to his mother,
with whom he
reportedly
became close.
He was also
instructed in the
sciences of the
Magi or Persian
wise men by the
king's favor. The
king even
desired that he
wear a long
Persian robe,
bestowed upon
him one of the
most precious,
beautiful,
virtuous, and
decent women
from Persia for
marriage.
Indeed, he
granted him
entire cities,
such as Lampia –
great gifts from
the king to
Themistocles.

(a) See Diod. Sic.
I. c. Plut. *Life* cit.

##

Themistocles's
Journey and

Early Conflicts
with the Persians
Plutarchus (a) of
Zyzicus,
Neanthes, and
Phania recount
that the three
first cities were
granted to him
only: namely
Lampacus,
Myuns, and
Magnesia, where
he also died not
far from the city
and was honored
with a flatelike
tomb, moreover,
a
commemorative
statue was
erected in his
honor on the
market square,
of which the
memory still
lived at the time
of Diodorus,
Nepos, and
others. Some
have written
that, despairing
of accomplishing
what he had
pleased the
King, or failing
to see an
opportunity to
bring Greece
under his rule,
he took poison
himself, or, as
others say, drank
hemlock blood,
and thus met his
end. But the
testimony of
Thucydides,
Diodorus, and
others carries
more weight.

They all maintain
that he died in
Magnesia at the
age of sixty-five.
(b). This account
of Themistocles I
have had to
append here,
partly because it
involves a large
portion of
Persian affairs
and their
customs, and
partly because it
demonstrates
that even
courage itself
was valued by
them in the
enemy. For as we
believe
Plutarchus (c)
recounts, the
King showed his
approval of
Themistocles's
arrival among
his friends and
prayed to God
that he would
always inspire
his enemies with
the thought that
they might avoid
their own
bravery. Indeed,
it is added that
on one night he
thrice exclaimed
in a dream: "I
have
Themistocles,
the Athenian."
Furthermore,
Xerxes, after the
death of
Paufanias and
the discovery of
his treachery,
suffered another

war from the
Greeks in the
third year of the
LXXVII
Olympiad,
according to
Helvicus's
reckoning of the
world's creation
in 3480, or as
Samfon
calculates (d) in
3535, when P.
Valerius
Publicola and C.
Nautius Rufus
were
burgomasters at
Rome. For after
all the Greek
cities had
surrendered
their territory to
Athens, Cimon,
son of Miltiades,
set sail with a
fleet of two
hundred rowing
ships and one
hundred Ionic
ships to wage
war against the
Persians,
destroying their
army in Thrace
and capturing
the city of Eione,
located on the
Strimon River,
which was under
the control of
Boges or Butes,
as Plutarchus
calls him, a man
very loyal to his
Persian King.
Now Boges,
seeing that there
was no hope left
in the city, built
a large pyre,
placing his

children, wife,
and attendants
upon it, along
with all the gold
and silver that
was in the city,
which he threw
into the Strimon
River from the
walls.

Afterwards, he
also cast himself
into the fire, so
that he might
not be suspected
by the King of
having remained
alive out of fear.

Therefore,
Xerxes also said
that no one but
Boges was a
brave man,
refusing to let
him go to heaven
and bestowing
the highest
honors among
the Persians
upon his
surviving
children. (e). The
fleet then sailed
to Caria, where
many coastal
towns populated
by Greek settlers
from Persia had
seceded; others
were inhabited
by natives but
controlled by
Persian
garrisons. Cimon
violently
subdued them.
Having brought
Caria under his
control, he did
the same in
Lycia, crushing
the King's power

so much that no
Persian arms
were heard of in
Asia Minor from
Ionia to
Pamphilia. The
Persians
meanwhile
recruited foot
soldiers from
their own lands
and sent ships
from Phoenicia,
Cyprus, and
Cilicia.

According to
Plutarchus (f),
based on the
testimony of
Ephorus,
Pherendates, son
of the King's
brother, or, as
Callithenes
claims,
Aryomandes, son
of Gobryas, was
appointed
generalissimo of
the army.

Tithraufes,
whom Diodorus
(g) calls a
bastard of
Xerxes, was
chosen as
admiral
according to the
same Ephorus.

It is recorded
that
Phanodemus
wrote that the
Persian fleet
consisted of six
hundred ships,
and that Ephorus
reported three
hundred and fifty
ships; Plutarchus
omitted this in

his writings. But Diodorus states that the Persians had three hundred and forty, and the Athenians two hundred and fifty ships. Cimon then learned that the Persian fleet was anchored at Eurymedon, a river in Lycia, awaiting the arrival of Phoenician ships from Cyprus, set sail with the intention of engaging the enemy violently if they sought to avoid battle. Thus, having engaged in battle near Mycale, he captured and destroyed many Persian ships, and more than one hundred were taken into the hands of the Athenians along with their crews. The rest...

(a) l. c. conf.
Athen. I. r. p. m.
29. (b) Vid. Thuc.
I. c. p. m. 45.
Diod. Sic. I. c. C.
Nep. I. c. Plut. I.
c. p. 127. feqq.
Valer. Max. I. v.
c. 3. coll. lib. VIII
c. 7. Confer
Cicer, in Bruto
fegm. XI. &
Phylostr. Icon.

31. (c) l.
c. p. 126. (d)
Chr. Cath. P. IV.
(e) Vid. Herod. I.
VII. c. 107. Plut.
in vita Cimon. T.
I. op. p. m. 482.
(f) l. c. p. 486.
(g) l. c. p. 46.
edit. Wech, feu
p. 273, edis,
Stephan. ##
Cornelis de
Bruins

Having escaped
the flight to
Cyprus, the
military force
safely reached
land, but all the
ships of the
pursuers fell into
the hands of the
enemy. Seeing
that his troops
were filled with
courage, strong
in their abilities,
and full of
confidence in
victory, also
inflamed by the
recent naval
triumph, Cimon
outfitted the
bravest among
them in the
Persian style,
covering them
with helmets of
that fashion, and
placed them on
the captured
ships. The
Persians, seeing
these ships
approaching,
imagined that a
new fleet of
Persians had
arrived, deceived

by the
appearance of
the ships and
their Persian
equipment and
attire. In this
belief, they
welcomed the
Athenians as
friends. As night
fell, Cimon led
the military force
ashore, which,
received as
friends within
the camp,
perished to a
man when it
attacked them,
and even
overthrew
Pherendates
himself in his
tent; whereupon
the Persians
were routed and
terrified by such
an unexpected
attack, fleeing in
disarray. The
Persians were so
overwhelmed
that many did
not even know
who had invaded
their camp.
Believing that
the Greeks had
no land army,
they thought
they were being
attacked by the
Paphlagonians,
their neighbors,
who had long
harbored
resentment
against them.
Consequently,
many fled to the
Greek ships,
mistaking them

for those of their
supposed allies,
and fell into
ambush. A great
defeat was
inflicted upon
the remaining
forces; but when
a thick darkness
of night
descended,
Cimon lit a torch
as a signal for
the troops to
retreat, so that
its flame would
not cause harm
to the plunder.
They then all
returned to the
ships, and on the
following day,
after erecting a
trophy in that
place, they
sailed back to
Cyprus as if in
triumph, having
achieved two
glorious victories
on the same day
—one on land
and one at sea.
Afterward,
hearing that
twenty
Phoenician
ships, which had
not been present
in the battle,
were lying off
Cape Hydrus,
Cimon sailed
there with the
fleet and
overwhelmed
them all, without
the main army
learning
anything certain
about it. Here
the largest part

of these men or
vanguard
remained.
Besides 340
rowing ships
captured here,
more than
twenty thousand
people were
taken prisoner in
this engagement,
and a great
amount of money
was seized.
Thus, Cimon, as
a valiant hero,
surpassed the
glory of Salamis
in the naval
battle and that of
Plataea in the
land battle,
bringing King
Xerxes to such a
state that he had
to make peace—
a peace which
was both
shameful for him
and glorious for
Greece—by
which he was
bound to abstain
from the Greek
sea as far as a
horse could run
in a day, nor
allow any
warship to
approach the
Cyanean or
Chelidonian
islands. Plutarch
mentions that
Callithenes said
that Xerxes did
not comply with
this agreement
according to a
treaty, but out of
fear of these
victories; yet he

himself states
that among the
decrees of the
people of
Craterus, at an
assembly, a copy
of this treaty was
found, from
which the truth
of the matter
appeared. One
can find
information on
this subject in
(a) Plutarch, (b)
Diodorus, (c)
Thucydides, (d)
Nepos, (e)
Polienus, and (f)
Justin.

With this war
against Greece
thus unluckily
concluded for
Xerxes, Xerxes
himself, formerly
the terror of
nations, began to
fall into
contempt in his
own eyes. For
Artabanus—not
Darius's paternal
uncle but the
Overste of
Xerxes'
bodyguards
(Ctefias calls him
(g) Artapanus
and the son of
Artafyras; and
Diodorus says
that he was a
Hyrcanian by
birth and highly
favored by
Xerxes)—seeing
that the king's
judgment daily
diminished,
began to harbor

hopes of seizing
the kingdom and
therefore forged
a plan to assist
the king. He
made his
intentions known
to Spamtres, or
Afpamtres
(Diodorus calls
him
Mithridates),
who was also in
great esteem
with the king.
Aristotle (b)
recounts that
Artabanus took
these measures
because he had
accused Xerxes
of crucifying
Darius for not
obeying his
commands and
feared his wrath.
Whatever the
case may be,
Artabanus set
out one morning
with seven sons,
all brave and
valiant men, into
Xerxes' palace,
which always
opened to him in
a show of
friendship, and
after having
visited the king,
he went to meet
his sons, who
were on their
way, with false
assurances. For
Xerxes had three
sons: Darius,
Artaxerxes, and
Hyftapes.
Darius, the
eldest, and
Artaxerxes, the

youngest, were
both at court;
but Hyftapes,
the middle one
of them, was
then absent.

(a) 1. c. (b) 1. c.
(c) 1. r. p. m. 36.
(d) 1. cit. (e) 1. r.
Strateg. (f) 1. rr.
c. ultim. (g)
Segm. 20. (h) 1.
V. c. 10. de
Rep. opt. adm.
Reisen in the
Reign of Baktra's
Lantvoogdye

After Xerxes'
death,
Artabanus, while
it was still deep
into the night,
hastened to
Artaxerxes,
informing him
that Darius had
seized the
kingdom and
murdered his
father. He
advised him to
be wary of
himself, lest he
become a slave
through
cowardice, and
to avenge this
parricide with a
brother's
murder, offering
him the aid of
the royal guards.
Justinus (a) and
Diodorus (b)
recount that
Darius was
found flayed, as
if he were being
peeled, having
been killed by
the guards.

However, Ctefias (c) states that Darius, or rather Dariaeus from Artabanus, was brought before Artaxerxes and, amidst a loud outcry and declaration that he was not a parricide, was put to death.

Thus, after seizing the kingdom, Artaxerxes laid low both Xerxes and Darius. For Diodorus recounts that he killed Xerxes' eldest son and then summoned his own sons, declaring that the time had come to assume the kingdom. He then reportedly attacked Artaxerxes with a drawn sword, but when this latter scoundrel received only a slight wound, bravely defended himself against the attacker and inflicted a mortal wound upon him. However, it is more likely that this last act was not immediate but occurred after some time by Artabanus. For Ctefias (d) testifies that

Artabanus,
fearing that the
powerful men
would dispute
over the
kingdom,
adopted
Megabyzus,
called Bacabazus
by Justinus, the
son of Zopyrus
and grandson of
Megabyzus, one
of the seven
Magians, as his
kinsman, as
appears from
Herodotus (e).
Eusebius (f) calls
this Artabanus
the seventh king
of the Persians,
saying that he
held the realm
for six months;
Abul Pharajus
states that he is
counted among
the years of
Xerxes or
Ahafuerus.
Consequently, it
becomes clear—I
do not deceive
myself—that
Artabanus ruled
the kingdom for
more than half a
year, due to the
minority of
Artaxerxes, and
avoided any plan
to take his life.
For Megabyzus
had previously
been seeking
revenge for the
insult, where his
wife Amytis,
Xerxes'
daughter, was
severely

punished by her
father when he
was still alive,
revealed the
matter to
Artaxerxes,
recounting how
his father had
been murdered,
how his brother
had been killed
through false
suspicion of
parricide, and
how he himself
was now finally
being laid low.
From this,
Ctefias says, it
happened that
Artabanus
perished by the
same death that
he had prepared
for Artaxerxes.
But Justinus
recounts from
Trogus that
Artaxerxes
commanded the
army to appear
armed the
following day,
counting the
number of sons
of Artabanus, as
if wishing to
ascertain the
number of
fighting men and
to test the
courage and
strength of each
individual. Then
Artabanus stood
among the other
soldiers, and
when the king
pretended that
his armor was
too short, he
offered to

exchange it with
his own. Upon
this, Artaxerxes
struck him down
barefacedly and
seized his sons.
Following this,
as Ctefias
recounts, a
fierce battle
erupted between
the kinsmen and
the remaining
supporters of the
king, resulting in
three sons of
Artabanus
perishing, and
Megabyzus
being slain—a
misfortune
deeply lamented
by Amytis and
Rhodogune, his
wives, and even
by Artaxerxes
himself and his
mother Amestris.
Nevertheless, he
escaped death
through the help
of the physician
Apollonides
Cous, who
exerted great
effort to restore
him. Aphantres,
or Mithridates
the Freedman,
who had
participated in
his father's deed,
was subjected to
a cruel
punishment,
being helped
between two
boats with
severe torments.
And thus, the
surviving young
man Artaxerxes

avenged his
father's death
and freed
himself from
Artabanus, who
cannot rightfully
be counted
among the kings
of Persia.

Furthermore,
Diodorus,
Eusebius, and
others testify
that Xerxes
possessed the
kingdom for
twenty years.
Various accounts
are given by
writers
regarding his
character and
nature, as is
commonly the
case. As for his
outward
appearance,
Herodotus states
that in his vast
army, which
consisted of so
many thousands
of men, no one
was found who
could match
Xerxes himself in
beauty or
strength of body,
as worthy to rule
such a kingdom
(g). His
magnanimity is
evident from the
fact that his
Sperthies, son of
Aneriftus, and
Bules, son of
Nicolaus, both
Spartans, had
offered
themselves to

Xerxes, Darius's
son, to atone for
their city's
earlier offense
by enduring
their own
punishment.

(a) Justinus (b)
Diodorus (c)
Ctefias (d)
Ctefias (e)
Herodotus (f)
Eusebius (g)
Herodotus

Manly-
heartedness of
Artaxerxes.

Zealous-
spiritedness. ##
CORNELIS de
BRUINS

Regarding the
aforementioned
incident at
Sparta, instead
of enacting
retribution, they
offered a
remarkably
generous
response: they
would not
behave like the
Lacedaemonians,
who had violated
the rights of all
peoples by
killing envoys;
nor would they
do anything that
would condemn
the
Lacedaemonians
for their actions,
believing that
their deaths
wouldn't absolve
them of guilt. (a)
I also believe
Xerxes' trust can

be discerned
from his decision
not to harm the
Greek spies he
captured but
instead allowed
them to go free
after they had
surveyed the
entire army –
just as he
permitted ships
laden with grain
from Pontus
bound for
Greece, carrying
his own people,
the wild sub-
races and
blondes, to pass
freely through
the Hellespont.
This is attested
by *Herodotus*
(b), though
Justinus (who
praises him,
while others
criticize)
describes Xerxes
quite differently.
Furthermore, he
says that when
the king was
observed, it
wasn't so much
his person as his
wealth that
inspired awe:
such an
abundance
existed within
his realm that
even though the
opinions of his
subjects drained
entire rivers,
royal treasures
still remained.
Regarding
himself, he was
always the first

to flee and the
last in battle,
fearful in
danger; puffed
up when nothing
seemed to be
feared; and
before leaving
his kingdom,
unaware of what
war entailed, he
relied on his
strength,
transforming
mountains into
valleys as if
possessing
authority over
nature, leveling
the unevenness
of valleys,
bridging seas,
and even
diverting some
seas for shorter
sea voyages. (c)
If this is true, I
don't believe the
miraculous signs
that, according
to *Herodotus* (d),
appeared before
Xerxes when he
marched with his
army into Greece
were fabricated;
they seemed
fitting for his
endeavors. He
recounts that at
the same time, a
swarm of locusts
descended upon
the land. To
speak nothing of
Artabanus, who
followed Xerxes
as the rightful
heir to the
kingdom like a
robber's
conquest (e).

Mnemon writes
that he displayed
gentleness and
magnanimity.

Nepos testifies
that he was calm
and composed in
demeanor,
enhancing his
reputation with
an unbelievable
display of
military prowess
– something the
Persians could
emulate in this
virtue.

Hieronymus
Henninger also
gave this
Artaxerxes the
name Darius,
assuming that it
referred to the
same Darius
whose
extraordinary
long arms or
limbs were
mentioned by
Strabo (f). He
also shared this
view with
Samfon (g).

However, upon
closer
examination of
Strabo's words,
it becomes clear
he is referring to
the Darius who
first introduced
taxes among the
Persians. And
that was not
Xerxes' son but
Hytaspes' son.
Nevertheless, I
do not deny that
both Darius and
Artaxerxes may
have been tall

and possessed
long arms, even
though Strabo
does not
explicitly
mention this
about
Artaxerxes.
Otherwise, he
recounts from
*Xanthus the
Lydian*, who
lived at the same
time as
Artaxerxes, that
a severe drought
occurred during
his reign,
causing entire
springs, rivers,
and wells to dry
up. (i)

Now, when
Artaxerxes
gained control of
the kingdom –
either in the first
or, as others
claim, the
second year of
the **79th
Olympiad** (k),
he punished
those guilty of
his father's
death and
restored order
as much as
circumstances
allowed. He
dismissed the
satraps whose
loyalty he
doubted and
appointed others
whom he
deemed suitable.
Furthermore, he
paid close
attention to
matters of tolls,

military levies,
and warfare;
ultimately, by
shaping his
entire reign
according to
principles of
justice, he
gained great
authority among
the Persians. (l)
However, at the
outset of his
rule, the
Bactrians
rebelled against
him, incited by a
certain other
Artabanus. He
initially
confronted them
on equal terms
but in the second
battle, he gained
an advantage
due to the wind
blowing directly
into their faces,
thus defeating
them and
bringing them
under his
control. (m)

The Egyptians
also revolted
against him,
having expelled
all Persians from
the kingdom,
electing *Inarus*,
son of *Pfame-*

VI.

ARTAXERXES,
nicknamed
LONGHANT.

This king
received the
nickname
Longhant
because his right
arm was longer

than his left, as
Plutarch attests
in the Life of
Artaxerxes.

(a) See Herod. I.
c. c. 134 seqq.
usque ad c. 137.

(b) I. c. c. 146.
frequent. (c) See
I. II. cap. 10. (d)
I. c. c. 57.

(e) T. I. op. p. m.
1011. (f) de
Regibus. (g) T. I.
Theatr. Geneal.
p. 166. (b) P. IV.
Chron. Cathol.
sub A. M. 3541.
(i) See I. I. p. m.
49. (j) Period.
Julian. 4251. (l)
See Diod. Sic. I.
c. p. 279. edit.
Stephan. feu
p. 54. Wechelien.
(m) See Cretias
segm. 31. ##
Reisen.

Like the stories
of Herodotus
and Thucydides,
this account
concerns the
Libyans,
neighbors of
Egypt from the
city of Maren,
situated above
Pharos, who
chose a king. To
Inarus joined
Amyrtaeus, who
had previously
held the office of
king in Egypt.
He also drew to
himself the
Athenians, who
at that time were
waging war
against the

Persians with
two hundred
ships, both their
own and those of
their allies, off
Cyprus. These
Athenians
agreed to assist
the Egyptians
with three
hundred
transport ships,
and after finally
abandoning
Cyprus, they
sailed up the
Nile with two
hundred ships,
and
subsequently
increased in
number from the
river itself,
seizing two parts
of Memphis.
They stormed for
a long time the
third part, called
the White Wall,
which was
defended by the
Medes and
Persians who
had fled there,
and the
remaining loyal
Egyptians.
Ctefias recounts
(a) that the
Athenians sent
only forty ships
to Egypt. After
raising an army
of three hundred
thousand men,
both infantry and
cavalry,
Artaxerxes
dispatched
Achemenes, son
of Darius and full
brother of

Xerxes (b), to
recover Egypt.
Ctefias calls this
man “unworthy”
of being the
brother of
Artaxerxes. He
also recounts
that the king,
disregarding the
warnings of his
friends who
advised him
against this
campaign, sent
him to Egypt
with four
hundred
thousand foot
soldiers and
twenty galleys.
These were
immediately
captured by the
enemy and a
message was
brought to
Inarus. His body
was taken to
Artaxerxes. The
greater part of
the army was
slaughtered;
those who saved
themselves fled
to the so-called
White Wall.

The Persian fleet
was defeated by
the Athenians
under the
command of
Charytemides,
their admiral.
For of fifty
Persian ships,
twenty were
captured with
their crews, and
thirty were
destroyed (c).

Artaxerxes,
informed of the
defeat of his
forces, sent a
certain friend—
Diodorus
believes it was
Diodorus, or
rather
Megabyzus, as
Thucydides
states—a Persian
by birth, and
likely the son of
Megabatus,
whom Herodotus
mentions (d), to
Lacedemon with
a large sum of
money, so that
through the
Peloponnesians,
who would be
brought into the
Athenian
territory by this
money, the
enemies of Egypt
might be driven
away. But when
the
Lacedaemonians
refused to accept
the money or
heed the other
requests of the
Persians,
Megabyzus,
having lost all
hope, took with
him the
remaining
money and
withdrew to
Phrygia. Thus
Artaxerxes
despaired of the
aid he had
sought from the
Lacedaemonians,
and raised
another army,

giving the
command of it,
as Ctefias states,
solely to
Megabyzus; but,
according to
what we believe
Diodorus says, to
Artabazus and
Megabyzus, two
famous men
among the
Persians. Ctefias
states (e) that
the Persians had
two hundred
thousand foot
soldiers, and
furthermore
three hundred
ships, of which
fleet Orificus
was admiral; but
Diodorus asserts
(f) that they had
more than three
hundred
thousand cavalry
and infantry, and
three hundred
ships from
Cyprus,
Phoenicia, and
Cilicia. Ctefias,
not greatly
differing, adds in
the same place
that, besides the
ships, the
remaining sum
amounted to five
hundred
thousand men
when calculated.
Thucydides does
not state the
number but
recounts only
that Megabyzus,
having advanced
with a large
army through

Syria and
Phoenicia,
arrived in Egypt.
The fleet also
sailed along the
sea side toward
Memphis. Thus,
the Athenians
and Egyptians,
and their other
allies, were
terrified by the
arrival of the
Persians and
compelled to
abandon the
siege of the
White Wall.

Although the
Persians avoided
battle cautiously,
seeking to end
the war through
strategy, they
nevertheless
besieged the
fleet of the
Athenians for a
year and a half,
which lay at
anchor off
Protopitis, an
island of Egypt
situated in the
corner of the
Nile, commonly
called the Delta
(g), and
transformed the
island into dry
land by diverting
the river through
canals. Here,
Diodorus
recounts, the
Egyptians,
seized with fear,
abandoned their
allies, the
Athenians, and
reconciled
themselves with

the Persians;
whereby these
were enabled to
burn their ships,
which had been
hauled ashore
and rendered
unusable, so that
they would not
fall into the
hands of the
enemy. The same
writer recounts
that Artabazus
and Megabyzus,
seeing the
courageous
spirit of the
Greeks who had
encouraged one
another, in order
to...

(a) Segm. 32. (b)

Herod. I. VII.

c. 97. (c) Vid.

Ctefias I.

c. Diodorus

Siculus I.

c. p. 280

ed. St. feup. 56

ed. Wech. Conf.

Thucydides I.

c. p. m. 33 feq.

(d) I. VII. c. 97.

(e) Segm. 33. (f)

l. c. p. 282

ed. Steph. feup.

58 feqq. Wechel.

(g) Herod. I. II.

c. 41 & Steph.

fab hac voce

περσωντις. ##

Cornelis de

Bruins

If the battle had
been engaged,
nothing would
have occurred
that did not align
with the courage
displayed in

previous
campaigns.
Having assessed
how great the
loss of their
people was –
having lost many
thousands of
men and formed
an alliance with
Athens on the
condition that
they could safely
withdraw from
Egypt – the
Athenians,
having saved
themselves
through their
own bravery and
abandoned
Egypt, advanced
entirely through
Africa to Cyrene
and
subsequently
returned to their
homeland as
unexpectedly.
However, Ctefias
writes that a
battle arose
between both
parties, and
many of both
sides were
routed, but
especially the
Egyptians.
Inarus was
struck and
driven into flight
by Megabyzus at
Mega with
Charitimides,
and the other
Greeks and
Egyptians who
had survived the
conflict, fleeing
to Byblus, a
strong city on

the Nile. (a)
Megabyzus,
having thus
regained Egypt,
appointed
Sarfames or
Sartamas as
governor. But
when it
appeared that
the city of
Byblus could not
be captured, he
entered into a
treaty with
Inarus and the
Greeks –
numbering more
than seven
thousand –
stipulating that
they would
suffer no harm
from the king
and that the
Greeks, if they
wished, would
return home.
Having
accomplished
these things, he
hastened to the
king, whom he
found greatly
displeased by
Inarus. After
recounting how
everything had
transpired and
how he had
captured Byblus
through
promises made
to Inarus and the
Greeks, he did
not delay in
delivering their
punishment, his
eyes reaching
the entire army.
Consequently, he
soon informed

the whole army
that no harm
would befall
Inarus and the
Greeks. But
Ameftis, unable
to forget the
murder of
Achemenides –
who, however,
Ctefias wrongly
believes, was not
Xerxes' son but
his brother –
sought
retribution for
Inarus and the
Greeks, and
finally instigated
Megabyzus
himself against
the king, who
initially resisted
handing them
over, but
ultimately, when
he could no
longer avoid it,
surrendered
Inarus and the
Greeks to him
five years later.
Having obtained
what they
desired, Inarus
crucified three
men and fifty
Greeks (for more
he could not find
within their
power).

(b) Thucydides
states that Egypt
returned under
the king's
authority, noting
that Amyrtaeus
ruled in the
marshy recesses,
as he could not
be overcome by

the valorous
Egyptians due to
the marshy
woodlands they
inhabited. Inarus
was also
captured
through
treachery and
crucified, and
fifty ships – both
Athenian and of
other allies –
which had
arrived at
Mendefium, one
of the horns of
the Nile, were
surrounded by
the land forces
and the fleet of
the Phoenicians,
so that all but a
few were
destroyed. (c)
However, it is
recorded by
Herodotus (d)
that Thannyar,
Inarus' son, who
held his father's
governorship,
received the
authority from
the King of the
Persians.

Megabyzus,
deeply offended
that the word
given to Inarus
and the Greeks
had been
broken,
requested
permission to
withdraw to
Syria, his
governorship;
which being
granted, he
secretly sent out

a few Greeks
first and then
followed shortly
after, defecting
from the king.
Thus, raising an
army of two
hundred
thousand men
outside the
cavalry, he was
confronted by
Ufiris with two
hundred
thousand men,
and defeated
him through the
bravery of his
sons Zopyrus
and Artyphius,
capturing him
alive. For
Megabyzus,
fighting foot to
foot against him,
received a
wound in the
thigh from an
arrow;
whereupon,
freeing himself
from weapons,
he wounded him
in the thigh and
shoulder! So that
he fell from his
horse. But
Megabyzus
helped him up
and sent him
home to
Artaxerxes, as he
desired. With
similar good
fortune, he drove
Minoftanes or
Minoftates, son
of Artarius,
governor of
Babylon, and
brother of
Artaxerxes, and

the army of the
Persians into
flight after
wounding him in
the shoulder
with an arrow
that was not
mortally fatal.
Finally, through
the mediation of
Artarius and on
the advice of
Ameftiris and the
exiled
Paphlagon, he
reconciled his
affairs with the
king. Afterward,
when traveling
with the king on
a hunt, he felled
a lion that
attacked the
king and had
settled itself on
its paws, with a
single shot from
his hunting
spear; for which
reason the king
declared that he
had slain a wild
beast before it
had inflicted any
harm upon him,
ordering that its
head be flayed.
However, moved
by the prayers of
Ameftiris and
Amytisfchold, he
spared him the
death penalty
and sent him
home.

(a) See Stephan,
in vocc.
BÚCAUS. (b) See
Ctefias
fragments 34 &
35. (c) Thuc. I.

c. page 35. (d) I.

III. c. 15. ##

Reisen

Naar een
bepaalde stad,
genaamd Cyrtæ,
gelegen aan de
Rode Zee. Vijf
jaar na die
vlucht, en zich
houdend alsof hij
Melaets was
(want niemand
mag volgens de
Perzische zede
bij zo'n mens
komen), kwam
hij te huis bij zijn
Gemalin, en ten
tweede male
door haar
toedoen en hulp
van Ameftris zijn
peis verworven
hebbende, werd
hij van
Artaxerxes aan
de Koninklijke
tafel toegelaten.

Zijn dood.

Eindelijk zes en
zeventig jaren
oud geworden
storf hij tot
droefheid zelf
van den
Koningh, die
hem ongaerde
mitte. Zijn
Gemalin Amytis
verliep zich na
zijn dood, even
als haar moeder
Ameftiris,
ichtandelyk met
de mannen. Ook
had de Arts
Apollonides van
Cous, op haar
smoorlijk verliet,
als zij te eeniger

tydt wat
onpalfeelijk was
geworden, haar
gezegd zou
weder-krygen,
indien zij zich
met mannen
wilde
vermengen. Door
deze
konfiteraryc
geraekte hij tot
zijn oogmerk,
maar toen zij de
teering kreegh,
onthield hij zich
van haar. Amytis
dus de dood voor
ogen ziende, bad
hare moeder
wraak te willen
nemen over
Apollonides.
Deze ontdekte
de ganfche zaak
aan Artaxerxes,
met wiens
toestemminge zij
Apollonides
gevatte hebbende
twee maanden
lang zwaerlijk
pijnigde en
daerna op den
zelven tydt toen
Amytis storf,
levendigh in de
aerde delven
liet. Zopyrus, de
zoon van
Megabyzus, zijn
vader en moeder
verloren
hebbende, nam
zijn toevlucht tot
die van Athenen,
dien zijn moeder
dient en
beleefdheden
bewezen had, en
zeilde met
eenigen der

zelve naer
Caunum, eene
stad in Carie,
hedendaags la
Rosa genoemd,
en eischte de
stad van de
inwoners op.
Maar zij
antwoordden
hem, dat zij
bereit waren de
stad aan hem
over te geven,
maar niet aan de
Atheneren, die
hij by zich had.
Vervolgens
werpzekeer
Caunier,
genaamt Alcides,
eenen feen op
het hoofd van
Zopyrus, zoo als
hy onder den
muur kwam,
waer van hy
geftorven is.
Maar zijn
grootmoeder
Amefttris liet
Alcides daer na
aan een kruis
hechten. Zij storf
zelf kort daer op
in hoogen
ouderdom. Van
dit alles doet
Ctefias (a)
breedt verhaal,
met wiens
woorden die van
Herodoot (b)
moeten
vergeleken
worden.

Uit het gene hier
van Amefttris
gezegd is kan
niet bezwaerlijk
befloten worden,

hoe weinigh haar
perfoon, met
dien van Esther,
in de heilige
schriften
geroemt, zoo als
Scaliger wilde,
overeenkomt.

De Atheners
vervolgens
willende wraak
nemen over de
nederlagen die
zij in Egypte
geleden hadden,
en de overige
Grieken, die in
Afie woonden, in
vryheit

Daerenboven
heeft Artaxerxes
de vrient- schap,

In dat jaer, het
derde namelijk
der Megaby-
LXXXII

Olimpiade,
geboodt
Megabyzus
Over- zus de
Perfaensche
troepen, zijn
leger houdende
in Cilicie. Over
de vloot van drie
honderd
roeischepen was
tot Bevel-hebber
geffelt

Artabazus; die te
hulp van de
Cipiers trekkinge
Cimon
ontmoette; die in
een zegevecht
zeer vele
schepen in den
gront boorde, en
honder schepen
met al het volk
genomen

hebbende, de
overige tot naer
Fenicie ver-
volgte. De
Perfaenen
namen met het
o-verige gedeelte
hunner schepen
de vlucht naar
het lant daer
Megabyzus met
zijn leger lagh:
doch Cimon hen
op de hielen
zittende zet zijn
volk aan lant, en
valt de vyanden
op 't lyf, alwaer
hy een groote
flachting onder
hen gemaakt
hebbende,
wederom met de
zijnen, naer de
sche- pen
keerde, en naer
Cyprus zylde.
Het ware met dit
eilant, en den
ganfchen flaet
van Perfie
gedaan geweest,
indien niet
Artaxerxes de
nederlaag der
zynen verstaen
hebbende, op
den raedt zyner
vrienden, door
bemiddeling van
weder-zyts
Gezanten in het
volgende jaer
vrede op deze
harde
voorwaarden
aengegaan was:
Dat de Griexe
steden altemael
in Afie Vrede-
haere eige
vryheit en recht

zouden hebben;
dat geene
Perfaensche
Lantvoogden op
drie dagreizen
naer de zee
afkomen; noch
eenig
oorlogschip
binnen Phaselis
en de
Cyaneesche
eilanden zoude
uitlopen mogen.
Als dit by den
Koning, en de
Krygshoofden
gestaft was,
zwoeren de
Atheners ook van
hunne syde, dat
ze tegen de
Provincien van
Artaxerxes niets
met de wapenen
zouden onder-
nemen. Het
verbont op deze
voorwaarden
gefloten synde,
voerden de
Atheners hunne
troepen uit
Cyprus,
hebbende glory
genoeg behaalt
uit de ver-
winning door
hunnapperheid
verkregen, en
door het
aengaan van een
verbont, zoo zeer
tot hun voordeel
gefloten.(c).
Sedert dien tydt
begonnen de
zaken der Perfen
niet weinig
verzwaakt te
worden, synde
daer uit licht te

beffeën, dat,
zooer een- ig
aenzienlyk, of
heerlyk gebouw
ge-maekt is
geweest, dat niet
aan de vol-
gende, maar
eerfte Koningen
moet
toegeschreven
werden.

1. Segm. 36. feqq. usque ad segm. 43.
2. I. III. cap. ult.
3. Vid. Diod. Sicul. I. XII. p. 292, feqq. edit. Steph. feu p. 73. feqq.
Wechel. Conf. Thuc. I. c. m. 36. Plutarch. er Nep. in Cimone.
CORNELIS de BRUINS

maintained the estate his father had made with the Argives, and Themistocles was honored, if we are to believe Thucydides and others. He presented a magnificent and spacious tent to Timagoras of Crete, or as Phanias claims, to Entimus of Gortyn, who had traveled to Persia to worship the king in the Eastern manner, having learned from Themistocles about it; along with blankets and linens, and a man to spread them out, under the pretense that the Greeks did not know how to handle such things. He also invited him to his family gathering, something that had never before happened to any Greek, nor ever occurred afterward, as that honor is reserved for those of royal blood. (b) Plutarch highlights Artaxerxes' dignified nature, making it worth quoting his own words: he said it was more fitting to add than to subtract. He was the first to hunt under his leadership and granted freedom to anyone who wished to shoot the first arrow. He was also the first to have gifts bestowed upon those who were loved not for their bodies but for their worn clothing; nor did they shave their beards, but only their heads. When Saribarzanes, his chamberlain, said something unreasonable, he noticed that it was done to get through to a sum of one thousand Darics, a type of currency explained later. He then ordered this sum brought from his treasury and handed over to him, saying: "See, Saribarzanes, take this money. I will not be poorer for giving it to you; but I would have been unjust if I had granted your request." (c) The same writer recounts that Orontes, Artaxerxes' son-in-law, after being mocked and dismissed by the king, said: "Just as the fingers of an accountant now represent a million, and then a smaller number, so too are the friends of kings sometimes high and sometimes low."

In the seventh year of this reign, it is recorded that Ezra traveled to Jerusalem to restore the city's walls. (d) Artaxerxes died in the world in the fourth year of the LXXXVIII Olympiad, which is in the

4289th year after the creation of the world according to the Julian Period, and in the year 3525 according to Helvicus reckoning, having reigned for forty years, according to Diodorus (e) and Eusebius (f), forty-one years according to Sulpicius Severus, and forty-two years according to Ctefias.

By his lawful wife Damaschia, who died on the same day as her son, he had Xerxes; by Alogune, a Babylonian concubine, Sogdianus or Secundianus; by Cofmartidene, also a Babylonian, Ochus and Arfites; and by Andia of Babylon, a son named Bagapens, and a daughter Parysatis, in addition to thirteen other natural children. (g) He ascended his father's throne:

VII. XERXES II.

This Xerxes II, who had surrendered himself to the pleasures, fell asleep in his palace after being intoxicated with wine at a feast; there he was murdered by his brother Sogdianus, who had gained over the loyal Pharmazas, next in rank after Bagorazus, Menoftanes, and several others, fifty days after his father's death, as Ctefias recorded. Diodorus says he reigned for a year, and Eusebius (b) that he reigned for two months. And Ctefias claims that his body was carried to Perseia along with his father's. For the mules drawing the corpse of Artaxerxes would not move forward, as if waiting for the corpse of his son; but once this corpse arrived, they would exert themselves more vigorously. (i) He was succeeded in the realm:

VIII. SOGDIANUS or, according to Ctefias, SECUNDIANUS.

He had with him the loyal Azaba-Sogdianites and Menoftanes. He accused Bagorazus, with whom he had long lived in secret enmity after returning from Perseia, of having disturbed his father's funeral without permission, and put him to death. This was taken very seriously by the army. Although he tried to appease them with gifts, he could not escape the hatred that he had incurred for the murder of Bagorazus and his brother Xerxes. He also provoked strife with his brother Ochus, who repeatedly failed to appear after being summoned and promised to come. The Greats of the Faction of the Half of the Realm, including Arbarius, the Great.

1. Herod. I. VII. c. 151.

2. Ath. I.I.p.m.48.

3. Vid. Apoht. T. II. op. pag.173.

4. Vid. c. 7. Efrae, Euseb. Chr. I.c. Abul Phara.j. I.c. Confer Scalig, & Simfon P. c. Chron. Cath, sub A.M. 3547.
5. l.c.p.319 edit. Steph. feu p. 115. Wechel.
6. l.c.
7. V. Ctefias fegm. 43.
8. P. II. Chron. p. 132.
9. Vid. fegm. 44. ## REIZEN.

Overste der Ruitery van Sogdianus, en Arianes Lantvoogt van Egypte, ook zelf Artoxares de gefneden, die uit Armenië in Perzië gekomen was, zynaltemael, op Sogdianus om zijn wrede gebeten, van hem afgevallen, en tot Ochus overgegaan, dien ze den Koninglyken hoedt, hoewel tegen zijn wil, hebben opgezet. Secundianus niet achtende den raadt van Menofanes, wort van Ochus door bedrog, gevangen en in de affchen geworpen. Waer op hy sterf, na dat hy zes maanden en twintig dagen, of zeven maanden (want dus zegt Diodorus, het volle getal noemende) het Ryk bezeten hadt. (a) Na hem heeft alleen geheercht

Artyphius volgden, door geschenken op zijn zyde trekt. En als Arfytes nergens verscheen beweegt hy onder verzekering van zyn woort Artyphius zich aan den Koning over te geven. Artyphius wert toen op Paryfatis raadt niet gedoot, op dat Arfytes door deze goedertierenheid voor dien tydt bedrogen te lichter zich overgeven zou. Hy hier door in 't net gebragt wort met Artyphius te gelyk in d'affchen geworpen, welkefoort van straf beschreven in de boeken der Macchabeen (g), van dezen Darius, dog geen fins van Hyftapes zoon (als Val. Maximus (b) waent) uitgevonden is. Op deze straf heeft Ovidius het oog in zyn gedicht tegen Ibis:

*Uique necatorum Darii frande secundi,
Sic tua fubfidens devoret offa cinis.*

Dat is:

*En dat ge in gloeiende afsch dus mocht uw leven derven,
Als die Darius deed door zyne liften sterven.*

De Koning evenwel zou zynen broeder verschoond hebben, ten zy Paryfatis ten deele door gebeden, ten deele met geweld hem daer toe gedwongen hadt. Hier by wrack nemende over den gefneden Phar nazyas, die Secundianus in het ombrengen van Xerxes geholpen hadt, liet hy hem fteenigen. Menofthenes ook in verzekering genomen zynde ontging zyne straf door de handen aan zich zelf te flaan. Nogh Afval van viel van Darius af Pifuthnes, Lantvoogt Pifuthnes.

van Lydie, eenige Grieken op zyn zyde getrokken hebbende, welker hoofd Lycon de Athener was. Tegen hem zent hy Tiffaphernes, Parmifes, en Spithradates met een leger. De Grieken door gout omgekogt verlaten Pifuthnes: waer op hy van de door schoone woorden getroont zich o vergeeft, en tot den Koning gebragt wert, die hem in de affchen liet werpen. Tiffaphernes kreeg deselfs Lantvoogd : en Lycon tot loon van zyn verraadt fteden en landen. Hier na beving Artoxares, die onder de Gefneden by den Koning de eerste plaats bezat, de ydele hoop van het Ryk te vermeesteren. Hier op gaat hy Darius lagen leggen, en zyn vrou belaft ten, dat ze hem een baert zou maken om eenen man te gelyken. Maar deze ontdekte de zaak aan Paryfatis, die den elendige Gefneden liet ombrengen. Arfaces, daer na Artaxerxes genoemd, zoon van Darius, troude de dochter van Idernes, eenen Perfaen, genaamt Stayra : en aen den anderen kant tradt Terituchmes, de zoon van Idernes, in huwelyk met Amiftris, zufter van Artaxerxes, en dochter

IX. OCHUS, anders genaemt DARIUS, gemeenlyk gezegt DE BASTAERT.

Ochus.

Deze Ochus wort gezeigt het Ryk van Perzië aenvaert te hebben in het vierde jaer der LXXXVIII Olimpiade, dat is in het 3593 na de scheppinge der werelt, en in het 4293 naer de Juliaensche Periode. (b). Zynen naam verandert hebbende is hy Darjaves, by de Grieken Darius, of, als Cretias schryft, Dariaeus genoemd; welken naam Herodoot (c) te regt uitlegt Epgeins, dat is, Bedwinger. (d). By hem waren in groot aenzien drie gefnedenen, Artoxares, Artibarxanes, en Athous. Tot zyn gemalin hadt hy Paryfatis zyn zufter geboren uit eenen zelven vader, maar niet uit eene zelve moeder, een schrander wyf, en zeer afgerecht op den teerling. (e). Hy bediende zich ook van hare raadt in de grootfte zaken. Zy had hem ook, eer hy aan de Kroon quam, twee kinderen gebaat, eene dogter, genaamt Amiftris, en eenen zoon Arfaces, daer na Artaxerxes genoemd. By haer won hy, nu Koning geworden, nog eenen zoon, die naer de Zon Cyrus genaemt is: daer na ook Artofes, en dertien andere, die alle in hunne kintsheid geftorven zyn, uitgenomen eenen, genaamt Oxendras. Photius zegt (f) dat de Historischryver Cretias dit uit Paryfatis zelve ge hoort heeft.

Zyn broeder Arfytes uit eenen zelven vader of moeder geboren, viel van hem af, ook Artyphius, de tweede zoon van Megabyzus. Tegen deze wort zekere Artafyra gezonden, die in twee veltslagen verwonnen wort, dog in den derden de verwinning behalende de Grieken, die

1. Vid. Ctef. segm. 45. feqq. Conf. Diod. Sicul. I.c.p. 322. edit. Steph. feu p. 120. Wechelian.
2. Eufeb. p. II. Chr. p. 133. Conf. Scal. Animad. in Eufeb. p. 100. et Diod. Sic. I. c.
3. 1. 1. 1. 1.
4. Vid. Scaliq. l. VI. de Em. Temp. p. 586. Conf. Boch. in Phaleg. l. I. c. 15.
5. Adi Plut, in Vita Art. Mnemon. T. I. op. 1019. Segm. 48.
6. Segm. 48.
7. 1. 1. 1. 1. §. 5. 6. 7.
8. lib. IX. c. 2. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Regarding Darius: where he was then, having fallen in love with Roxane, his stepmother from the same father, a most beautiful woman, and who herself became remarkably fond of archery and throwing spears, he conceived a loathing; so that at the end, he plotted to throw her into a sack, along with three hundred men whom he intended to betray, to be buried in the earth. However, one of these, named Udiaftes, who held great influence with Terituchmes, received a letter from the King, wherein he made grand promises, so that his daughter might be rescued from danger through his intervention. Having read the letter, Terituchmes attacked with his loyal followers and killed him. The son of Udiaftes, named Mithridates, Standard Bearer of Terituchmes, having learned of his father's fate, cursed him bitterly and held the city of Zaris, which he captured, for the son of his lord. However, Paryfatis ordered the mother of Terituchmes, along with his brothers Metroftes and Helicus, and two stepchildren whom he still had alongside Statira, to be buried alive, and Roxane to be hacked into pieces while still living. Darius wanted to have Statira, the wife of his son, destroyed as well, but Paryfatis, moved by the prayers of Arfaces, spared her, although Darius told her that she would later regret this leniency; which indeed came to pass. (a)

That in the second year of this reign, Darius resumed the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, which had remained unfinished under previous kings, and that the seventy weeks of Daniel began at that time, Scaliger (b) demonstrates convincingly.

Darius, during the Peloponnesian War, as Justinus recounts from Trogus (c), remembering the hatred of his father and grandfather towards the Athenians, acted in the first year of the 91st Olympiad; when the Athenians were waging war in Sicily, and Alcibiades was recalled home to answer for divulging the secrets of Ceres, and upon refusing, was condemned to death, fled to Lacedaemon and formed an alliance with the Spartans to help him, exerting all his influence. (e). Thucydides recounts that after the defeat at Miletus, where the Athenians retained the field, and after the death of Chalcidius, the Peloponnesians began to consider whether Alcibiades might at any time be driven from their ranks by love for his homeland and reconcile himself with them; and that the Lacedaemonians, whose King Agis had already taken a dislike to him, wrote a letter to Aftychoth, devising means to assist him. (f). When Alcibiades came to Agis through the Spartan king's mistress, as Justinus recounts, he fled

What land or city the King possesses, or his ancestors have occupied, remains with the King.

The King and the Lacedaemonians and their allies in common shall be bound to prevent any money paid from these lands or from elsewhere to the Athenians, or whatever it may be, from being given to the Athenians.

The war with the Athenians will be waged by the King, the Lacedaemonians, and their allies in common.

This very war cannot be brought to an end except by a common agreement of the King, the Lacedaemonians, and the allies.

All those who abandon the King shall be bound as enemies by the Lacedaemonians and their allies; likewise, they will also be enemies of the King who have abandoned the side of the Lacedaemonians and their allies.

A very large fleet was then equipped from Phoenicia to aid the Lacedaemonians against the Athenians, after all the cities that were allied with them had seceded at the beginning of the war. For Alcibiades, helping to wage war against his homeland, not as a common deserter, but with military skill, sailed with five ships to Asia and even brought cities that were previously friendly to the Athenians to secession through merely the power of his name. But this conduct of Alcibiades brought him more hatred than affection from the Lacedaemonians. For Agis, King of the Lacedaemonians, was enraged at him for dishonoring his mistress, and also feared for the glory of his own name. Therefore he besieged him with all his might.

Statira is spared.

A fleet equipped against the Athenians.

Alcibiades betrays his homeland.

1. See Ctesias fragment 49 ff. up to fragment 56.
2. I. VI. de Em. Temp. p. 58%. seq. Compare Simf. Chron. Cathol. P. c. under the year 3583.
3. I.V. cap. 2.
4. I.VIII.p.m. 269.
5. Plut. in vita Alcib. T. l. op. p. 204, Justin.I.c. cap. 2.
6. I. c. p. 200. Compare C. Nepos in Alcib. & Diodor, Sic. I. XIII. p. 349. ed.Steph.feu 164. seq. Wechel. ## Reisen: A Diplomatic Gambit

Having fled to Tissaphernes, satrap of Darius in Lydia, he had won his favor through courtesy, friendship, and diligent service, adapting himself, like the Paeonians, to the customs of the Medes and Persians. (a) This was aided by his youth, his looks, and especially his wealth, which also distinguished him among the Athenians. At this time, when it seemed that the Athenians were straining all their Eastern might to suppress their city, he dissuaded Tissaphernes (Diodorus says incorrectly Pharnabazus) from sending three hundred warships to aid the Lacedaemonians. He persuaded him to reduce the pay and instead of a shilling a day (to speak in Dutch terms) give the fighting men only three stivers, precisely at that critical moment, also falsely telling the Peloponnesians that the Athenians, who were far better suited for naval warfare, gave their sailors only half a shilling, not because of a lack of money, but because the soldiers and sailors would abuse the excess pay and thus ruin their bodies. Here he advised Tissaphernes not to trouble himself too much about ending the war, nor to surrender the upper hand on land and at sea to the Lacedaemonians by bringing back the Phoenician ships that had set sail or by sending a larger fleet; but rather to let them divide the power between themselves. For through this, the King would always have an opportunity to send others against those who might offend him. But if either the land or sea territory passed to one of them, he would have no allies to attack those with the upper hand, unless he himself dared to risk a fight at some point with great effort and danger. But it was better to resolve this difficulty with small effort and an end; and thus, while helping each other, preserve his own state. He added that the Athenians would be more useful to him in governing the territory if they did not so desire lordship and had a manner of warfare that would suit the King better: and if they became his allies, they would surely claim a portion of the sea for themselves but bring all the Greeks who inhabited his provinces under his power. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, aimed to restore freedom; which he did not believe was possible, since they were already losing the Greeks even from among the Greeks, and would not let

them go of the barbarians unless they had first redeemed some of them. He should therefore leave both parties to settle their differences, and when the strength of the Athenians had largely diminished, then drive the Peloponnesians out of the province. (b)

These matters were thus presented by Tissaphernes at the opportune time and approved by himself. Consequently, he became more frugal in paying the mercenaries to the Peloponnesians, halted the Phoenician ships that had already prepared to sail, and did not reveal in any way that he favored these allies in the war. Alcibiades, desiring to be recalled to his homeland, secretly gave the Athenians hope of entering into an alliance with Tissaphernes and the King of Persia if they would change the constitution of the state. Finally, having achieved his wish, he defeated the Lacedaemonians and their allies both at sea and on land. However, Tissaphernes, in order not to make the Peloponnesians entirely his enemies, and to bring them to a point where they might be overcome and completely suppressed by the Athenians for a large portion of their pay, summoned them to himself, paid the arrears, and renewed the alliance with them in the thirteenth year of Darius' reign, as can be seen in Thucydides (c).

But while Tissaphernes was thus secretly favoring Alcibiades and the Athenians, and therefore searching for excuses, tragically paying the mercenaries and holding back the Phoenician ships that he said would come, Darius appointed his son Cyrus as satrap over Lydia and Ionia in place of Tissaphernes. This one coming to the aid of the Lacedaemonians and increasing the pay for each sailor to four stivers, restored their hope of regaining their former state. Thus strengthened, under the leadership of Lylander, not Alcibiades as Juffinus recounts, but Phylacles Dydaeus, Menander, Conon, and other prominent commanders of the Athenians, they completely defeated them. For Alcibiades, having gained no advantage, had warned the Athenian generals that Medocus and Seuthes, Kings of Thrace, were ready to come with a large...

1. See Ath. 1. XIV. p. 535.

2. Thuc. I. c. p. 277. Cf. Ifocr. περὶ τῶν ξένων λόγος.

3. I. c. p. m. 281. ## Cornelis de Bruins

To gather a large auxiliary force, should they wish to involve Alcibiades in the military campaign.

Furthermore, he warned them not to let their soldiers disperse and abandon the lands, as the enemy, under the orders of their general, were lying in wait for such opportunities. However, they disregarded his advice, and due to the sudden arrival of the enemy, they were overwhelmed. The retreat among the Athenians, who were scattered across the countryside, was so great that they sustained more wounds in this flight than they had inflicted previously. Even the bravest and oldest fell; consequently, it

became easy for the Lacedaemonians to seize Athens (**Athens**) (a). Meanwhile, under this King Darius, the Persians recaptured the cities and territories in Lower Asia that they had lost earlier (b).

Moreover, Darius subdued the Medes, who had dared to rise up against the Persians, through a double military procession (c). However, he lost Egypt due to the defection of Amyrtaeus the Saite, who marked the twenty-eighth regnal year of the Egyptian kings, as Eufebius attests (d). He invited Polydamus Scotufaeus, a man of great strength and courage, to his court, promising him great gifts, according to Suidas' testimony (e). It is said that Socrates was accustomed to praise this Darius, preferring Darius' favor to that of a Daricus (f). Finally, after spending some time in Babylon, Darius died in the third year of the 93rd Olympiad, approximately 3544 years after the creation of the world according to Helvicus' reckoning, and 4307 years into the Julian period, near the end of the Peloponnesian War. Ctefias (g) recounts that he reigned for **35 years**. However, Diodorus (h) and Eufebius (i) attribute only **19 years** to him, which is closer to the truth. One should also compare these writers with Scaliger (k). He was succeeded by

X. ARSACES or ART AXERXES, nicknamed **Mnemon** because of his excellent memory.

Arfaces, referred to as Arf-Arfaces by Plutarch, assumed the name Artaxerxes or Artoxerxes upon inheriting the kingdom and bore the epithet Mnemon. Abul Pharajus calls him Artahbashit II, the Rebuilder. Plutarch recounts in the beginning of his biography that he was gentler and more benevolent than his younger brother Cyrus, who had been sharp and alert from a young age. Nevertheless, his mother Paryatis, transferring all her affection to Cyrus, attempted, as Xerxes the Great had used the advice of the Lacedaemonian Demaratus, to help Artaxerxes gain the kingdom since Cyrus was born during Darius' reign. When Cyrus was summoned from Lydia to Persia by his father, he harbored considerable hope that his mother would have engineered his selection as king. But Darius, feeling affection for none, declared the eldest to be king and Cyrus the youngest to be governor of Lydia and the islands of the sea (l). From this arose animosity and concealed hostility between the king and his brother and mother. Udiaftes, the murderer of Terituchmes, was subjected to a gruesome punishment by the king's order – his tongue was cut out and he was executed, and his governorship was given to his son Mithridates. Tiffaphernes accused Cyrus of plotting against the king; however, his mother refuted this accusation. This is the account of Ctefias (m). Plutarch's version differs slightly. Shortly after Darius' death, he says that Artaxerxes traveled to Pagargadae to be consecrated as king by the Persian priests. He also mentions that there is a temple of the war goddess in that place, which he identifies as Minerva. The rite of consecration

required those being initiated to immediately remove their long robes and don the robe worn by old Cyrus before he inherited the kingdom; they were then to eat a fig, swallow tar, and drink a cup of sour milk. As Artaxerxes prepared for this ritual, Tiffaphernes brought forward a priest who had instructed Cyrus in the customs of the land and Persian wisdom, whom all Persians highly esteemed.

1. Vid. Xen. I. II. de reb. Graec. Diod. Sicul. I. c. p. 388. feqq. ed. Stephan. et p. 223. feqq. edit. Wechelien. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. T.C.p. 211.feq. Nep. l.cit. etc.
2. Vid. praeter sup. alleg. auct. Thucyd. toto libro VIII,
3. V. Herod. I. I. c. 130.
4. P. II.Chron. p. 133.
5. in voce Polydamas.
6. Plut. libro περὶ φιλαδεμίας T. II. op. p. m. 486.
7. fegm. 55.
8. 1. 1. pag. 322. et 389.edit. Steph.fcu 120.et 126. Wecheliane..
9. 1. c p. 133.
10. Animad. in Euf. pag. 100.
11. Plut. I. c. Conf. Juft. l. V.c. 11,
12. 1. c.fegm. 56. ## Reizen

Dat hem geen Koning gemaakt had, bracht hij naar zich toe. Deze priester ontdekte aan de Koning dat Cyrus hem in de tempel had laten verblinden, toen hij zijn kleren uittrok, door lagen kant te gebruiken. Sommigen zeggen dat Cyrus zelfs in de tempel gevangen werd gehouden. Maar ze voegen eraan toe dat zijn moeder hem in haar armen hield, hem omhelsde en haar haar om zijn lichaam wikkelde, met veel tranen en gebeden, waardoor hij vrijheid voor hem verkreeg en ervoor zorgde dat hij naar zijn landvoogdij aan de zee werd gestuurd.

Maar Cyrus vergat de goedheid van zijn broer en was meer dan ooit vastbesloten om het Rijk in handen te krijgen. De Koning werd door Tiffaphernes en Pharnabazus ingelicht dat zijn broeder nieuwe plannen had. Maar zijn moeder Paryfatis werkte hard om elk argwaan uit het hart van de Koning te verwijderen. Ook Cyrus schreef hoffelijke brieven, soms iets van de Koning verzoekend, en dan Tiffaphernes op zijn beurt beschuldigende, alsof hij met hem in oneenigheid en wantrouwen leefde. Ondertussen bracht hij een groot leger vanuit alle richtingen bijeen. Hij nodigde de Lacedemoniers uit tot deelname aan deze oorlog via brieven, waarin hij over zichzelf sprak als iemand die hartstichter was dan

zijn broer, die meer wijn kon verdragen en drinken; en dat zijn broer tijdens de jacht zich op zijn paard wilde houden en dat hij bij een schrik niet op zijn troon zou kunnen blijven zitten. Hij vroeg hen om hem volk te helpen belovend dat hij aan het voetvolk paarden, aan de ruiten wagens, aan de eigenaren van land-hoeven dorpen, aan de bezitters van dorpen steden en zilver en goud niet in aantal maar in gewicht zou geven. (a) De Lacedemoniers meenden dat deze oorlog hun dienstbaar was, besloten om hulptroepen naar Cyrus te zenden en een geheim briefwisseling naar Clearachus, hunne admiraal bij Samos, stuurden, waarbij ze hem instrueerden om alles te doen wat Cyrus hem opdroeg. De Atheners, zich houdend als onkundig over wie deze oorlog werd gevoerd, zonden ook krijgsbenden naar Cyrus, zoekende zijn gunst mocht hij winnen en zo hij tekort schieten kwijtschelding van dit verraad bij Artaxerxes, omdat ze niets openlijk tegen hem hadden ondernomen. Zo trok Cyrus op tegen de Koning, met een groot aantal krijgsbenden van verschillende volkeren: die hij van de Grieken voor geld had overgenomen, waren in getal niet veel minder dan dertien duizend man.

Toen het gerucht verspreidde dat Cyrus in aantocht was, bekende Statira Parifatis spijt te hebben dat ze deze oorlog had geforceerd. Maar de Koning trok met een leger, dat Artaxerxes op allemanier deftig ten oorlog toeroostte, zijn broeder tegemoet. De veldslag begon op een veld vijfhonderd stadiën van Babylon verwijderd, aan de Eufraat. De plaats heette Cunaxa. De troepen des Konings werden door de Grieken geplaagd. Cyrus met zijn broer kwamen in conflict en raakte hem met een pijl, waardoor hij van het paard viel en van zijn gevolg werd weggevoerd om zich op een heuvel te begeven. Anderen zeggen dat Cyrus door de Koning en zijn lijfwacht werd gedood met pijlen. Maar Ctefias, die bij de strijd was geweest, bevestigt het eerste, en dat Cyrus trots op de overwinning, gezeten op zijn witte paard Pa-facca, na het vallen van de duisternis, door het midden van de vijanden reed en riep: "Wijk, ellendigen!" Hij werd getroffen door een Perzische jongeling Mithridates in zijn hoofd naast het oog gewond, en daarna van zijn paard viel. Van zeker man Caunier, een geringe man, werd hij van achteren gekwetst aan de wond waardoor hij zou sterven. Artafyras, een verbleven des Konings, die toevallig voorbij de plaats waar Cyrus het gevecht had gegeven reed en uit de gesneuvelden herkende dat het Cyrus was, reed met volle snelheid naar Artaxerxes en gaf hem daarvan kennis. Hij haastte zich hierna toe om Mefabates (Ctefias noemt hem Bagabates) te vinden, die de gesneuvelde rechterhand en het hoofd van de gesneuvelden volgens een bepaald Perzisch wet afhouwen zou. De Koning dus, door elk aanziende als zijn voorhoeder van Cyrus, gaf bevel om Mithridates, alsof hij hem het dekzeil van Cyrus' paard had gevonden, en de Caunier omdat hij hem naar zeggen de gewenste dood van Cyrus had gebracht, flatelijk te straffen. Maar deze beiden, dwaaslijk zich meendende de zonde van Cyrus gedood te hebben, werden aan Paryfatis overgegeven op haar verzoek van de Koning en wreed gepijnigd. De Caunier liet ze hun

ogen uitboren en gesmolten koper in hun oren druipen tot dat hij dood was, en Mithridates door de pijniging stierf na twee schuiten omringd te zijn. Deze soort straf leggen we uit aan het einde van dit hoofdstuk. Mefabates was nog overig, die op het spel met de dobbelsteen opgezet zijnde, van de Koning, die op geen kwaad dag, gewonnen had, liet ze levende het vel afstroopen, zijn lichaam over dwars aan drie kruizen en zijn hoofd afzonderlijk aan een paal hechten. De Koning nam

wraak op Paryfatis.

1. Vid. Plut. I. c. p. 103. seq. Conf. in Apoph. T.II. op. p. 173. ##
Cornelis de Bruins

nam dit euvel op, maar zij wist hem met boeren te stillen. De Grieken liet de Koning wel toe ongegracht naar hun land keren, maar evenwel Clearchus en anderen, van Tissafernes door mooie beloftes in hun verderf geloofde, opvangen, en allemaal wreedlyk, uitziet Menon den Theffalier om brengen. Want Crefias vertelt dat de omgebrachte van de honden en vogelen verheurt zijn, maar dat een bui van wind een hoop aarde op Clearchus gelijk gemaakt heeft, en dus het zelfde bedekt, waaruit een boog van Palmboom gegroeit zijnde die plaats overschaduwte heeft. Dog die schrijver voegt hier bij dat Paryfatis tegelijk door gefneden op dien tijd, toen Clearchus gedoot wiert, daar ter plaatse palmtakken in 't veld heeft doen begraven. De overige Grieken zich andere Overften gekoren hebbende, Chiriphos namelijk die aan het hoofd van hun leger gaen, en Xenofon den Athener, die het zelve fluiten zoude, terwijl Tissafernes ondertuffchen en de overige troepen der Perfen hen bij wylen van agteren belaegden, zijn, der wegen onkundig, door ongebaande wegen en afgebroken gebergte, voortgetrokken naar de flinke zijde van den Pontus Euxinus, en ter nauwer noodt te Byzantien, en voorts over Tracie t' huis gekomen. Maar van tienduizent mannen zijn 'er maer drie duizent en acht honderd behouden overgebleven (a).

Haat van Paryfatis tegen Statira.

Paryfatis nu eenen verouderden haet dragende tegen Statyra, kon met geen goede ogen aanzien de macht en het gezag, dat ze bij den Koning hadt: waarom ze haar met hulpe van hare dienstmaegt Gingis of Giris, op welker trouwe zij zich verlaten mogt, lagen leidde, en naer middelen omzocht om haar door vergift van kant te helpen. Want als ze op zekeren tydt famen aan tafel zaten, en een en de zelfde fpys uit bekommering en vreeze nuttigden, fneedt Paryfatis zeker Perfaenschen vogel, genaamt Rhyndazes, zoo groot als een ei, en van binnen geheel vet zijnde, met een mesje op, welkers eene zijde met vergift bestreken, en de andere zuiver was, gevende de vergiftide helft aan Statyra, en nemende de zuivere helft voor zich zelve. Statyra haere helft gegeten hebbende voelde wel heeft groote martens en pijnen, zoo dat ze het schelmstuk gewaer wiert, en den Koning, die al lang geen goet

oog op zyne moeder gehadt had, als die haar wreedt en onverzoenlyk hart kende, in het zelfve vermoeden bragt. Statyra dan dus omgeko- men zijnde worden de gefneden van Paryfatis gevangen genomen, en vreeflyk gepynigt. Zij hield Gingis langh in haar kamer, en weigerde haar op het bevel van den Koning over te geven. Doch als ze eens

Statira vergeven.

des nagts uitgelaten wiert, om uit het paleis naer haer huis te gaen, wertze door lagen gegrepen, en haar hoofd tuffchen twee fteenen geplet, welke fraafde Perfen de vergiftigers gemeenlyk doen liden. Artaxerxes beledig- de hierom zyn moeder niet, noch met woorden, noch met werken, doende haar alleen op haar verzoek vertrekken naer Babylon, en haar toedryvende dat hy, zoo lang zy in 't leven was, Babylon niet zien zou. (a)

Na de nederlaagh van Cyrus heeft Artaxerxes Pharnabazus gezonden naar alle de lantvoogden, die aan den zeekant la- gen, om ze in syn magt te nemen. De Lantvoogden dan, die het met Cyrus ge- houden hadde, vreesende voor fraffe, stillen Tissaernes door gezanten, en ma- ken hunnen peis met hem. Tamos lant- voogt van Ionia, bang voor de gramschap des Konings, zet al zynen rykdom en kinderen behalven een, Saus genoemd, in schepen, en vlucht'er mede naer Pfammetichus (Eusebius zegt Pflammitthes) den derden Koning van Egypten na Amyrtaeus. Maerdees ongeagt alle vrientchap, en het recht van gaftryvheid, neemt hem al zynen schat af, en doot hem met de zynen. De Grieken uit Afie na Cyrus nederlaagh naar huis gekeert zynde hadden ontdekt dat het hart des Konings en der Perfanen aan schatten van gout hing, datze vorders verftrikt waren in weelde en vrouwemin, dat al hun doen wyders maer opgeblazen- heit en wint van dreigementen was. De Griexe steden ook door Afie verspreid, wanneer hun ter ooren gekomen was, dat Tissaernes hunnen bodem naderde, baden en fmeekten de Lacedemoniers door gezanten, datze hen toch niet ten gronde toe van de barbaren zouden laten verdel- gen. Deze zenden hier op een Tissafer- nes gezanten af, en doen hem aenzeggen dat hy de Griexe steden zou ongemoeit laten. Hy egter tafft Cume aan, en liep het omleggende land af: hoewel hy om het ingevallen winterfaizoen genoodzaakt was het beleh op te breken. Waerom hy de gevangenen voor een groote fomme gelts wedergevende aftrok. De Lacede- moniers zonden toen tegen de Perfen den veltoverften Thimbro, daarna ook Der- cyllidas. Maer deze regtten niets noemens waardigs uit, stropende alleen, en het platte lant afloopende. Ja zelf toen de legers nu elkander in 't gezicht flonden, maakte Dercyllidas met Pharnabazus en Tissaernes een bestant. Maer Artaxer- xes ftede Conon den Athener, op den raedt van Pharnabazus, die gedurende het bef- fant naer den Koning

getrokken was, tot Amirael over de vloot. De Lacedemoniers gefterkt door de krachten van Nepheus (Eusebius noemt hem Nephrites) Konings van

1. Xenoph. I. 2. de Cyri exp. I. VII. AvaGáseos. Crefias fegm. 57. feqq. If. Orat. Suas. II. ad Phil. Justin. I. cit.
2. Vid. Plutarch, in Artax. p. 1020. seqq. Conf. Crefias fegm. 60. etc. ## Reisen van Egypte

Van Egypte zonden de koningen *Agefilaus* met tienduizend voetknechten en vierhonderd ruiters naar Azië tegen de Perzen, waar hij *Tiffafernes* na een hard gevecht versloeg en dwong om naar Sardes te vluchten. Diodorus zegt dat de Perzen toen twintigduizend ruiters en vijftigduizend voetknechten hadden; doch Paufanias beweert dat hun krijgsmacht zo sterk was als noch Xerxes tegen Griekenland, noch Darius tegen Scythie en Athene van hem had aangevoerd. **Artaxerxes**, de nederlaag van zijn troepen begrijpend, heeft *Tiffafernes*, die Nepos zegt dat van de koning af en de Lacedemoniers was toegevalen, ter dood veroordeeld, wel meest op het aanhit van *Paryfatis*, die zeer op hem gebeten was omdat hij de optocht van Cyrus onregtelijk had overgedragen, zettende in zijn plaats *Tithrauftes*, die met haat ingenomen was tegen de Lacedemoniers. Deze *Agefilaus* tot een misverstand lokend hebbende, sloot met hem een wapenstilstand voor een half jaar. Ondertussen reisde *Conon* de Atheener naar de koning, van wie hij ter gehoor gelaten en rijkelijk begiftigd zijnde, volle macht verkreeg om de Lacedemoniers ter zee te beoorlogen en een ambtenaar naar zijn willekeur te kiezen. Men voegde hem ook een schatmeester toe, die zoveel geld zou op moeten schieten als *Conon* goed zou vinden. *Conon Pharnabazus* tot zijn ambtenaar gekozen hebbende, begeeft zich, nadat hij alles wel bezorgd had, in zee. **Artaxerxes** daarenboven begrijpend hoe deze oorlog gevoerd moest worden, zond *Hermocrates* de Rhodier (Paufanias noemt hem *Timocrates*) met een grote menigte van goud naar Griekenland om hier mede de overheden der steden te kopen en de volkeren van Griekenland tot het voeren van den oorlog tegen de Lacedemoniers aan te hitsen. Als dus de machtigste steden tegen hen aangespand, werd *Agefilaus* uit Azië thuis geroepen, die, had het *Conon* niet verhinderd, de koning geheel Azië tot de berg Taurus toe afhandig zou hebben gemaakt. Men zegt dat *Agefilaus* uit Azië trekkende, nadat hij *Pifander* (Diodorus noemt hem *Periarchus*) tot bevelhebber over de vloot gelaten had, gezegd zou hebben dat hij door drieduizend pijlschutters (hij meende Perzische penningen, waarop een pijlschutter stond) van de koning uit Azië verdreven werd. *Conon* ondertussen en *Pharnabazus* hebben na het vertrek van *Agefilaus* de vloot der Lacedemoniers bij Cnidus aangevallen en, nadat ze vele schepen genomen en nog meer in de grond geboord hadden, deze geheel vernietigd: door welke overwinning de Lacedemoniers het gebied der zee verloren hebben. Zo werden ook de meeste steden die met haar in verbond stonden, door deze

vloot van de vijanden gedwongen van hun af te vallen; waar eenige zich ontvlogen hebbende van de bezetting der Lacedemoniers hunne vrijheid handhaefden en andere *Conon* aanhangen. Daarna verwoeste *Conon* de landen der vijanden en herstelde de muren van Athene, die de Lacedemoniers te voren van verre geworpen hadden. En dit was, zegt *Juftinus* uit Trohus, het lot van Athene, dat het te voren van de Perzen verbrand, daarna door hunne eigen handen; en nu van de Lacedemonieren verwoest, uit den buit op haar behaald wederopgemaakt: hebbende de Atheners aldus bij beurtwisseling nu de genen tot bondgenoten, die toen hunne vijanden waren; en nu tot vijanden, met wie ze toen in een nauwe verbintenis van vriendschap stonden. Maar *Tiribazus*, bevelhebber der Perzische troepen in Azië, beneidend de voortspoedige bedrijven van *Conon*, gelijk Diodorus meent, of merkende dat *Conon* heimelijk toeleidde om Ionie en Eolie weer te brengen aan de zijde der Atheners, ontbood hem bij zich onder voorwending van hem naar den koning te willen zenden. Maar *Conon* was zo dra niet bij hem gekomen; Konori of hij liet hem in de gevangenis zetten, waaruit hij nochtans, zoo als *Dinon* zegt, genoot zich heeft weten te redden. Eindelijk boodt **Artaxerxes**, naer het verhaal van *Juftinus*, den Grieken vrede te maken. Doch Diodorus en Plutarchus verhalen dat de Lacedemoniers afgemaakt door den oorlog, dien ze tegelijk met de Grieken en Perzen te voeren hadden, den admiraal *Antalcidas* naar den koning van Perzie gezonden hebben om den vrede te bevorderen; en dat deze den koning begunstigende te weeg gebracht heeft, dat de Griekse steden en eilanden die aan Azië behoorden, aen hem zinsbaer zouden blijven. Om welke reden de koning aan *Antalcidas* een krans van bloemen, gedoopt in een zeer kostelijke balsem, gezonden heeft (a). Dat deze oorlog der Perzen met de Lacedemoniers geduurd heeft van het eerste jaar der XCV Olimpiade tot het tweede jaar der XCVIII, waarin de gemelde vrede gesloten is, kan bespeurt worden uit Diodorus (b).

Oo ## Cornelis de Bruins: Artaxerxes and Euagoras

Artaxerxes, having secured this side from his enemies, began his march against Euagoras, King of Cyprus. Orontes, the king's son-in-law, commanded three hundred thousand foot soldiers in the territory. Tiribazus, with a certain Gaus (who was married to his daughter), oversaw a fleet of three hundred rowing vessels. Euagoras received assistance from the King of Egypt, the Prince of Caria, the Arabs, and Tyrus. He had two hundred rowing ships in total; six thousand soldiers from his own people, and many more allies gathered together. With his raiding ships, of which he had a good number ready, he intercepted the Persian expeditionary force as it was being supplied, causing such a severe famine to arise within the army that the troops began to mutiny. For the hired soldiers, lacking food, turned on each other, killing some and filling the entire camp with great turmoil. They were barely restrained by the skill of the commanders, both from the local population and the fleet, who soon brought supplies of

grain from Cilicia. Euagoras, being amply supplied with grain, money, and other necessities from Egypt, seized the royal fleet as it sailed past Citium, a city located in the southern part of Cyprus, and gained the upper hand in the initial attack. But Gaus and Tiribazus, combining their forces, forced him to flee. The Persians thus became victorious, gathering both their land and sea troops together, and besieging the city of Salamis simultaneously by land and water. Meanwhile, Tiribazus hastened to bring news of the victory to the King. Having entrusted the defense of the city to Pythagoras, Euagoras sailed to Egypt at night from Salamis, where, upon arriving with the King, he urged him to consider that he was waging a common war against the Persians and should therefore exert all his forces to secure himself. But returning from Egypt with less money than he had hoped for, and seeing the city of Salamis nearly captured by the enemy and abandoned by its allies, he sought peace through envoys. Tiribazus, who then held supreme command, replied that he would not take any action unless Euagoras relinquished all the cities of Cyprus and was willing to pay an annual tribute to the King of Persia, as a servant to his lord, ready to obey his commands. He accepted these harsh conditions and informed Tiribazus that he wished to submit himself to the King not as a slave but as a subservient king. This reasonable request was granted by Tiribazus. But Orontes, who envied him his glory, accused him of having not taken the city through force, although it was within his power; that he had concluded a treaty with the Lacedaemonians on his own authority; that he had consulted the oracle of Apollo regarding the war he intended to wage against the King, and other similar things. Consequently, he was sent to the King in chains. Meanwhile, Orontes, exercising supreme command over the troops in Cyprus, saw that Euagoras was bravely holding out the siege, and that the soldiers were increasingly displeased with Tiribazus's capture. Therefore, on the same conditions that Tiribazus desired, he made peace with Euagoras; namely, that he should pay a certain annual tribute to the King, retain control of Salamis, and obey the commands of the King of Persia as a king. (a)

Diodorus testifies that after waging war against the Cadufiers, Tiribazus managed to clear his name before the Royal Courts and refute Orontes's accusations. Consequently, the common people acquitted Tiribazus of the charges brought against him by the judges and bestowed upon him greater honors than he had previously received from the King. However, Plutarch, a trustworthy writer, recounts that Tiribazus was slain while pleading his case in the war against the Cadufiers. For while these things were happening in Cyprus, the King himself had subdued the Cadufiers with three hundred thousand soldiers and ten thousand cavalry. This land, located at the Carian gates, bordering Media, was barren, humid, and devoid of fruits and grains; nothing could be found there except apples and pears, and other fruits that grow in the forests, where that wretched people were forced to sustain themselves. Therefore, such a scarcity arose

within the royal army that an ass's head could be obtained for LX drachmas, which is eighteen guilders Dutch currency. There Tiribazus, who often held the first place with the King because of...

1. See Diod. Sicul. I. XV. p. 459. feq. & p. 462. edit. Steph. feu p. 328. feqq. & p. 333, feq. Wechel. ## Reisen: The Travels of Xenophon

Having endured so much, and having been abandoned by his army, and while he himself was despised and oppressed, the king and all his forces were preserved. For he personally marched to the court of the King of the Carduchians, and secretly sent his son to the other. And because these two could not tolerate each other, they both fell into the trap of hoping for peace with Artaxerxes, believing that it was happening without the knowledge of the other. Thus, he secured a treaty with both and withdrew the Persian troops. The king himself having a shield on his arm and a quiver slung over his shoulder, dismounted from his horse and ascended the steep and mountainous paths. Through this, the soldiers saw the king's haste and became so eager to flee that they seemed as if they could fly, covering more than two hundred stadia each day. When they finally arrived at a certain royal estate, where there were beautiful gardens and richly adorned courtyards, but beyond which the land was bare of trees and frozen by the cold, he allowed the soldiers to take wood from the gardens and courtyards. And as they admired the beauty and height of the trees, he himself seized an axe and felled the most beautiful and largest one. The rest followed this example, bringing the wood easily down at night. Nevertheless, Artaxerxes lost many brave men and all his horses before returning to Persia. Nonetheless, he demonstrated that all deceit and cowardice, as is commonly believed, do not stem from luxury and excess, but from a corrupted and wicked nature that follows false notions. (a)

The war that Artaxerxes waged against the Egyptians, under the leadership of Pharmabazus and Iphicrates the Athenian, proved fruitless due to their internal discord. And although it was pursued with various efforts until the death of the king, Egypt could not be regained. (b) Furthermore, Artaxerxes reconciled the Greeks who were themselves exhausted by a civil war through three successive peace treaties, leaving only the Thebans excluded from this reconciliation. Also, during the third year of the 103rd Olympiad, or as Diodorus would have it, the 104th Olympiad, some provincial governors initiated disturbances and entered into an alliance with Tachos, King of Egypt, prompting Artaxerxes to wage war. The most prominent among these were Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia; Mauolus, ruler of Caria; Orontes of Myus; Datames of Cappadocia, and Autophradates of Lydia. From the Ionians joined them the Lycians, the Pisidians, the Pamphylians, and Cilicians; and beyond these, the Syrians and Phoenicians, along with all those who inhabited the shores of the

Asian Sea; so that the Persians were at odds on one occasion with the King of Egypt, with the Greek cities of Asia, with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and with their rebellious provincial governors. But when Orontes, to whom he had entrusted the entire conduct of this war, revealed the rebels and their associates to the king, this rebellion of the dissenters vanished without accomplishing anything. Datames was subdued after having banished Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who wished to join Artabazus, the general of the king's troops, from Artaxerxes, aided by layers of silk. Nephanabus, son of Tachos, King of Egypt, at the advice of a certain Rheomites, sent to him by those rebelling against his rule, deposed his father, who was then equipping two hundred ships in Greece. Through this revolt, the prince did not spare himself but fled to Arabia to seek forgiveness from Artaxerxes for all that he might have done wrong. Artaxerxes not only declared him innocent after forgiving his offenses but also entrusted him with the full command of the war against the Egyptians. But Artaxerxes died in the midst of preparing this war, in the third year of the 104th Olympiad, dated to the creation of the world 3588 and after the Julian Period 4352, having reigned over the kingdom for forty-three years (not forty, as Ensebius falsely states). (c) And here certainly Plutarch errs, who in the Life of Artaxerxes writes that he died in the 94th year of his age and in the 62nd year of his reign.

Furthermore, Artaxerxes initially seemed to be of a gentle nature, his kingdom appearing soft, and wishing to follow his grandfather, after whom he was named. For he readily granted access to everyone and richly rewarded those who deserved it with honors. From the Scythians

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

The King's
Vigilance.

Fruitless
Egyptian War.

Outbreak of
Provincial
Governors. ##
Cornelis de
Bruins

Even the most
famous men
possessed flaws.

He was generous
in giving and
kindhearted;
when receiving a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

gift, he expressed abundant gratitude and friendliness. No gift, however small, was received without heartfelt thanks. Once, Omifes, a certain man, offered him a pomegranate of extraordinary size, saying, "By Zeus, this man would even fashion a flat from a single piece of wood if entrusted with it." To an impoverished man who lamented that he could find nothing to offer when the king and others were making gifts, he presented a handful of water drawn from a nearby river, then bestowed upon him a golden drinking vessel worth approximately 6,000 guilders (around £3,000 in modern currency).

After holding a feast with his brother Cyrus, he drank a foul-smelling liquid

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

brought to him
by the eunuch
Satibarzanes,
who had
obtained it from
a vintner in a
dirty leather
bucket
containing four
pints. He drank
it willingly and
declared that no
wine or even the
clearest water
had ever tasted
better. He vowed
to God to bless
the man
responsible if he
could find him.
Having
subsequently
located this
individual, he
elevated him to a
position of high
standing.

When Tiribazus
once pointed out
that his tunic
was torn during
a hunt, he asked
what should be
done about it.
Upon being
advised, he
pulled another
tunic from his
wardrobe and
gave it to him,
adding these
words:

“Tiribazus, I give
it to you, but
forbid you to
wear it.” When
Tiribazus donned
the tunic,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

adorned himself
with gold and
jewels, and all
present declared
that such finery
was unbecoming
of him, the king,
laughing, said,
“Tiribazus, I
permit you to
wear jewels like
a peacock and
dress like a fool.”

Not only was
Artaxerxes
amiable and
talkative but also
generously gifted
his wife Statyra
with the ornate
canopy of a
carriage so that
anyone who
wished could
address her
along the road.
He was also
remarkably
lenient in
punishing the
guilty. For
example, when
Arbaces, a Mede
who had
defected to his
brother Cyrus
during battle and
later returned to
the king, he did
not impose any
punishment
indicative of
treason or
disloyalty but
merely
demanded an
acknowledgment
of his

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

wrongdoing.
Consequently, he
ordered him to
wear a naked
harlot with bells
on her neck
around the
marketplace for
a day. Another
man who had
lied about killing
two enemies was
pierced through
the tongue with
three needles.

However, it is
said that after
his youth, he
abandoned these
virtues and
succumbed to an
evil influence.

His Evil
Influence.

From which
wicked
inclinations often
arise, he began
to take liberties
with his own
daughter Atossa,
concealing as
much as possible
from his mother
Paryfatis, with
whom he had
reconciled,
though some
believe a
clandestine love
affair existed
between him and
the maiden.
Paryfatis, an
ambitious
woman
accustomed to

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

speaking sweetly
to those who
wished to
converse with
the king, having
removed the veil
of the king's
secret affection,
sought to bind
herself more
closely to him,
and began to
extol Atossa's
beauty and
virtue before
Artaxerxes.
Finally, she
advised him to
make her his
lawful wife
without regard
for Greek laws,
demonstrating
that he was
divinely
appointed to
guide them as
they measured
what was
honorable and
dishonorable
according to a
law. It is said
that he then
married Atossa
and shortly
thereafter
betrothed his
other daughter
Amefris to
Tiribazus. He
loved Atossa so
deeply that when
her body became
emaciated from
illness, without
showing the
slightest

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

concern, he
touched the
earth with his
hands and
humbly prayed to
Juno, and sent so
many gifts from
his treasuries
and palaces to
the goddess—
seventeen stadia
filled with gold,
silver, purple
cloth, and horses
—that they were
overflowing.
Realizing that his
authority was
diminishing due
to his rebellious
offspring and
military
setbacks, he also
began to
persecute the
powerful,
eliminating many
through exile
and even more
out of fear. Thus,
his fear
transformed his
reputation into
tyranny, whereas
previously he
had been free
from suspicion,
peaceful, gentle,
and worthy of
the title of a wise
and prudent
ruler. (a).

From

(a) See Plutarch,
Life of
Artaxerxes, I,
1013-1017,
1023; also in

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Moralia, II, 173.

Conf. Scaliger,
*Animadversions
on Euphues*,
p. 115.

Quink- flagh.

His eloquence.

Temperate.

Even the most
famous men
possessed flaws.
Reisen.

From his
numerous
attendants, who,
according to
Plutarch's
testimony,
numbered three
hundred and
seventy, he had
one hundred and
fifteen sons, yet
produced no
more than three
through his
lawful marriage;
namely Darius,
Ariarates, whom
Plutarch calls
Ariaptes, and
Ochus, the
youngest.
Artaxerxes,
having become a
man of
considerable
standing, noticed
that his sons
were beginning
to be doubted by
their friends and
the Great Men of
the Empire.
Therefore, with
all due caution,
he steered his

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

thoughts towards removing any disputes that might arise after his death. For Ochus, who was said to be of a fierce nature and had not a few favorites at court, especially Atoffia, whom his father had favored beforehand, strove earnestly to secure the succession for himself. He gained her support through the hope he offered, not only of marrying her but also of sharing in royal power after his father's death. The woman, as Plutarch says, even secretly dallied with him during his father's lifetime. But Artaxerxes deemed it proper that he should not neglect the Empire in such a manner as he had received it. Therefore, Darius, who was older and already fifty years of age, contrary to the custom of the Persians—by

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

which royal
dignity is passed
on only through
death—declared
him king,
allowing him to
wear the purple
robe and the
royal insignia;
judging that he
would not
deprive his son
by relinquishing
him, but rather
produce a purer
fruit from his
lineage if he saw
the tokens of
majesty in his
son, as Justin
speaks. There
was a law among
the Persians that
whoever was
declared king
must request
some gift, and
those who had
made the
declaration must
give it, provided
the requested
item was within
their power.

Therefore,
Darius requests
Aspasia, born of
Phocis from Ione,
formerly the
possession of
Cyrus the
Second, and now
of his father. This
Artaxerxes took
ill. For the
Persians, as
Plutarch says,
are very jealous,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

so that not only
those who claim
or covet the
king's possession
but also those
who ride too
close by the carts
on which they sit
are punished
with death. The
King, concealing
his displeasure,
gave his son in
reply: Aspasia
was free; he
could take her
with her consent,
but should
beware of doing
anything against
her inclination.
But when
Aspasia, having
been summoned
outside the
king's
expectation,
Darius had
chosen, he gave
her to him out of
necessity of law,
but not long
after, so that she
might spend her
life outside
marriage, made
her priestess of
Diana, who is
celebrated at
Ecbatana, as
Plutarch
recounts, or,
more likely, of
the Sun, as Justin
says: intending
thus to take a
moderate and
gentle revenge

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

on his son. It is
said that Darius,
through this,
first cursed his
father, being
related to Darius
by blood.

Ochus aims for
the crown.
Darius declared
heir to the
kingdom.

The family
conspiracy was
discovered to the
king by a
freedman, whom
all the dealings
of the affair were
known to, and
who with a
report that the
murderers had
plotted to enter
the king's
chamber at night
and finish him in
his sleep, caused
a hole as large as
a door to be
made in the wall,
and covered it
with tapestries.
When he now
saw that the
murderers came
at the appointed
hour, he
suddenly pushed
aside the
tapestries and
threw himself
into an inner
chamber, from
which he closed
the door with a
loud cry so that
it rattled. The

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

conspirators
seeing that they
were betrayed,
fled as hard as
they could.
Tiribazus cut
down many of
the king's
bodyguards who
sought to seize
him, but was
nevertheless shot
by an arrow from
afar; Oh 3 that

(a) In Artax. T. l.
op. p. 1025. (b)
Just. I. X. cap. I.
XI. OCHUS,
also known as
ART AXERXES

This is his
father's
successor in the
kingdom—Ochus,
who took the
name Artaxerxes.
Because
Artaxerxes had
administered the
kingdom justly
and
accomplished
much for peace,
and because he
had been
fortunate in his
endeavors, the
Persians desired
that those kings
who followed
him be named
after him. (a)
Abul Pharajus
adds that he was
also called
Afudab, meaning
"the Black." I am
unaware of any

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

writer
mentioning the
name of his wife;
however, Curtius
(b) recounts that
Alexander, King
of Macedon,
captured three of
his daughters,
still unmarried,
in the Persian
camp after the
battle at
Granicus, among
Darius's women.
James Cappellus,
and from him
Samphon (c),
believe that
Esther was the
wife of this
Ochus, and he
himself was
called
Ochofuerus or
Achafuerus in
the Persian
tongue. This
notion does not
seem
unreasonable to
me. For the
wives of the first
Persian kings are
mentioned by us
under each king,
none being more
vividly depicted
in custom than
Esther's story;
indeed, it seems
that the
circumstances in
the Book of
Esther were
arranged to
reflect her tale.
The Jews

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

themselves place
the Book of
Esther among
the books of the
Old Testament
after Nehemiah,
and therefore at
the very end.

And the fact that
Nehemiah
brought his
history to the
last days of
Darius the Mede
can be inferred
from this, as
Josephus (d)
testifies that
Sannabullat,
about whom he
(e) complains,
was from Darius
Codomannus and
fell under
Alexander of
Macedon,
carrying arms
under him. From
this, I conclude
that the history
of Esther either
preceded
Artaxerxes the
Wise or
Artaxerxes
Ochus. It is not
recorded
anywhere that
the former
divorced his
wife, as has been
said. And pagan
writers have left
nothing
regarding
Ochus's
marriage, so it
can be inferred

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

that they were ignorant of all the events that occurred within Persia during the reign of this king, and that Ochus divorced Vafthi—who had been Esther’s husband—particularly since we hear of the wives of the first Persian kings being mentioned under each king.

(a) Diod. Sic. I. c. p. 506.
ed. Steph. feu p. 400.
Wechelien. (b) l. III. cap. 35. (c) P. c. Chron. Cath. fub A. M. 3644.
(d) l. XI. c. 8. (e) c. 4. et 6.

that he died there. Royal judges were appointed to Darius, who condemned him to death by a unanimous vote. It is said that the executioner, upon seeing Darius, initially recoiled, but at the threat of the judges seized him by the hair with one hand and threw him against the ground, then cut his throat with a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

razor. Others
recount that the
sentence was
pronounced in
the king's
presence, and
that Darius,
convinced by
appearances, fell
to the ground
before the king
and humbly
begged for
forgiveness; and
that, rising up in
anger, he struck
down the
supplicant with a
drawn sword.

After performing
this act, he
entered his
palace and
offered sacrifices
to the sun,
saying: "Rejoice,
O Persians, and
emulate others,
so that the Great
Ormazes may
bring forth those
who have plotted
treacherous
deeds."

Afterward, Ochus
regained some
courage; but it
appeared that he
would face
opponents in
Ariarates or
Ariaipes, and
Arfames. The
first was desired
as king for his
gentleness,
uprightness, and
politeness. This

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

one, however,
was a valiant
man, and though
gained through a
subsidiary
position, was
very pleasing to
his father. It is
then told that
Ochus accused
some prisoners
and friends who
had conveyed
threats and
harsh words
from his father's
side to Arafmes,
secretly instilling
in him the notion
that the king had
decided to bring
him to death
cruelly and
treacherously.

These things,
revealed to him
day by day as
secrets, made
him so distressed
and desperate
that he killed
himself by taking
poison. It is also
said that Ochus
had Arfames put
to death through
Harpates, the
son of Tiribazus;
after which
Artaxerxes died
from grief. (a)

Eusebius
believes that
Artaxerxes the
Wise was the one
who divorced
Aha- fuerus,
Esther's

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

husband. And
Abul Pharajus
agrees with him.
(c) But what is
recounted in the
Book of Esther
concerning
Queen Vafthi
does not
correspond to
anything known
about Statira,
the wife of
Artaxerxes,
because nowhere
is it recorded
that she was
divorced from
her husband; and
on the contrary,
all credible
writers testify
that the king
loved her
heartily
throughout her
life. Therefore,
one must seek
another Aha-
fuerus.

Now follows

(a) Vid. Plut. in
Artax. fub fin.
Justin. I. c. (b) P.
I. Chr. p. 33. et P.
II. p. 134. (c)
Dyn.cit.pag.
88.text.Arab.etp.
57.verf.Latin. ##
Reizen

The first kings,
and their
knowledge of
lineage, is
sufficient to
demonstrate this.
Furthermore, the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Book of Esther
reveals that
Ahaferus was
fierce and prone
to outbursts.
Plutarch also
recounts this
about Ochus or
this Artaxerxes.
The same book
tells how
Ahaferus
received his
satraps or
provincial
governors with
harshness. And
from Isocrates (f)
it appears that
Ochus at the
beginning of his
reign did
likewise. Thus, I
am almost
inclined to
believe that the
historian of
Esther belongs
to the time of
Ochus. But
everyone is free
to judge this for
themselves.

Moreover,
Justinus (b)
recounts that
Ochus seized
lands from those
who had been
condemned to
death. Fearing a
conspiracy like
the one that had
occurred against
his father, he
filled the court
with the murders
of nobles,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

without any
consideration for
blood ties, ability,
or age; so that
thus, by
murdering his
relatives, he
would not be
found less
innocent than his
brothers, the
patricides, who
were murderers
of their fathers.
But whether one
should believe
everything
recounted about
this king by
Justinus and the
Greek writers,
enemies of the
Persian name,
and whether
those who are
here recorded as
having been put
to death
innocently also
conspired
against Ochus's
father, would
need further
investigation.

Justinus (c) also
recounts that
after purifying
his kingdom,
Ochus waged
war against
Cadufiers.

Diodorus also
mentions this
same war. (d).
Both recount
that Darius
Codomannus
certainly and a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

man from among
the enemies,
brave and
strong, who
dared to
challenge
someone from
Persia, was
sought out for
the blade, and
therefore fell
victim to the
king's fatal
wrath, thus
carrying away
the first glory of
courage among
the Persians.
Justinus adds
that this same
man later
became governor
of Armenia.

It is recounted
that under this
king a tribute
was imposed on
the Jews.
Josephus (e) tells
how events
unfolded. After
the death of
Eleazar the High
Priest, his son
Johanan held the
priesthood by
hereditary right;
and when he
died in office,
Joannes
succeeded him.
This caused
Bagofes, the
general of
Artaxerxes, to
desecrate the
temple and
burden the Jews

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

with tributes.

And this is how it happened.

Johannes had a brother named Jefua. This one had promised Bagofes that he would give him the High Priesthood as if he were his friend.

Abandoning his brotherhood, he then began to quarrel more freely with his brother in the temple, thereby provoking him so much that he was pierced through with anger. This was certainly a great sacrilege committed within the temple, of which no one has ever heard again among Greeks, barbarians, or any people anywhere in the world; as Josephus notes. He also claims that God, who would not let such an outrage go unpunished, allowed the Jewish people to lose their freedom and the Persians to destroy the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

temple. For it is said that Bagofes, having learned that the High Priest had murdered his own brother in the temple, proclaimed: "O wicked one! Have you dared to commit murder in the temple?" And when he was prevented from entering the temple on this occasion, he said, "How do you think I am more impure than the corpse lying in the temple?" After these words he entered and for seven years demanded punishment for this murder. For every day two lambs were slaughtered for a sacrificial offering, Bagofes ordered that fifty drachmas, which is fifteen Dutch guilders, be collected for each lamb, amounting to seventy Attic talents annually. In the third year of his kingdom, the second of the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

51st Olympiad,
the 3591 after
the creation of
the world, and
the 4355
according to the
Julian period,
according to
Helvicus's
reckoning and
the rule of
Eusebius, Ochus,
king of the
Persians,
brought a group
of Jews whom he
had captured to
Hyrkania and
Media, and
settled them by
the Caspian Sea,
where they are
believed to have
remained until
the time of
Orosius,
increasing
greatly in
number through
procreation, and
standing for
some time ready
to break out from
there. (a).
Scaliger and
others believe
that these Jews
are descendants
of those who,
according to the
description in (b)
Jeremiah, fled to
Egypt to King
Vaphres or
Pharaoh Hophra,
as (c) Jeremiah
calls him, after
the destruction

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

of Jerusalem, and
that this group
was called the
Sons of the
Migration to
Media by the
Jerusalem
Church Council.
(d).

In

(a) See
p. Orosius I. III.
Hist.-adv.
Pag.cap. 7. (b)
c. XLIII. (c)
c. XLIV.^v. ultimo.
(d) See Scaliger,
p. 82, et 115,
feq. Anim. in
Eusebius, and I.
III. Can. Isag.
Epoch. 59.
p. 283. Compare
Calyx, in op.
Chron. sub A.M.
3594.

Bloody reign of
Ochus. Tribute
imposed on the
Jews. Brother-
murder in the
Jewish temple.
Cornelis de
Bruins

In het vierde jaar
van de 96e
Olympische
Spelen, bood
Artabazus,
veldheer van
Artaxerxes in de
Egyptische
oorlog, en zijn
admiraal in de
oorlog van
Cyprus (die van
koning Ochus

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

was afgefallen),
krachtig
weerstand aan
de koninklijke
landvoogden die
tegen hem
gezonden waren,
met de steun van
Chares, overste
van de Atheners.
Toen deze
daarvan op de
hoogte was,
dwong
Pharnabazus de
Thebanen om
zich bij hem te
voegen. Van hen
kreeg hij
vijfduizend
gewapende
mannen en legde
hij de koninklijke
veldheren in
twee grote
veldslagen neer.
Desondanks gaf
koning Ochus
een jaar later,
namelijk in het
tweede jaar van
de 97e
Olympische
Spelen, de
Thebanen door
de oorlog van
Phocis en de
grote schatting
die ze hadden
geleverd, tot
onderwerping
gedwongen, de
hand. Want toen
ze via gezanten
verzochten om
enige financiële
steun, schonk hij

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

hen driehonderd
talenten. (a)

In hetzelfde jaar
vernieuwde hij
de oorlog tegen
de Egyptenaren,
die eerder door
zijn vader was
begonnen en in
de voorgaande
jaren door zijn
veldheren
gevoerd werd.
Want de
Feniciërs, en
vooral de
Sidoniers,
begonnen te
denken aan een
afvalligheid van
de koninklijke
landvoogden en
gezanten, nadat
ze op een trotse
en schandelijke
manier hadden
gehandeld bij het
uitvoeren van
wat hen
opgedragen was,
en sloten reeds
een verbond met
Nechanebus,
koning van
Egypte, die toen
in oorlog was
met de Perzen.
Ook volgden
enkele koningen
van negen
bekende steden
van Cyprus, die
onder het gebied
van de Perzen
stonden, dit
voorbeeld van de
Feniciërs, vielen
de koning aan en

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

begonnen zich na
een
voorbereiding tot
oorlog volkomen
onafhankelijk te
verklaren. Uit de
Feniciërs
begonnen de
Sidoniers, trots
op hun rijkdom
(want hun
burgers hadden
met handel
schatten
gewonnen), een
groot aantal
roeiboten en
exotische
soldaten te
vervaardigen. Ze
begonnen
vijandelijkheden
door het
verwoesten van
het Koninklijk
Paradijs
(waarvan in de
Perzische taal
“tuin” of
“wildbaan” wordt
bedoeld), waar
de Perzische
koningen
gewoon waren
hun verblijf te
nemen. Daarna
staken ze het
hooiopslag, dat
door de
landvoogden was
opgericht voor
het voer van de
paarden, in
brand en
uiteindelijk
straffen ze de
Perzen die hen
hadden beledigd.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Koning
Artaxerxes
Ochus, verbitterd
door deze
arrogantie, vroeg
aan Idrieus, vorst
van Karië, een
vriend en
bondgenoot van
de Perzen, om
wraak te nemen
op de Cyprioten.
Hierop maakte
hij veertig
roeiboten met
achtduizend
huursoldaten en
zond die naar het
eiland, met
orders om het
vlakke land af te
lopen en de stad
Salamis te
belegeren onder
het bevel van
Phocion de
Athener en
Euagoras.
Tegelijkertijd
werden de
landvoogden van
Syrië en
Mazaeus,
regeerder van
Cilicië, die de
Feniciërs
aanvielen, door
Mentor, veldheer
van de Sidoniers,
op de vlucht
gedreven, die
vierduizend
Griekse soldaten
onder het bevel
van Tennes van
Rhodus van de
Egyptenaren had
ontvangen. Maar

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

toen koning van
Babylon met een
groot leger naar
Fenicië trok,
beloofde hem
Mentor, die een
zekere Theffalio,
de trouwe
dienaar van zijn
zoon, aan hem
zond, dat hij hem
de stad zou
overgeven en
zijn uiterste best
zou doen om
Egyptenaren te
huisvesten, waar
hij alle gebieden
goed kende. De
koning, verheugd
door dit bericht,
beloofde niet
alleen de
misdaad van het
afvalligheid aan
Mentor
vergeven, maar
hem
daarenboven rijk
belonen. Maar
toen Mentor's
dienaar hierom
vroeg dat de
koning dit bij
handtekening
zou beloven als
teken van trouw,
beval de koning
hem te ontslaan
omdat hij
verontwaardigd
was over dit
verzoek. Toen
deze arme man
nu naar straf
werd geleid, zei
hij: "De koning
heeft zijn zin

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

gevolgd." Maar
Mentor, wetende
dat men hem
geen woord zou
geloven, zou ook
falen in wat hij
had beloofd.
Hierop
veranderde de
koning van
gedachten en
beval de dienaar
te ontvluchten en
gaf hem de
rechterhand, als
het zekerste
teken van trouw
bij de Perzen. De
dienaar keerde
terug naar Sidon
en vertelde
Mentor buiten
het weten van de
burgerij wat er
was gebeurd.
Koning Ochus,
die ondertussen
verlangde om
Egyptenaren te
huisvesten, zond
naar de grootste
steden van
Griekenland
gezanten om
hulp te vragen.
De Atheners en
Lacedemoniërs
antwoordden
hem dat ze wel
vriendschap met
de Perzen wilden
onderhouden,
maar in geen
geval bereid
waren hen te
helpen. Maar de
Thebanen
verstrekten

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

duizend
zwaarbewapende
soldaten onder
hun overste
Lacrates; en de
Argiven
drieduizend
lichte soldaten
onder het bevel
van Nicofratus,
die Herkules
wilde nabootsen
door een
leeuwenhuid te
dragen en
knuppels in
gevecht te
gebruiken, en die
de koning
specifiek had
verzocht. De
Grieken die de
zeeënstedes van
Azië bewoonden,
zonden ook volk
(a) Zie Diod. Sic.
p. 527. seq. coll.
pag. 531. editr.
Steph. feu
p. 433. seq. et
438.

Wecheliana. ##
Reisen

With the help of
this force, which
was counted as
ten thousand
men among the
Greek troops, the
Sidonians, while
Ochus was
absent, had
prepared
themselves for
war, with
fortifications, an
abundance of
supplies, and a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

hundred rowing
ships in three
and five rows.
But Mentor
brought Tennes,
who had
recruited
soldiers from
Egypt, into the
conspiracy,
leaving him in
the city to keep
watch and
continue the
betrayal. Then,
with five
hundred soldiers
and one hundred
citizens of noble
birth, he left the
city and marched
straight to
Artaxerxes,
delivering the
citizens who
accompanied
him. The
Sidonians,
deprived by this
means, sent their
leading citizens
with olive
branches as a
sign of
reconciliation to
the King, whom
he had all shot
down with
catapults. After
this, the Persians
took the city
through the
actions of the
aforementioned
Tennes; and
when the
Sidonians saw
that the walls

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

were captured,
after having
previously
burned all their
ships so that no
inhabitants could
escape for their
own safety or sail
away, they
locked
themselves in
houses with their
wives and
children and set
fire to them
along with
everything.
Therefore, the
King had that
waste place, or
the empty estate
of Sidon, which
was found to
contain a great
quantity of
molten gold and
silver, sold for
many talents
after it was
burned over. The
remaining
Phoenicians,
terrified,
surrendered
themselves to
the Persians.
Thus, also, the
disturbances in
Cyprus were
quelled, because
Protagoras, King
of Salamis, had
Mentor killed,
thinking that he
would no longer
have need of his
help; thus
verifying the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

common saying:
that rulers love
betrayal but not
traitors. And
Mentor might
perhaps have
fared no worse if
Ochus had not
needed his
assistance in
subduing Egypt.
He then
dismissed him
kindly and
treated him as
one of his
friends.

After the
destruction of
Sidon, the King
marched to
Egypt with his
army, having
received the
Greek
auxiliaries;
arriving at the
great marsh
where places
called Baratra or
Abyss are found,
he lost a portion
of his troops due
to ignorance of
the area.

However, finally
overcoming
these whirlpools,
he besieged the
city of Pelufium
and took it
through the
bravery of
Lacrates,
commander of
the Thebans, and
Nicofratus,
leader of the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Athenian troops.
Lacrates had
promised the
Greeks who
defended the
fleet of Pelufium
that if they
surrendered,
they would be
transported with
all their goods to
Greece. But
when the
soldiers of
Bagoas, sent by
the King to take
possession of the
city, plundered
some of the
Greeks'
possessions as
they came out,
Lacrates,
inflamed by
righteous
indignation,
drove off the
Persians and
killed some of
them, taking the
Greeks under his
protection who
were offended by
the violation of
their pledges.
For this reason
Bagoas, after
fleeing, accused
him to the King.
However, the
King judged that
the soldiers of
Bagoas had
received their
just reward and
punished the
Persians who had

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

caused the
plundering.

In like manner,
Mentor subdued
many other
places, including
Bubaftum,
through certain
military
maneuvers under
the King's
command. For he
instructed the
Greeks who were
serving in the
Egyptian army
that Artaxerxes
would graciously
receive those
who surrendered
their cities to
him and restore
them to freedom;
but on the
contrary, those
whom he would
have to
overcome with
arms would act
no differently
than the
Sidonians.
Therefore, the
Egyptians,
without the
knowledge of the
Greeks, offered
the city of
Bubaftum to
Bagoas through
one of their own
people,
stipulating that if
he let them go
unpunished, they
would surrender
it. When the
Greeks learned

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

of this, they were so outraged that they attacked the Egyptians, killing some, wounding others, and driving the rest into a corner of the city. The wounded informed Bagoas what had happened and begged him to accept the city which they offered him. Meanwhile, Mentor secretly sent instructions through a herald whom he had dispatched on his side to the Greeks that if Bagoas entered the city, his troops would attack him. When Bagoas was let in with a portion of the Persians, the Greeks suddenly attacked all the Persians, closed the gates, and simultaneously captured Bagoas. He saw that all his hope for survival depended on Mentor and begged him to spare his life, promising henceforth to do nothing without

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

his consent.

Therefore,
Mentor spared
the Greeks

Desperate to
surrender.

The Phoenicians
surrender.

Protagoras
submits. Tennes
is killed.

Pelufium
besieged. ##
Cornelis de
Bruins

The Greeks
persuade Bagoas
to release him
and hand over
the city,
swearing an oath
and having
Bagoas swear
that they would
maintain a
relationship of all
kinds thereafter.

As a result, these
two officials
gained more
influence with
Artaxerxes than
all his friends
and relatives.

Mentor, honored
with governance
over the regions
of *Asia*, sends
troops recruited
from Greece at
intervals, and
conducts all
affairs with
utmost loyalty
and courage.
Therefore, the
king bestowed

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

upon him one
hundred talents
of silver and
gave him the
best items from
other valuable
household goods.

Bagoas,
assuming the
governorship of
the upper region
of *Asia*, also
acquired such
great power
through his close
relationship with
Mentor that he
controlled the
entire kingdom,
and Artaxerxes
did nothing
without his
consent.

Furthermore,
after conquering
Bubastis, the
remaining cities
of Egypt,
including
Memphis itself,
surrendered on
certain
conditions out of
fear to the
Persians.

And so,
Artaxerxes
conquered all of
Egypt in the
third year of the
97th Olympiad,
the 3600th year
after creation
according to the
world's
reckoning, and
the 4364th year
according to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Julian period,
according to
Helvicus'
calculations,
fortifying the
walls and
strongholds of
the most
important cities,
and collecting a
great treasure of
gold and silver
by plundering
the temples. He
also took from
the old temples
the memorial
inscriptions,
which Bagoas
later had defaced
for a large sum
of money with
the priests. The
Greeks, whose
services the king
used on this
occasion, he
rewarded,
allowing them to
return to their
lands after
having honored
each according
to his merits. He
himself, after
giving
Pherendates
governance over
Egypt, returned
with his army to
Babylon, laden
with great spoils
and rich plunder,
and renowned
for the fame
gained from the
fortunate

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

outcome of his
deeds. (a).

Neetanebus,
King of Egypt,
despairing of all
things regarding
the fortune of
Persian arms,
dared not expose
himself to any
danger in order
to preserve his
kingdom but
considered it
lost, withdrew
with his most
precious
treasures that he
had gathered,
and fled into
exile to Ethiopia.
Thus relate
Diodorus and
Eusebius. But
Lynceus says in
his description of
Egypt that the
King of Persia
captured him.
Thus he speaks
at Athenaeus (b):
When the
Egyptians rose
up against
Ochus, King of
the Persians, and
were defeated,
and the Egyptian
king came into
the power of his
enemies, Ochus
received him
kindly and
courteously, and
invited him to a
banquet, for
which he had
magnificent

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

furnishings
made. The
Egyptian, seeing
the dishes,
scorned the
Persian as being
too frugal in
keeping his
household,
saying: "Do you
wish to see how
the tables of
wealthy kings
should be, then
let my cooks
prepare a feast
for you." The
king agreed and
ordered it to be
done. And
although he
found
amusement in it,
he said
afterwards: "May
the gods punish
you, Egyptian,
who have given
you such costly
feasts to take our
frugal and
meager fare."
Cedrenus and
others say that
Neetanebus,
when Egypt was
conquered by
Artaxerxes,
stripped himself
of his garments
and discarded
his royal robes,
and fled to Pella,
a city in
Macedon not far
from
Thessalonica,
where the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

inhabitants
learned the
wisdom of the
Egyptians and
predicted future
events (c). Abul
Pharajus adds
that he served as
the steward of
Olympias, wife of
Philip, King of
Macedon, and
brought her
through his skill
so far that he
defiled her bed,
from which
Alexander
Dulcarnain was
born. (d).

In the following
year, Mentor,
possessing much
power and favor
with Artaxerxes,
secured through
his intercession a
pardon for his
son-in-law,
Artabazus, and
his brother
Memnon, who
not long ago had
waged war
against the
Persians and
then fled from
Asia to Philip of
Macedon. They
were summoned
back to court.
The same Mentor
also elevated the
sons of
Artabazus and
his daughter to
the highest
positions in

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

military service,
and later
Hermias, a
tyrant of
Atarnus, a city
located between
Lydia and Mysia
close to Lesbos
(who had
abandoned many
cities and
strongholds that
he held, and rose
up against
Artaxerxes),
through a certain
promise, namely
that the king
would not punish
him, into a
deceptive
meeting, and
threw him in
prison:
whereupon he
stripped him of
his ring.

(a) See Diod. Sic.
I. XVI. p. 531. &
seq. usque ad
p. 535. edit.
Steph. or p. 439.
seq. ad p. 450.
edit. Wechel.
Compare Euf. P.
II. Chron. pag.
136.

(b) lib. IV. p. 150.

(c) See Exc. ex
Euseb. Afr. et
aliis ap. Jof. Scal.
Chron. Euf.
annex. p. 58.

(d) cited Dyn.
p. 89, text. Ar. &
p. 58, verf. Lat.
Reizen

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Having prepared himself, he announced to the cities around through letters composed in his own name that he, namely Hermias, had been requested again by Mentor's influence, just as he himself had been sent. He also dispatched others who would take possession of the fortresses in the King's name. The rulers of the cities, believing these letters and being inclined to peace, surrendered the fortresses and cities to the King everywhere. Furthermore, Mentor brought other princes, who had been overthrown from the Persians, partly by force, partly through military campaigns, under the King's power within a short time; with whom he duly performed the duty of a faithful and valiant field officer.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Moreover, all
Greek writers,
due to an innate
aversion towards
the Persians,
portray this
Artaxerxes
Ochus as if he
were a wicked
traitor; hence
Scaliger also
called him a very
cruel beast,
following their
accounts (b). Yet
that does not
seem entirely
strange to us.
For Ifocrates,
seeking to incite
Philip of
Macedon to
wage war
against the
Persians, made
him understand
(c) that this king
had never
conquered any
army that had
fallen within his
land; that he
himself was no
partner in the
cities which were
given to his
father by treaty;
and much less
had any
authority over
the Greeks; that
he had also been
defeated and
mocked by the
Egyptians whom
he came to wage
war against with
a mighty army,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

so that he had to
retreat with
shame; and
finally that he
was in such
hatred and
contempt as no
king ever had
been. But
Diodorus, though
he says this king
was cruel and
ruthless towards
his subjects, and
for the severity
of his customs
was hated by all,
nevertheless
recounts
regarding the
campaign to
Egypt things
more fitting to
the dignity of so
great a prince, as
appears from
what has been
narrated above;
unless someone
prefers to believe
that he speaks of
the first war
fought by field
officers, and the
other of the last,
in which the king
himself was
present. Eliam
and from him
Rhodiginus
relate that the
Persian wise men
had noticed such
portents
regarding the
merciless and
bloody nature of
this king. To wit,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

when Ochus took possession of the territory after the death of his father

Artaxerxes, the wise men paid particular attention to one of the eunuchs who was very familiar with the king and habitually stood close by him, observing more carefully than usual as the king sat at table, which dish he would first take.

The eunuch accepted this task and diligently kept watch. He had only just been seated when he took a knife with his right hand and a loaf of extraordinary size with his left; upon it he laid meat, seasoned it, and ate it eagerly and without pause. Having heard this, the wise men foretold through these hidden signs two things: first, a moderate year and an abundance of fruits; secondly,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

the killing of
many people,
banishments,
and exiles. And it
did not fail to
occur.

Plutarchus, a
Greek writer and
a man of
judgment in
matters of state,
also testifies (f)
that Ochus was
otherwise the
most avaricious
of all kings and
had always
contrived some
trickery, without
ever wanting to
come to the
point, thus
robbing the
women of the
gifts which were
due to them
according to the
law of Cyrus the
Great, after the
last treaty with
Aftyages. The
same recounts
from Dinon that
the Egyptians
gave this Persian
king the name of
Ass and Sword,
because he had
killed many
people at the end
and also flayed
the Apis and
eaten it with his
friends, saying:
But this ass will
eat us.

The reason
certainly why

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Ochus received these nicknames is very trivial and not worth mentioning. For that the Persians have been exceedingly fond of the superstitious religion of the Greeks, who invented and increased their gods according to their fancy; yes, even of that of the Egyptians, who worship animals as gods, because they considered this consistent with the customs of their ancestors, and indeed with nature itself, cannot be doubted, as we shall show further below. Moreover, after the fruitless campaigns of Darius, Xerxes, and others against Greece, the Greeks had taken such a great and deadly hatred towards the Persians that it was reckoned worthy of honor to have adopted a hatred toward them. Even amidst so many

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

opinions of
prominent
writers.

Pp 2

(a) Vid. Diod. Sic.
I. c. p. 539. edit.
Steph. feu 451.
feq.

Wechelianaë. (b)
Anim. ad Euf.
Chr. pag. 115. (c)
Orat. II. ad
Philippum. (d)
Vid. Diod. lib.
XVII. p. 564.
edit. Steph. feu
p. 495.
Wechelianaë.

(e) Aelian. Var.
Hist. I. II. cap.
17. Rhodig. lib.
XIII. c. 39. (f) de
virt. Mulieb. T. II.
op. p.m. 246. (g)
Vid. lib. de 1fid.
et Ofirid. T. II.
op. p.m. 355, let
763. ##

CORNELIUS DE
BRUINS

Athenaeus
provides a
beautiful
testimony to
Ochus, solely
through this
account.

According to
Athenaeus, when
Ochus lay on his
deathbed after
ruling the
kingdom for
many years and
being abundantly
supplied with
wealth to

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

maintain the
royal court, his
eldest son
inquired how he
had managed to
hold the kingdom
for so long,
hoping to learn
from his
example. In
response, Ochus
stated that he
had maintained
the kingdom
through piety
towards the gods
and justice
toward men.
Evidence of both
justice and
gratitude can
also be gleaned
from what has
been said above.

Finally, Bagoas
the Phrygian, an
Egyptian by birth
according to
Eliam,
orchestrated the
death of King
Ochus with
poison
administered by
a physician,
allegedly to
avenge the
earlier murder of
Apis. This
occurred in the
first year of the
110th Olympiad,
which
corresponds to
3610 years after
creation and
4374 years into
the Julian Period.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Suidas recounts that Bagoas was not content with merely killing the king but further desecrated him by embalming his flesh, making fetishes from his bones. However, Eliam claims that Bagoas hacked the deceased king into pieces and threw them to the cats, placing another man in his place within the royal tomb. Lucian states that Artaxerxes secretly killed Ochus through the stratagems of his brother Cosithras. Nevertheless, Diodorus is more credible, as he agrees with all other writers that Bagoas committed this murder. The same author notes that Ochus ruled the kingdom for 23 years. Eusebius claims 26 years, but incorrectly so. In his place came

**## XIII. DARIUS
CODOMANNUS.**

Everything this king

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

accomplished in Persia and how he lost his kingdom to Alexander the Great has been extensively documented by Arrian, Plutarch, Curtius, and numerous other historians; therefore, a detailed account will be omitted here, with only the most important points briefly summarized. The modern Persians call this Darius Dara, son of Dara, as seen in the writings of Abu Farah among others. Initially, he was known as Codomannus; however, following Persian custom, he chose to adopt the name Darius upon ascending to Cyrus's throne (i). Diodorus states that his father was Arfanes or Arfames, son of Oftanes, who was the brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon and paternal uncle of Ochus, but born

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

from a secondary marriage of Darius the Battler. His mother is named Sifigambis, as noted by Diodorus, Arrian, and Curtius.

Eliam suggests that Darius was born from a Phrygian woman (k). Strabo claims (l) that Darius did not have royal lineage. Plutarch omitted in his writings (m) that he was an *Astandes*. An *Astandes*, as explained by Suidas and Hesychius, is a Persian term for a messenger or courier.

Rhodiginus further believes (n) that Darius was a halberdier or palace guard.

XII. ARSES.

This was Ochus's youngest son, whom Bagoas spared. After placing him on the royal throne, he eliminated the new king's brothers, who were still young, so that, as Diodorus states, he would be

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

alone and better
positioned to...

(f) 1. XV. in fin.

(g) Vid. Scal. l.c.

pag. 116. (b)

Dyn. c. p.91.text.

Arab. & verf.

Lat.p.59. (i) Vid.

Juft. I.X. c. ult.

Freinsh. l.

II.fuppl. Curtii pr.

Conf. Scal. l. VI.

de emend. Temp.

(b) Var. Hift. l.

XII. c. 43. (l) l.

XV. in fine. (m)

Orat. II. de fort.

vel virt.

Alex.T.II.op.p.m.

340. (n) Var. Left.

l. XXI. cap. 38.

Reisen:

Chapters and

Accounts of

Ancient Persia

It is woven thus.

What exists here

concerns a

desire for

revenge against

Cadufer, who

previously

insulted the

Perfen, deemed

worthy of the

crown, so that he

seized the Rok

(*royal garment*).

Baggoas, who

also intended to

poison him,

forced him to

drink it himself.

Now, Fortune,

says Diodorus,

has raised up

such a valiant

man as Darius

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

against
Alexander as his
adversary; and
thus many fierce
battles for the
possession of the
kingdom ensued
between them.

(a)

For Philip, King
of Macedon, had
already been
elected supreme
leader against
the Persians in the
first year of the
111st Olympiad
of the Greeks;
however, he died
in that very year
while preparing
for war. Darius,
elevated to royal
dignity before
Philip's death,
sought to direct
this emerging
conflict toward
Macedon with all
his might. But
when, in the
following year,
Alexander was
appointed
supreme
commander of
the military
forces from
Greece to avenge
those who had
plagued Greece,
Darius believed
he would not
have much to
fear from the
youth of this
ruler. (b) Yet, the
outcome proved

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

quite different
than he
anticipated. For
in three great
battles against
Alexander, he
lost all his
territories. The
first battle
occurred near
the river
Grachelian.

(a) See *ibid.*,
p. 565,
ed. Steph.; or
p. 491,
ed. Wechel. (b)
See Diodorus,
l.c., coll. I.XVI,
p. 557,
ed. Steph.; or
429, ed. Wechel;
and l. XVII,
p. 564,
ed. Steph.; or
489, ed. Wechel.

Nicomedes,
where he lost the
entire province
of Asia; the
second at Ifius, a
battle in Cilicia,
when he had
brought as many
as three hundred
thousand foot
soldiers and one
hundred
thousand cavalry
together. In this
very battle itself,
he escaped with
flight, wounded;
but his mother,
wife, son—a child
of six years
named Ochus
(who Alexander

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

subsequently
sent to Susa for
education in the
customs and
language of the
Greeks)—
daughters, and
many women
from the nobility
of Persia were
captured. The
third battle
occurred near
Gaugamela, a
battle in Assyria,
when he had
brought together
as many troops
as ever before.
Here he was
utterly defeated
by Darius, and
while attempting
to flee to the
Bactrians, he
was killed by the
treachery of
Spittamenes and
Befflus.

(c) See lib. XVII.

(d) lib. prior, IV,
on the
expeditions of
Alexander the
Great. (e) In the
life of Alexander.
(f) lib. V, prior,
etc.

XLII.

Chapter.

Further account
concerning the
founder of the
royal palace at
Persepolis,
known by the
name of

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Chilminar,
destroyed by
Alexander the
Great, King of
Macedon; as well
as regarding the
religion,
customs, and
clothing of the
ancient Persians.

Thus, according
to the prophecy
of Daniel (a), the
supreme
territory of
Persia was
transferred to
the Macedonians
under Alexander
the Great.

Having
conquered this
king, Darius, he
devastated the
city of
Persepolis,
located on the
river Araxes,
which, according
to the account of
Isiacus Voflius
(b), flowed not
far from
Chilminar, and
gave it over to
the soldiers for
plunder. Upon
entering the
palace, he took
possession of the
treasures
collected from
the time of
Cyrus, the first
king of Persia,
until that day. It
is said that this
collection of gold

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

and silver, if one were to calculate the gold as silver, amounted to a fortune of one hundred and twenty thousand talents. If we add six thousand obtained at Pafargada; fifty thousand at Susa; and finally sixty-two thousand found at Ecbatana; it will total a fortune of CCII thousand talents; excluding the money found at Damascus, Arbela, and Babylon.

(a) c. XI, V, 3, seq. (b) ad Pomp. Mel., c. 8, p. m. 370.

(c) See Diodorus Siculus, I.XVII, p. 600, ed. Steph.; or p. 544, ed. Wechel; Compare Curtius, I, V, c. 20. ## Cornelis de Bruins: On Persia

Although Diodorus and Plutarch (a), as well as Juftinus (c), state that only forty thousand talents were found in Susa, this

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

demonstrates the
immense wealth
and power of the
Kings of Persia.

How Alexander
abused his
victory is evident
from the fact
that on the fifth
day, which he
celebrated for
having gained
the victory, he
entertained his
friends with
cruelty, adding
prostitutes to the
festivities. After
drinking heavily,
he followed the
advice of a Greek
courtesan named
Thais, igniting
the first burning
torch in the royal
palace. Seeing
the flames rise,
Alexander's
army, not far
from the city,
assumed it was
an accident and
rushed to help
extinguish it. But
when the
soldiers reached
the palace gates
and saw the king
himself still
lighting torches,
they let the
water they had
brought to quell
the fire stand
idle and instead
began throwing
dry materials
into the blaze.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Thus, that royal palace, which for so long had never suffered destruction, and where so many nations had previously come to seek laws, was destroyed and consumed.

Diodorus notes (d) that this occurred near the end of the 122nd Olympiad, which, according to Helvicus, is 3621 years after the creation of the world, 4385 in the Julian Period, and 327 BC. It is said that Alexander sought revenge for Xerxes' actions, who had previously burned down the temples of Greece, especially those of Athens.

However, Arrianus (e) refutes this claim regarding Alexander, stating that no such vengeance was taken against the ancient Persians. He adds that Parmeno advised Alexander to leave the palace

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

unharmd, partly
because it would
be inappropriate
to destroy wealth
gained through
bravery; and
partly because
he would incur
the displeasure
of the Asians,
who would
believe that he
did not intend to
preserve Asia but
rather to destroy
and abandon it
(f). Despite
Alexander's
command to
preserve what he
had won with his
weapons, it was
torn apart after
his death and
divided among
his war captains.

As these factions
exhausted each
other through
internal wars,
the Parthians,
under Arfaxes,
seized control of
Persia and
related
territories.
However, the
Persians later
overcame them
and, during the
reign of Emperor
Alexander
Severus, under a
certain
Artaxerxes, their
military leader,
regained their
kingdom. This

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

was followed by the Mahometan Caliphs, and finally by the kings descended from the Sophis lineage, who now possess the empire. Their names and titles are briefly listed below.

Arrianus, Curtius, Juftinus, and others refer to this flow of Persepolis as the royal court of Cyrus; however, we have already shown that it is not certain whether it was built by whom or in the manner described by Diodorus.

Nevertheless, we have said that this magnificent structure, if not to Cyrus, at least belongs to Cambyses, Darius, or Xerxes, so far as can be determined from the style of construction.

This assertion appears further strengthened by the words of Diodorus (a). For speaking of the splendor of Thebes and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Egypt, he says that although those buildings have survived until this time, the silver and gold, and all the ivory and stone plundered from the Persians, were burned when Cambyses set fire to the temples of Egypt. And it was at that time that the royal palaces in Persepolis and Susa were built by the Persians, after transporting their looted spoils from Asia and using them to construct these palaces. But Diodorus himself states elsewhere that long before the beginning of the Persian Empire, the royal palace in Susa was built by Memnon, son of Tithonus (who is said to have been sent with ten thousand Ethiopians and as many Susans, along with two hundred chariots, to assist Priam and the Trojans against the Greeks), and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

that it was
named
Memnonia after
him. (b) Susa is
said to have
received its
name from the
abundance of
lilies that grew
around the city.
(c) And in this
city, the Persians
and Cyrus also
built a royal
palace after
conquering the
Medes, because
they saw that
their land was
far away and
Susa was located
within the
country, closer to
Babylon and
other peoples.

(a) Conf. Curt. I.
VI. c. 4. Arrian. I.
III. de exp. Alex.
(b) in Vit. Alex.
c. 66. (c) I. XI.
cap. 14. (d) I. &
p. c. feq. (e) I. III.
p. m. 66. (f) Conf.
Curt. I. V. c. 22.
feq.

(a) l. I. p. 30.
ed. Steph. feu p.
43. Wech. (b)
Vid. l. II. p. 77.
edit. Stephan.
feu p. 109. Wech.
Conf. Herod-l. V.
c. 53.feq.&
l.VII.c.I. 51.
Strabo l. XV. p m.
728. Steph. fub
voce Σῦσα. (c)
Vid. Athenæ. I.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

XII.p.m,513,
Steph.l.c. Conf.
Bochart,
Geogr.Sacr.l.XV.c.
14 ## Reisen.

What is always
Strabo's feeling.
(d) However,
Pliny (b) writes
that the palace of
the Persians at
Sufe was built by
Darius Hytaspes'
son. If one
compares this
with the
accompanying
words of
Diodorus, it
seems
unavoidable that
Sufe from Darius
was initially
more extensive
and adorned with
a magnificent
court. And
Elianus also
testifies to this.
(c)

There appears to
be no doubt that
the palace of
Persepolis was
likewise
constructed from
Egyptian spoils
after Cambyses'
time, as Diodorus
feels, if not
decorated,
nevertheless
enriched with
friezes. I would
not wish to deny
that at the time
of Cyrus there
might have been

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

a city with some
castle of this
name: but
neither does any
writer mention
anything about it
being so grand at
his time. Indeed,
Herodotus,
Xenophon, and
other writers of
that era do not
even list
Persepolis
among the royal
houses of Cyrus.
Justin alone from
Trogus, and
some other
newer writers,
merely mention
the city of
Persepolis in
passing, placing
it with all others
under the
palaces of Cyrus,
Babylon, Sufe,
and Ecbatana. I
pass over the
fact that in the
oldest Greek
writers, such as
Herodotus,
Cretias, and
others, one finds
no mention of
the palace of
Persepolis, and
that there is
clearly recounted
those kings who
after Cyrus
reigned, stayed
at Sufe, and also
undertook
various
campaigns from

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

there. Why also Caelius Rhodius (d) counts the house of King Cyrus, which Memnon built at Sufe with great expenditure of money (for he had the stones fitted together with gold), among the seven wonders of the world.

Nevertheless, it is certain that at the time of Xerxes and thereafter, especially during the life of Alexander of Macedon, the royal residence of Persia and the East (one may see this from Curtius' history (e) here) was at Persepolis. It may be called the palace of Cyrus for as much as he used it when it was not yet very ornate, but he was by no means its founder. For if, as Diodorus says, it was constructed so magnificently, as he describes, from Egyptian spoils, then that must have

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

happened after
his death. Nor
can a Cambyses
attribute such an
extensive
building to his
son, since

he was captured
on the return
journey from
Egypt; nor to the
Magus, who
unjustly claimed
the territory for
himself, because
he had only
stayed there for
seven months. By
no small proof do
I believe that
Darius, who
adorned Sufe so
gloriously, was
the founder of
this building, and
that Xerxes, the
richest and most
powerful of all
the Persian
kings, laid the
final hand to that
work. And
certainly this is
what Strabo (f)
means with these
words: When the
Kings of Persia
had elevated the
royal palace at
Sufe to a high
degree, they
nevertheless
extended that of
Persepolis and
Pafargade
further. For the
treasures and
memorials of the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Persians were there, because those places were more strongly populated and inhabited by their ancestors. Moreover, the garments and clothing depicted on the surviving fragments of this palace do not correspond with the ancient dress of the Persians: for this was first introduced at the time of Cyrus, and increased by his successors. Also, Curtius (g) shows that Alexander, as soon as he took over the re-newal of 't Hof of Perfepo-lis.

We will begin from the religion of the gods of the Persians, concerning which the Greek writers are not entirely agreed: however, they seem to give false things through prejudice, where they are not guilty; while they try to adapt foreign and little known customs to their own

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

tastes; in all
cases a great
difference must
be made. They
tell the truth
when they say
that the ancient
Persians were
never
accustomed to
make statues, or
temples, or
altars, indeed
that they
punished those
who did so,

(a) l. c. p. 727.

(b) l. VI. cap. 27.

Naturalis

Historia. (c) l. I.

c. 59. Conf. Gulj.

Hill. in

Comm.fuo ad

Dionysf. Orbis

descript. Y. 1074.

pag. 357. edit.

Londoninis. (d) l.

VII. Ep. 15. (e) l.

V. c.23.

(f) cit. p. 528. (g)

l. cit. ##

CORNELIS de

BRUINS

den, voor

uitzinnig hielden.

Herodoot meent

dat de reden

hiervan was,

omdat ze niet

voelden dat de

Goden uit

menschen waren

voortgekomen,

gelijk de Grieken

geloofden. (a).

Maar Cicero zegt

dat Xerxes door

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

ingeven zijner
Wyzen de Kerken
in Griekenland in
brant stak,
omdat de
Grieken de
Goden binnen
den omtrek van
muren flooten,
daer alles voor
hun moest vrij en
open zyn, en
deze gansehe
werelt hun voor
een woning en
tempel
verstrekke. (b).
Als de Grieken
spreken van de
Godtheit door de
Perfen geëert,
spreken ze op
hunne wyze in
het meervoudig,
en niet in het
eenvoudige
getal. Hier van is
het dat Xenofon
zegt (c) dat de
Perfanen hunnen
yver in den
Godtsdienst zoo
door offeren aan
de Goden, als
door hun te
bedanken
getoont hebben.
Maer dat ze ook
de Elementen
gedient hebben,
getuigen meeft
alle de ouden:
waer uit noch
tans niet volgt
dat ze die, als
waren ze Goden,
Goddelijke eere
bewezen hebben.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Maar men moet
den schryver dit
ten goede
houden, die zelfs
afgodendienaars
zynde, geloofden
dat andere
menschen ook
zoo waren.
Herodoot dan en
Strabo hebben
geschreven dat
de Perfanen de
Zon, de Maen,
het Vier, het
Water, en de
Winden
flagtoffers
hebben
opgedragen.
Deze schryvers
zeggen dat met
den naam van
Jupiter al
d'omkring des
hemels door de
Perfen betekent
wordt: met welke
schryveren
Xenofon te (d)
vergelijken staat,
by wien menden
naem vint van
Jupiter Patrius.
Hun wyze van
offeren was
verscheiden ten
opzicht van
perfonen, van
Goden, van
plaats, en tydt.
Wat de plaats
aengaat, zeggen
zy dat de Perfen
op verheven
bergen, gelyk
Herodoot zegt, of
in een reine

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

plaats, gelyk
Strabo wil,
geoffert hebben.
Men vint gemelt
dat ze offerhande
doende aan den
Vaderlyken
Jupiter geheele
Stieren verbrant
hebben (e). Dat
Mithra, met
welken naam zy
niet Venus, gelyk
Herodoot meent,
maar de Zon,
gelyk Strabo en
Hefychius (f)
beter
aenmerken, van
hun voor den
eersten Godt
gehouden is,
befloten ze uit de
uiterlyke
eerbewyzinge,
die daer aan
geschiede. Hier
uit is het dat
Plutarchus
schrijft (g) dat
Darius
Codomannus den
Gefneden Tireus
by den grooten
glans van Mithra,
dat is der Zonne
bezworen heeft.
Procopius de
Cafarienfer
verhaelt dat de
Perfen volgens
de zeden hunner
Voorvaderen
dagelyx (b) de
opgaande Zonne
aanbidden. By
Herodoot (i)
vinden wy

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

beschreven dat
Xerxes eertyds,
als hy over den
Hellepont naer
Griekenland
trok, met het
opgaan der
Zonne uit een
goude
drinkschael wyn
in de zee
plengde, en de
Zon badt, dat
hem niets
ramspoedigs op
zynen togte
wedervarren
mocht, en toen
dezelve te gelijk
met eenen beker
en Perfaensch
zwaart in den
Hellepont worp.
Deze schryver
nogtans voegt 'er
of hy niet wel
zou kunnen
zeggen of hy tot
een offer aan de
Zon een zwaart
in zee geworpen;
of dat hy dat tot
een geschenk
aan den
Hellepont
gedaan heeft, om
daer mede het
midfryf, dat hy
begaan had in dit
water te
geefelen, te
boeten, en dus
het vergramde
meer te paeyen.
Dit wetenwe van
Cyrus ingefelt te
zyn, dat, alwaer
de Koning syn

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

leger
nederfloegh, zyn
tent moest
geflagen worden
tegen het Oosten
daer de Zon
opgaat. (k).
Dezelve zegt (l)
dat Cyrus ganse
paarden uit
eerbiedenis tot
de Zon gelfacht
heeft. Paufanias
getuigt ook (m)
dat de Perfen
volgens de
vaderlyke zede
buiten andere
flachtoffers ook
paarden voor de
Zonne gelfacht
hebben. Of ze
hier toe dezelve
reden als de
Maßageten
gehad hebben,
die aan de
Zonne, als den
snelften van alle
Goden, paarden,
de vlugfte van
alle viervoetige
dieren,
offereden, is niet
klaarblykelyk
genoeg. (n).
Hoedanige
flachtoffers de
Perfen aan de
Maen geoffert
hebben, wort van
Herodoot en
anderen niet
duidelyk gemelt.
Maar uit
Heliodorus (o) is
te giffen dat het

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

een jok offen
geweest is.

Dat de Perfen
groote eere
bewezen hebben
aan het Vier,
blykt daer uit,
dat by de Per-
iemant daer in
blazende, of iets
dat niet leefde,
of enige vuilighet
daer in
werpende, met
de doot gestraft
wierde (p). Hier
uit zegt
Plutarchus dat
ontstaan is een
zeer gezet flagh
van verzoeken,
daer geen
weigering op
volgen konde.
Want iemant iets
begeerde begaf
zich maar met
vier in den
stroom, en
dreigende het
zelve daer in te
zullen uitbluifen,
indien hy zynen
wenstch niet
erlangde,
bereikte aen-
flonds zyn
oogwit. Echter
wert hy gestraft
om syn
dreigement, als
zynde onredelyk
(q). Het vier ook,
dat zy heiligh en
ecu-wigh
noemden, wert
na de tyden van
Cyrus in

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Vierkaffen door
de zorge der
Wyzen bewaerd,
en den Koningen
der laatste eeu

(b) I. I. de Bello
Perf.c. 3.in fin. (i)
l. VII. c. 54. (k)
Vid. Xen.l. VIII.
Cyrip. c. 35. (l)
cit. l-c. 24. (m) In
Lacon. seu l. III.
c. 20. (n) Vid.
Her. l. I. cap. ult.
(o) Aethiop. l. X.
p.m. 497. (p) Vid.
Strabo l. c. coll.
Herod. l. III.
c. 16. (q) Vid.
περὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν
Φυσικῶν T. II.
op.p.m. 950 in
fine.

Verfchei- de wyze
van offe- ren. ##
Ancient Persian
Religious
Practices

The accounts of
the Perfidians,
presented here
in a simple
manner without
altars, idols,
flutes, myters, or
sacrificial hands,
as Herodotos (b)
recounts, reveal
that in ancient
times they
offered sacrifices
under the open
sky on pure
ground and
invoked God.
After the Wise
man, or one who

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

officiated at the sacrifice, had divided the flesh into portions, each person took their share without leaving anything for the gods—or rather, for God. For they said that God desired nothing but the soul of the sacrificial animal (i). This clearly indicates that the ancient Perfidiens were not idol worshippers, although Ctefias recounts (k) that the wooden idols of the Persian deities frightened those besieging Sardis when Cyrus attacked, as these idols were seen on the walls. He describes the Persian religion in a way similar to how nearly all Greek writers considered their own gods and their images to be divine. Herodotos and Strabo are also more credible when they state that the Perfidiens were free from all

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

image worship,
although
otherwise, they
attempted to
align their
Persian religious
practices with
those of the
Greeks and other
pagans. From
this, Thomas
Hyde, whom we
have discussed,
demonstrates in
a comprehensive
treatise on the
religion of the
ancient Persians
—particularly in
the first nine
chapters—that
they recognized
only one God,
creator and
sustainer of the
world, although
they also
incorporated the
Sabai smus, or
service of the
planets and
elements. For
while they
worshipped the
Sun, Moon, Fire,
and other
celestial bodies,
they abstained
from divine
binding, as is
shown in their
writings and the
accounts of those
who still reside
in Persia today
and are called
Ghebres or
Ghabres. These

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

individuals
clearly state that
they do not offer
divine bindings
to the Sun,
Moon, or planets
but turn towards
the Sun only
during prayer,
because the Sun,
due to its purity,
is considered an
image of divinity,
possessing
within it the
nature of Fire; as
some believe
that the Sun's
place is with God
and will be the
paradise of the
blessed. They
also regarded
the elements—
following the
example of the
Jewish four—as
somewhat
sacred, offering
sacrifices to
Water.

Strabo recounts
that they
performed
sacrificial
offerings to
Water in this
manner: digging
a pit near a river,
stream, or
fountain,
ensuring that no
blood mixed with
the surrounding
water, as
everything would
then be defiled.
The Wise men,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

having laid
myrtle and laurel
on the flesh,
burned it with
thin reeds and
offered prayers,
not into fire or
water, but onto
the earth, after
which they
sprinkled milk
and honey. They
never urinated in
a river, washed
themselves,
rinsed their
hands, or threw
any corpses or
other things that
seemed impure
into it; instead,
they honored the
rivers with
utmost religious
piety. (e)

Herodotos also
notes that they
sacrificed horses,
specifically white
ones, to Water.
For example,
Xerxes offered
white horses to
the Strymon
River when he
waged war
against the
Greeks. (f)

Regarding
sacrificial
offerings to
Earth and Winds,
I do not know of
any accounts
describing how
these were
performed. In
later times—

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

particularly
during the reign
of Artaxerxes,
rather than
during the time
of Great Cyrus,
as Strabo
suggests—the
Perfidians
honored Diana
and Venus under
the name of
Abaitis; a
detailed account
of this religion
can be found in
Herodotos,
Diodorus,
Strabo, and
others, from
which Thomas
Hyde drew his
description of
the ancient
Persian religion.
(g)

Rivers were
revered. Horses
were sacrificed.
Diana and Venus
were honored by
the Perfidians.

(a) See Strabo
I.c. p. 733.
Compare Curt. l.
III. c. 7. (b) l.
XVII. p. 623,
ed. Steph. feu
p. 580. Wech. (c)
See Strabo l.
c. p. 732. (d) See
Strabo I.
c. p. 733. &
Agath. l. c. Proc.
l. II. de Bello
Perf. c. 24. (e)
Compare Herod.
l. I. c. 138. (f) l.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

VII. c. 113 (g)

See t.c. 3.

(b) c. I. cap. 131.

feq. (i) See

Strabo l. c. (k)

Exc. fegm. 4. ##

The Purest of
Faiths: A

Discourse on
Persian Religion

To maintain their
innate purity,
they had

guardians and
caretakers for
each element in
particular, who
drew a fixed
wage for

attending to the
water, streams,
and fountains,

and protecting
the air, as far as
was within their
power, against
contamination;
shielding it from
filth; and

safeguarding the
earth from
corpses and

decay, becoming
part of the
fraternity. Thus

demonstrating
reverence for the
Sun and the Four
Elements, and
withholding their
prayers from
elsewhere;

instead directing
them to God in
consideration of
the Sun, or in the
presence of the
Four. And

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

because the
Magi zealously
concealed their
religion, as
Zoroaster
forbade its
revelation to any
inquisitive
outsider, the
pagan Greeks,
ignorant of
Persian customs,
judged
everything
according to
their own habits,
concluding from
the outward
ceremonies that
the Persians
worshipped the
elements;
whereas they
were, in fact, no
more than
guardians and
caretakers of
those very
elements. The
same writer
elaborates
further on this
point. Therefore,
I believe that the
accounts of
Herodotus,
Strabo, and
others
concerning
Persian religion
must be
distinguished
according to the
various intervals
of time. That the
Persians before
Cyrus's reign,
and even during

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

his lifetime, had
no temples or
altars, but
performed their
sacrifices on the
mountains, is
sufficiently
evident from
Xenophon (a).
Even if Xenophon
recounts that
Cyrus sacrificed
to Jupiter and
the other gods,
and did not
direct his
prayers to a
single god but
rather to many, it
must be
understood that
this was done as
by a Greek
worshiper of
idols. For Cyrus
honored a single
God, as can be
seen in the
sacred writings
(b). Moreover,
Zoroaster (not
the King of
Bactria whom
Diodorus (c) calls
Oxyartes, but a
certain Magnus
or Sage who
lived some
centuries later
and whom
Clemens
Alexandrinus (d)
called a Median;
Suidas a Median
Persian)
introduced no
images or
idolatry, but only

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

new customs
after abolishing
the old, bringing
diverse meanings
through
beneficence (e).

It is said that he
divided

everything into
two kinds,
assigning equal
origins to each:
one GOOD, and
the other EVIL.

He named the
first Oromaza,
saying it was
born from a pure
light, and
resembled what
appears to the
outward senses;
this he called
Arimanion or
Arimane, saying
it was born from
dark mist;
therefore
comparing it
with darkness
and ignorance.

In between, he
placed Mitbra, or
the Sun, whom
the Persians are
said to have
named the
Middle One or
Mediator
because of this.

It is also related
that he
commanded
sacrifices of
promised flocks
to be offered to
Oromazade in
thanks when one

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

had attained his
wish; and
sacrificial
offerings to
Arimane to avert
all misfortunes
and calamities.
Later, the Greeks
gave the name
Jupiter to
Oromazes or
Oromafles, and
Pluto to
Arimanion (f).
Thus, the
Persians had
nothing in
common with the
Greeks and other
idolaters who not
only believed
that the gods and
goddesses were
born from
humans but also
depicted them in
certain forms
and shapes
alongside the
elements, paying
divine honors
within their
temples.
However, no
human image
was seen among
the Persians;
rather, they
performed their
religious rites, as
has been said, in
the open air,
although after
Cyrus's time they
increased their
ceremonies and
added some
things pertaining

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

to
embellishment.
For many
attribute to
Zoroaster the
increase of the
Four-fold Fire, so
that the sacred
fire might be
better protected
from rain and
wind; the
erection of
altars; the
selection and
burning of
sacrificial beasts;
the solemnity of
pledges, and
other matters of
this kind.

Agathias says
that Zoroaster
lived at one time
with Hyftapes,
but doubts
whether he was
the father of
Darius or
another (a). The
new Persians say
that Zoroaster, or
Zerdusht, lived
under King
Gushtalp, whom
Thomas Hyde
asserts (g) was
Darius's son
Hyftapes. Abul
Pharajus also
testifies (b) that
this Magnus or
Sage lived at the
time of
Cambyses and
Darius; from
which it would
follow that the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Persian
Zoroaster did not
live before
Cyrus's reign, as
Greek writers
claim.

Before the
Persians
subjugated the
Medes, their
kings or rulers
performed
sacrifices, as
Xenophon (a) has
noted in more
than one place.
For he recounts
that they were
guardians of the
elements.

The Persian
religion was kept
hidden. ## Laws
of Cambyses and
the Magi

The law of
Cambyses states
that, upon his
father's death,
his son would
offer sacrifices to
the people, just
as Cambyses
himself had done
previously; and
that if the king
were living
abroad, someone
from the royal
house would
perform this
service.

Xenophon also
recounts (a) that
Cyrus offered
sacrifice to the
native Jupiter

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

and the Sun
shortly before his
death in Persia.
However, it
appears this
practice was
neither followed
by Cyrus nor
observed within
or outside of the
country. For
when Cyrus
himself
conquered the
kingdom of
Babylon, his first
act was to
appoint Magi or
wise men who
would praise the
gods—or rather,
God—with hymns
at sunrise and
offer sacrifices to
those deemed
worthy of
service. This
custom remained
prevalent among
subsequent
kings; for among
the Persians,
only a Magus
could perform
lawful sacrifices
(b).

The Role of
the Magi

The Magi were
guardians of
sacred secrets
and ceremonies.
Although their
influence
diminished
somewhat after
Cambyses's
death, as they

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

had deceptively limited the royal power, it was subsequently restored, so that all matters depended on their counsel and predictions (c). Gradually, they evolved into a complete people and nation: residing in villages not surrounded by walls and granted permission to live according to their own laws, they were held in esteem regarding religious duties, as Ammianus Marcellinus states (d). They revered the Fire, Water, and Earth but condemned all images and statues, considering them abhorrent to those who believe that gods are men and women. They instilled a sense of justice within the populace, teaching that it was impious to burn corpses; yet they permitted unions between mothers and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

daughters. This latter practice, however, seems to have been introduced only after Cambyses, taking his nieces as wives, declared such marriages lawful by decree.

Moreover, these Magi claimed the ability to predict future events, stating that the gods revealed themselves through them—

Their
Influence

Ammianus Marcellinus describes the general appearance of the Persians in a passage: they are mostly lean, brown, or pale blue-eyed, with goat-like eyes that give them a stern look. Their eyebrows are arched into a half-circle. They have long hair and beards which suit them well (b).

Rhodiginus, in his commentary on Apollonius, points out that many Persians were found to have crooked

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

noses (i). Such individuals were reportedly favored by Cyrus and considered beautiful according to the testimony of Plutarch (k). Furthermore, they were quick-tempered, as evidenced by Crefus's account in Herodotus (l). Ammianus states that the Persians often used empty words, and their speech was wild and fierce; they were grand, flattering, unfriendly, and threatening both in word and deed, being boastful, proud, cruel, and considering themselves—

The
Appearance of
the Persians ##
Cornelis de
Bruins on His
Slaves and
Inferior,
Unknown People
Cornelis de
Bruins spoke of
his slaves and
lesser, unknown
people, wielding
the power of life
and death at
their discretion.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

The customs of the Persians have not always been consistent across all times. It is said that in ancient times, when they had not yet inhabited the region of Persia and were unaware of Asia, they lived moderately in all things. But after conquering rich kingdoms and accumulating spoils from various peoples, becoming more arrogant as a result, they changed many things; nevertheless, they did not abandon all their moderation in customs and laws under later kings. The most important principle of the ancient laws seems to have been to strive for what benefited the common good and to ensure that citizens did not fall into vice or transgression. They had a designated area, freely called *the place*, where

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

both the royal court and other judicial offices of the authorities were located; from which all merchants and traders were excluded, so that the confused noise and clamor would not hinder those who needed instruction. This place was divided into four sections. The first was for children, the second for young adolescents, the third for men of mature age, and the fourth for those beyond military service years. Children and men of ripe age appeared before dawn with their hands at sunrise; but those older appeared only on designated days as it suited them. Young adolescents practiced near the courthouse with their small training weapons, except those who were tried or whose parents were required to be

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

present.

However, it was not proper for them to frequently absent themselves. Each section had twelve overseers, because the Persian army was divided into so many divisions.

Regarding children and young adolescents, some of the oldest were appointed as authorities, whom they believed could make something good of them. For men of ripe age, those who could teach them what was prescribed to them were appointed, and they were favored by the highest authority.

The elders had their own guardians, who would also remind them of their duties. (a) A son might not appear before his father until he was five, or, as Strabo says, four years old, but

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

remained with
the women, so
that if he died
during
upbringing, his
father would not
grieve over the
loss of his child.

(b). Afterwards,
he was sent to
the public
schools of
justice, which
were freely
available to all
Persians who had
enough wealth to
educate their
children without
needing to work.
For no Persian
was excluded
from access to
official positions
and
administrative
duties. (c). In
school, boys
learned archery,
shooting with
bows and
arrows, and even
riding horses
according to the
system
established by
Cyrus until they
reached the age
of six, seven, or
ten. Moreover,
not only the boys
but also young
men of older
generations were
taught about the
laws and given a
life dedicated to
obedience to

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

authority and
moderation.
Here, teachers
mixed in fables
suitable for
usefulness,
through which
they proclaimed
the deeds of
famous men with
song and without
song. To
accustom them
to moderation
and restraint
helped on one
hand that they
saw the elders
living moderately
and
appropriately
throughout the
day, not going to
satisfy their
hunger until they
received
permission from
their
supervisors; on
the other hand,
that the children
were raised by
servants of the
magistracy
rather than by
their mothers.
They brought
bread with them
for food from
home, nuts for
dessert, and a jar
to draw water
from the flowing
stream if they
became thirsty.
For the lifestyle
of the rest of the
Persians

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

consisted daily of
bread in the
heart, nuts,
grains of salt,
and roasted or
boiled meat,
which they drank
water with.

When they had
shed their
childhood
clothes, they
remained close
to the
courthouses for
ten years, partly
to protect the
city and partly to
practice
moderation. They
served as
attendants of the
magistrates
during the day,
or were available
to assist the city
wherever
needed. Also, by
being awakened
early in the
morning with a
copper coin, they
were led to trade
arms and hunt,
so that they
could become
accustomed to
rising early,
enduring heat
and cold, and the
hardships of
campaigns and
journeys. For
every fifty young
men, a son of the
king or some
local governor
was appointed,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

whom they
preceded

(a) See Xen. *Cyr.*
I. I. cap. 3.

(b) Herod. I. cit.
c. 136.

(c) See Xen. I.
cit. c. 8. ##
Travels

They were to
follow a
prescribed route
of thirty or forty
Italian miles.
Thus, their
strength, fitness,
and breath
control were
practiced. They
learned to
endure heat,
cold, and rain, to
wade through
rivers without
getting their
weapons and
clothing wet, to
spend nights in
the field, do farm
work, and
provide for
themselves with
what the forests
provided, such as
turpentine, resin,
and wild pears.
Those who
remained at
home were
taught archery
and throwing
spears, prizes
being awarded to
those who
excelled: these
were the
individuals whom

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

the authorities employed to track down criminals, capture robbers, or perform other tasks requiring strength and skill. When they had left their childhood behind, that is when they reached twenty-five years of age, they were then, as now fully grown and possessing their full strength, used by kings or rulers for military service or any other work. Once they reached fifty years old, they were considered among the elderly and no longer sent abroad to war but employed at home in practicing common and special legal matters, serving as judges of crimes, and holding all the magistracies. But if anyone or a young man, or a man, had committed an offense that was defined by law,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

he was
prosecuted by
the elders, and
after the case
was examined by
the elders, he
was removed
from his rank
and held
dishonored for
life. The reader
can see this in
Xenophon (a),
Herodotus (b),
Strabo (c), and
Rhodiginus (d).

This training
seems to have
been prevalent
among the
Persians during
the time of
Cyrus, except
that they had
already begun
drinking
moderate wine
and learning to
ride on
horseback while
shooting with
arrows and
throwing stones.
As Xenophon
generally attests
in his account of
Cyrus's
education.

However, they
did not become
lax and
degenerate as
much from the
time of Xerxes as
Xenophon
believes, but
rather from
Cambyses, which

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

we will briefly
indicate later.

Furthermore, the
Persians married
many wives and
had numerous
offspring during
the eight reigns,
because warfare
had long valued
having many
children, and
kings were
accustomed to
sending gifts
annually to those
who brought
many children
into the world, as
if they had
performed a
heroic deed (e).

That the
Persians, as is
very likely given
such a large
number of
women, were
jealous, we
showed earlier
under Xerxes
from Plutarchus
(f). They
commonly
married in the
spring, on the
longest day. The
groom would
proceed, after
having
previously eaten
an apple or
marrow of a
camel, and
nothing else that
day, into the
private chamber,
as Strabo attests.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Women took turns with the men, as appears from Herodotus (g). After Cambyses, who married the first of all the Persian kings' daughters, prominent figures married mothers and daughters, considering the children born from these unions noble and worthy to ascend the royal throne (b). Herodotus (i) says they learned from the Greeks how to engage in intimate relations with men, which Ammianus states they had not known before (k). But Plutarchus denies this, saying that almost all other writers agree that male children were not castrated among the Persians before they ever reached the Greek sea (l).

The Persians also, after conquering Egypt and becoming

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

wealthy and
extravagant
through riches,
changed along
with the customs
of their land,
which were
largely
moderate. One of
their old habits
was to eat only
once a day, and
that late in the
evening, so as to
devote the entire
day to their work
and practice (m).
Ammianus
recounts that
younger
Persians, except
at the royal
table, did not
have an hour
together, but
each stretched
out his hand like
a sundial, and
ate what came to
him first. But
Xenophon says
they had their
meal in the
morning and ate
and drank as
long as those
who go to bed
late are
accustomed (m).
Ammianus also
notes that they
arranged feasts
and
extravagance
excessively, and
especially
gluttony in
drinking, as

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Q9 3 the ## The
Customs of the
Persians

They have
shunned the pelt
garments, but
Herodotus (π)
shows that this
was only said of
the ancient
Persians. For
then each did not
eat what he
desired, but what
he had, and
drank no wine,
but water,
tasting neither
figs nor anything
else that seemed
delectable. Also,
drinking cups
were not brought
to meals,
because they
believed that
through them
both bodies and
souls would be
weakened if
anyone drank too
much. But
afterward, they
not only
maintained the
tables they had
used from old,
but also always
devised some
new ones.
Indeed, kings
corrupted by
luxury promised
a large sum of
money to those
who invented
any new
delicacies. Also,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

at that time the
Persians were
able to have
many drinking
vessels and
proudly
displayed the
splendid
appearance of
them, not
shaming
themselves even
though they had
acquired them
openly in an
unjust way with
little effort. For
having
abandoned the
old virtue by
which they
encouraged each
other to practice
justice, they
seized not only
those who had
committed many
misdeeds but
also those who
were not guilty
of any offense;
seizing them by
the neck and
extracting money
from them
against all right
and fairness. (b)
Furthermore,
Ammianus
testifies that
none of them
used excessive
drink when
sated. But more
accurately, the
testimony of
Herodotus is,
who says they

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

drank little, but nevertheless used many side dishes, and therefore were commonly said to excrete with food while still hungry, because nothing of value was presented to them after their meal, otherwise they would do so. On all days each believed that he should especially celebrate his birthday: and then it was deliciously prepared. The wealthy people provided whole oxen, camels, horses, and donkeys roasted in ovens for their feasts; the poorer people livestock of lesser value. Moreover, they were greatly inclined to wine, advising on serious matters while drinking, considering the decisions made thus as firmer than those taken soberly. Nevertheless, it was their custom to first fill the body with food before

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

proceeding to
drink: but they
did not feast with
their wives, but
rather held
gatherings with
their
companions,
bantering and
drinking so much
that they could
no longer stand
or walk, but had
to be carried
home. (c)

Their manner of
greeting each
other was rough.
People who were
equal in birth
and status would
cleanse each
other instead of
greeting. If one
happened to be
somewhat lower
in rank; the more
worthy
nevertheless
offered him his
cheek, and
received a kiss.
But those far
below him
prostrated
themselves and
showed
reverence to his
person, or
honored him by
bowing a knee.
Especially did
they honor with
great respect
those who lived
closest to them
than those who
followed on

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

further, and so on, considering that the closer someone lived to their houses, the more closely connected he was to them (d).

From Herodotus (e) we also learn that among sins they gave first place to lies, and second place to owing money to someone:

because a debtor deals with lies at every turn. But Plutarch says (f) quite differently, claiming that those who add something to another lie more than those who receive it; since it is their custom in their accounts to go for greater trustworthiness, and to charge others more than they deserve; of which lies there is no cause of necessity or need, but insatiable greed, which prevents them from using their own goods. Among the institutions of the Persians was also that they never, namely in public, spat, nor

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

blew their noses:
and it was
considered
shameful if
someone feeling
strained, or to
discharge his
water, or to do
anything else,
was seen going
alone: for it
would not have
been possible,
says Xenophon, if
they had not
been moderate in
their way of life,
and had not
processed the
excessive
moisture so that
it was expelled
by some other
means. (g)
Nevertheless,
since the later
Persians
maintained this,
and did not
exercise their
bodies so much,
the excesses of
the mouth and
bladder were
retained through
the use of
Cardamom and
Turpentine,
which they used
greatly. At least
this is the
opinion of
Rhodiginus (b).
Ammianus
relates that the
mouths of the
servants who
attended to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

table were
covered with
cloths— ##
Travels

were bound, so
that they could
neither gape nor
spit, nor even
speak. Valerius,
in his notes on
Ammianus,
believes this was
done so that the
servants would
not taint the
dishes they
brought to the
table with their
breath. Those
afflicted with
scabies or
leprosy were
forbidden from
entering the city
and associating
with others, as
stipulated by law.
This is evidenced
by the example
of Megabyzus,
who feigned
leprosy, as
recounted in the
history of Darius
the Phratert.
They said that
the Persians
believed they
were afflicted
with these
diseases because
they had
committed
offenses against
the Sun. They
banished
foreigners
suffering from

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

the same ailment
and drove out
white doves for
the same reason,
according to
Herodotus.

Even a small
debt or minor
crime did not
allow the king
himself to kill
someone, nor to
inflict the harsh
punishment of
the Persians on
his own
household; he
was obliged to
consider whether
the offender had
committed
greater faults
before being free
to unleash his
righteous wrath.
Some say that
there were no
punishments for
parricide in
ancient times
because no one
had ever killed
his father or
mother under
their own power.
And those who,
by chance and
without
understanding
kinship,
committed such
an act were
found to be
illegitimate or
bastard children.
For otherwise, it
was said, it was
unlikely that a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

father would kill
his own son (a).
We have seen the
opposite in the
example of
Darius, son of
Artaxerxes the
Wise. They had
strict laws,
including harsh
punishments
given against
ungrateful
people,
apostates, and
others whom
Ammianus
curses because
they destroyed
the entire flock
for the fault of
one. Those who
killed the king
underwent this
punishment; as
Claudian sings to
Honorius:

Rarus apud
Persas Regum
crator: unagae toti
Poena manet
generi: quamvis
crudelibus aequa
Pare tur dominis.

That is:

Rarely is royal
blood shed in
Persia, to
overthrow them
from their
throne. The same
punishment
remains for the
entire clan.
Though cruel,
each obeys their
power.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

And therefore,
the Persian spirit
had an aversion
to spilling royal
blood; as
Procopius (b)
testifies. If
someone refused
to obey the king,
his head and
arms were cut
off, and he was
thus cast out. We
have already
explained
harsher
punishments for
criminals in
various places.
But Plutarch
describes the
punishment with
scows in this
way: They take
two boats that
slide past each
other. In one
they place the
criminal to be
punished, on his
back; then they
take the other
boat and fit it so
that his head,
hands, and feet
protrude, while
the rest of his
body remains
enclosed. Then
they feed him. If
he refuses the
food, they force
him to prick his
eyes to take it.
After he has
eaten, they pour
milk and honey
together and mix

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

it into a drink,
which they pour
into his mouth.
Having done
this, they
constantly turn
his entire face
towards the sun,
so that a swarm
of flies sitting on
it covers his
whole
appearance.
Now, since he
does what people
who eat and
drink do not do
in a natural way,
maggots and
worms grow
from the flanks
and rotting
insides,
penetrating the
organs and
devouring the
body. When they
know that the
criminal has
given up the
ghost, they
remove the top
boat and strip off
the flesh, along
with all swarms
of such worms
gnawing on the
entrails (c).

To make
someone blind,
they used this
method: They
poured hot oil as
boiling as it was
into their eyes,
holding them
open, or plunged
a glowing iron

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

nail into them
(d).

For minor
offenses, only the
clothing of the
criminals, as if
garments of
distinction were,
was torn and
punished.

Strict laws.
Furthermore,
just as the
Persians were
very diligent in
following foreign
customs and
sought to enjoy
the pleasures
they had once
heard about, so
after subjugating
the Medes, they
readily adopted
the attire of the
latter, which was
more splendid
than their own.
For in ancient
times the Medes
wore leather
trousers and a
shorter garment
also made of
leather; a style
that is still seen
on some statues
(b) 1. de bell.

Perf. cap. 5. (c)
See in Vit. Artax.
P. I. op. p. m.
1019. (d) See
Proc. l. c. cap.
16. (e) Conf. Plur.
tr. de his qui fero
a Num. pun. T. II.
op. p. 565. ##
The Remains of

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

the Persian Royal
Palace,
According to
Cornelis de
Bruins

This account
details the
remnants of the
Persian royal
palace and
describes the
clothing and
weaponry of the
Persians. It
draws upon the
writings of
Herodotus (a)
and others.
When Cyrus
conquered
Babylon, he
reportedly
donned a Median
garment,
believing that its
splendor would
enhance his
majesty and
inspire greater
reverence among
the people. He
distributed this
same attire to his
Persian and
other military
commanders,
encouraging
them to wear it.
Consequently,
the Persians
began wearing
Median
garments, even
those residing at
home or far from
court, as
Xenophon
attests.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

From Media, various head coverings and clothing items were adopted by the Persians, including the *tiara*, the *cidaris*, the *pileus*, the *candys*, and similar articles of dress. The *tiara*, also known as a *cyrbafia*, resembled a type of mitre—a tower-shaped cap curved backward, much like the *infulae* worn by Magi or priests, according to Strabo; Sidonius referred to it as a “lunata tiara” or moon-shaped cap. Both Persians and Chaldeans wore this head covering without distinction.

It is said that only those seven Persians who assassinated Gaumata and their descendants were permitted to tilt the *tiara* forward on their foreheads, perhaps because they had used it as a signal during the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

attack. The kings wore a straight, unbent *tiara*, often topped with a peak or rounded ornament, which led to it being called the *diadema* or a blue band interwoven with white thread. This royal insignia was known as the *cidaris* by the Persians. Xenophon states (e) that during his time, even members of the king's family wore this royal symbol.

The *pileus*, a type of hood made from light fabric and woven flat on top, is described by Herodotus (f). The Persians, particularly those bearing arms—even the kings themselves while at home—covered their heads in this manner, as evidenced by images from Chilmar.

The remaining parts of Persian attire were called *candys*,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

capyris, and
candyaces,
according to
Julius Pollux (g).
The *candys*
featured wide,
pleated sleeves
and was so long
that it reached
the mid-calf.
Pollux referred
to the *candys* as
royal garb;
Xenophon also
called the long
robes with
sleeves worn by
other Persians
and Cyrus's
attendants—
those fastened
with a pin—
candyes. It is my
belief that the
candyaces were
an
undergarment,
since Strabo
mentions that
Persians wore
two layers of
robes over each
other. The king's
upper robe was
entirely purple,
while those of
others were
merely trimmed
with purple.
Sometimes this
robe was made
of fur and hung
from the
shoulders. Only
the kings were
permitted to
have their under-
robes half white

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

and half red;
others could only
wear them white.
Strabo states
that Persians
wore an upper
garment of
purple and floral
design in
summer and one
solely floral in
winter. From
Xenophon, we
learn that kings
kept their hands
outside their
sleeves, while
others, when the
king observed
them, would
draw their robes
back to reveal
their arms. The
capyris appears
to have been
shorter than the
candys, with
sleeves but
tighter-fitting, as
can be seen in
the
aforementioned
images.

They called
trousers and
leggings
anaxarydes, and
prominent
Persians wore
three types of
footwear. It is
said that these
were flaxen in
color during
Cyrus's time. We
also hear that
Darius
Codomannus

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

wore a tabard
embroidered
with gold hawks
pecking at each
other (b).

Furthermore, the
Persians adorned
themselves with
arm rings,
necklaces, belts,
clasps, and
chains, as well as
finery featuring
horses with
golden
harnesses,
though not all
Persians were
permitted to
possess such
items unless
granted by the
king. Their shoes
were high and
double-soled, as
Strabo attests,
unlike others
that resembled
women's
footwear, as seen
in Pollux's
writings.

Their weapons
included shields
made of
hardened
leather, a quiver
filled with reed
arrows hung on
their backs, and
a large bow. A
battle-axe or
curved bow was
attached to their
right thigh. Their
heads were
covered with
plumed helmets

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

or *tiaras*,
which...

(a) l. c. cap. 21.
(b) Vid. l. viii.
Cyrip. cap. 13 &
22. coll. l. i.
c. 11. Conf.
Strab. l. xi. pag.
525. feq. (c) Vid.
Herod. l. vii.
c. 61. Conf.
Hieron. ad cap.
iii Daniel.
Jul. Pollux onom.
l. vii. c. 13. fegm.
58. & l. X. c. 36.
fegm. 162. (d)
Vid. Plut. in Pr.
ger. Reip. T. II.
p. m. 820. (e) l.
viii. Cyrip. c. 23.
Conf. Strabo l.
c. p. 734. Curt. l.
iii. c. 8 & c. (f) l.
vii. c. 62. Conf.
Poll. l. iv. c. 18.
fegm. 116. &
c. 19. fegm. 154.
(g) l. vii. cap. &
fegm. cit, (b) Vid.
Xenoph. l.
c. Strab. l. c. J.
Poll. l. vi r, & X.
cap. & fegm. cit.
Conf. Curt. l.
c. & Rhod. l. xvi.
c. 10. (i) Vid.
Xen-l. c. 17. Conf
Proc. l. i. de bell.
Perf. cap. 15. (k)
l. vii. c. 22. fegm.
92. ## Persian
Armor and
Equipment
Those who were
free-born wore
iron armor,
consisting of

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

plates
resembling fish
scales, fitted
together.
Xenophon
recounts that
Cyrus and those
around him had
the same
weapons: red
cloaks, armor,
copper helmets
with white
plumes, and a
javelin made of
horn. The
foreheads,
 chests, and sides
of the horses
were covered
with copper
coverings, and
the riders also
had similar ones
on their saddles.
The weapons of
Cyrus differed
only in color;
those of others
were gilded,
while his shone
like a mirror. (a)
The best
description of
this Persian
armor, however,
was left to us by
Heliodorus:
whose own
words deserve to
be quoted here.
A man, he says,
distinguished
and surpassing
others in stature,
takes a helmet
that fits him well
and whistles as it

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

is placed upon
his head, and his
face, just as it
appears in the
mirror, clearly
expresses itself.
Covering only
the eyes from the
crown of his
head to the
entire neck so
that he can see,
he grasps a
spear in his right
hand, which was
longer than a
common lance,
and with a
skillful
movement
shakes the reins.
A sword hangs
on his side.
Furthermore, not
only is his chest
but his whole
body armed with
armor. This
armor is made as
follows: there
were copper or
iron plates,
forged or
prepared to the
size of the palm
of a hand in a
square shape,
where one fitted
against another
from all sides, so
that when the
lower ones were
laid down, the
next was
fastened across
them with rivets
into a slot, and
thus presented a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

likeness to a
scaled skirt,
which could fit
snugly against
the body on all
sides without any
difficulty.

Although this
armor weighed
somewhat, it was
drawn out and
retracted without
hindrance when
moving. For it
had sleeves
hanging from the
neck to the
knees, being
open only around
the thighs, by
means of which
one necessarily
climbed onto the
horse. Thus was
this armor,
deflecting arrows
and resisting all
kinds of flags.

But the skirt
extended from
the foot to the
knee, being
fastened with the
armor-skirt. They
also armed the
horses in a
similar manner,
covering the
hooves with hair
and completely
covering the
head with a
helmet. From the
back to the belly
hung coverings
on both sides
made of iron
chains joined

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

together, which likewise armed the horse, and because there were gaps left between the two, they did not hinder it from running. Thus equipped, and fittingly wound in the armor-dressing, he sat upon his horse, upon which he could not spring but had to be helped by others due to the weight of his dressing. When the time for fighting came, he gave the horse full rein and urged it with spurs, riding as strongly as he could against the enemies, so that one would say that an iron man or any image struck from a mold was in motion. The staff or spear now pointed straight out with its tip, and was fastened to the neck of the horse with a band. Furthermore, it was bound to the thigh of the horse by means of a handle

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

through a knot,
not deviating in
battle but
assisting the
hand of the rider,
who alone
wielded the flag
or sword: and
thus pressing
more strongly,
and making the
flag more
powerful by
grasping it better
so that he might
overcome all who
came before him,
and often two as
we would
conclude from
Herodotus (c)
invincible. That
these armor-
dressings were
worn by the
same Persian
riders, and
especially by
those who were
called invincible.
For this name
was borne by ten
thousand chosen
riders, of whom
if one was killed
or died of
disease, another
was selected in
his place: so that
they were never
more or less than
ten thousand,
distinguished in
dress and
equipment, and
courage; as the
same Herodotus
confirms. (d)

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Curtius recounts
(e) that at the
time of the late
Darius, they
wore gold
necklaces, and
clothes
embroidered
with gold, and
skirts having
long sleeves
adorned with
costly jewels.
Cyrus had for
himself ten
thousand horse-
guards selected
to protect his
life, who stood
on guard both by
night and day
and were around
the King
everywhere
while he went
within his palace
to rest: and who
also as he went
anywhere might
be armed from
all sides around
him. (f) But there
is no doubt that
the kings who
followed him
increased the
number of these
soldiers and their
equipment. For
Athenaeus
recounts from
the first book of
the affairs of
Persia, described
by Heraclides of
Cumae, that the
Kings had three
hundred women

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

as guards, who
at night watched
with burning
lanterns, singing
and playing on
the lyre, and
slept during the
day. The same
recounts from
Dion that the
King did not fly
in a chariot.

Persian armor-
dressing. Armor-
dressing of the
horses.

(a) Vid. I. VII.
Cyr. c.I.coll, I.I.c.
5, l. IV. c. 8 & 10.
I. V. c. 30. Herod.
I. c Strabo l.
c. &c. (b) l. IX.
Aëtio p. m,43
r.feg. (c) I. VII.
c. 84. (d) I. c.cap.
83. (e) I. c. cap.
7. (f) Vid. Xen. I.
VII. Cyr. c. 29.

The Court of
the Persian Kings

It did not matter
that this height
was small, nor
did any of the
surrounding
people offer him
their hand;
instead, he was
always presented
with a golden
velvet cloth upon
which he stepped
from his
carriage, and
therefore, the
bearer of the
royal velvet

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

always followed
behind. He never
went on foot
outside the
palace, and as
soon as he
approached the
gate, those in
attendance
would come out
to meet him. He
had 1000 shield-
bearers, or, as
Herodotus says,
Spiesdragers
(bodyguards),
the most
prominent and
noble of the
Persians,
selected for their
courage and
valor from
among the ten
thousand
immortal Persian
soldiers who
bore golden
apples on the
tops of their
shields. And that
the Persians
received the
custom of
carrying shields
from the Medes
is shown by
Clearchus the
Solenfer in his
fourth book,
stating they
carried them not
only to ward off
any evil that
might befall
them and to
avenge
themselves, but

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

also as a mark of the luxury of the royal guard, so far as it had declined from their former bravery. Curtius recounts that these shield-bearers were called

geschenkdirgers (gift bearers) and were accustomed to carry the royal garments and proceed before the king's carriage.

According to Athenaeus, the king would traverse the area where they stood guard on foot, over smooth carpets—

commonly called *Sar-diaensche*—over which no one else was permitted to tread. (a). From

this it seems that they followed the king. Herodotus says that this also happened when King

Xerxes marched from Sardis; a thousand shield-bearers followed his carriage.

Behind them came the other select cavalry of a thousand

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Persians, and
then another ten
thousand foot
soldiers chosen
from among the
remaining
Persians, of
whom a
thousand bore
golden
pomegranate
apples on their
shields, while the
rest carried
silver ones. And
nine thousand of
these with silver
pomegranates
held the tips
pointing
downward
toward the earth.
After these
followed again in
order another
ten thousand
Persian riders;
and these had
crowns upon
their heads, as
appears from
Herodotus
himself (b): and
after a space of
two *ftadien*
(stadia), came
the rest of the
multitude
without
distinction. (c).

Writers generally
mention many
things about the
customs and
practices of the
Persian kings.
But we will
confine ourselves

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

to a few that are worth noting. Cicero testifies (d) that no one could become king of Persia unless he had previously been instructed in the learning and wisdom of the Magi. The people of Achaemenes were accustomed to call the Persian kings great; therefore, Agesilaus once said to a Persian king: "By what measure is he greater than I, if not more just and temperate than I?" (e). The sign of royalty that they wore on their heads was made of myrrh and that fragrant incense or gum, which they called *Labyzon*, which some believe to have been Labdanum or Benzoin, which we use. This is the opinion of Athenaeus, who derives it from Diodorus. Furthermore, Strabo says (f) that the kings, because of their great wealth,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

desired to obtain
dates from
Assyrum, a city
in Eolia; wine
from Syria,
called
Calybonium; and
water from the
river Eulaeus,
which flows past
Sufa. Athenaeus
quotes
Posidonius (g)
stating that this
Callybonian wine
was armed at
Damascus in
Syria on
vineyards
planted by the
Persians.
Herodotus says
(b) that a Cyrus,
king of Persia,
had water
cooked from the
river Chaofes—
which appears to
be the same as
Eulacus—poured
into silver
vessels and
transported on
many wagons
with four wheels,
drawn by mules,
accompanying
him wherever he
went. (i). Dinon
has recounted
that Nile water
from Egypt,
along with Sal
Ammoniac, was
sent to the king,
according to the
testimony of
Athenaeus (k).

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

He adds from the same Dinon that the fruits of all the lands under the king's dominion were brought to him and placed on his table as delicacies. For the ancient kings of Persia considered it improper to freely use foreign figs or drinks, so they also made and proclaimed a law about this. But when someone presented Xerxes with figs from the land of Athens after a feast, he asked where they came from. And upon learning that they had come from there, he summoned the food vendors to the market and forbade them from buying or selling anything like that, until he had taken as much as he wished. It is said that this was done by the Gefneden (companions) in advance, so that the king would

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

remember the
procession.

(a) Vid. I. xii.
p.m. 514, conf.
Curt. l.c. (b) I.
VII. c. 55. (c) Vid.
I. c. c. 41. conf.
Xen. Cyrip. I.
VIII. c. 23. Curt.
l.c. (d) I. de
Div.segm. 41.
Conf. Rhod. l. IX.
c. 23.

(e) Vid. Plut. in
Apopht. T. II. op.
p.m.190. (f) I.
c. p. m.735. (g) I.
I. p. m. 28. (h) I.
I. c. 88. (i) Conf.
Athen. l. II. p.45.
(k) l. c. p. 67. ##
Royal Feasts and
Extravagance of
the Persian Kings

The Athenians
accused Xerxes
of having a lavish
lifestyle. (a)
Plutarch,
however, states
that when
foreign figs were
brought to
Xerxes for sale,
he refused to eat
them until he
had conquered
the land where
they grew. (b).

Quoting.
Otherwise, the
last Persian
kings were
exceedingly
extravagant at
their tables.
When the king

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

visited someone under his rule, twenty, thirty, or more talents would be spent on his table, because each city, according to its size, was required to contribute a sum of money, as if it were a tax, for the king's table. Those who served the king at table were all armed and dressed in beautiful clothes, as befitting their position, and they spent almost a whole day preparing the meal. Some of the guests sat outside the king's chamber in another area where one could see all those present; others were inside with the king, able to observe those outside through a covered curtain without being seen by them. Sometimes, especially on holidays, he would dine with the others in the same hall; but his table was separated from

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

the others and set on an elevated platform, with no more than twelve guests seated around it. But when the king dined alone - which happened occasionally - the others were often invited to join him for a drink through a freedman, though they did not partake of the same wine. The king also had the custom of reclining on a bed supported by golden feet, but the others sat on the ground and generally did not leave until they had sufficiently enjoyed themselves. Sometimes the king's wife and some of his children would dine with him, while some of his attendants entertained him by singing and playing the lyre, from which one voice led the song, to which the others joined in with confused voices. But the most magnificent

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

meal of all was
that held for the
Königklyke, or
Tyčla, as they
called it – the full
power – as I
mentioned
earlier. On this
day, the king
would wear his
royal headgear
and bestow gifts
upon his people.
It is said that he
sometimes held
feasts with
fifteen thousand
men, and that
this cost him four
hundred talents
—that is,
according to our
currency, seventy
thousand gold
crowns per day.
A thousand
sacrifices were
also slaughtered
daily for the
king, a small
portion of which
was distributed
among the
guests head by
head, who
carried away
whatever
remained of the
meal with them.
The largest part
of the sacrificial
offerings and
delicacies was
divided among
the squires and
the shield- and
spear-bearing
bodyguards,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

each receiving
an equal share in
place of wages.

These things
were recorded
by Athenaeus (a)
from

Theopompus,
Heraclides of
Cumae, Crefias,
and Dinon,
whose writings
have largely
been lost for a
long time.

Indeed, not only
the kings of
Persia were
accustomed,
following the
example of
Cyrus, to send
portions of their
meals to their
friends and
councilors, but
even ordinary
Persians, when
they dined,
always had
concern for the
slaves, indeed
even for the
dogs, so that all
those whose
services they
used would, as
much as
possible, be
given a share of
their table (b).

Athenaeus
believes that
everything the
king sent to his
friends or what
was lovingly
offered to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

king bore the name of Jupiter and the king's heritage. The Persian luxury had moreover reached such a point that there was a cabinet with five beds at the head of the royal bed, in which sometimes five thousand talents of gold were kept; and this was called the royal headstuff. At the foot of the same bed was another cabinet with three beds, where three thousand talents were placed; this they called the king's bench and footstool. It is also said that in his golden sleeping chamber there was a golden vineyard planted with precious stones and stretched over the bed, from which the grapes were made from the precious stones. Not far from there stood a golden cup, a work of Theodoros the Samian, as

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Athenaeus
learned from the
fifth book of the
History of
Alexander,
written by
Chares of
Mytilene, and
from the book of
Amyntas on
weights and
measures. (c).

They commonly
had many wives
to whom they
gave entire cities
in this way: "This
city shall provide
the lady with her
finery; this one
her necklace;
this one her hair
ornament." Thus,
they not only
made
companions of
whole peoples
but even turned
them into
servants
themselves, as
Cicero says (f).
They also kept
numerous
concubines,
whom the queen
tolerated, so that
the king could
exercise
dominion over
his household.

(c) l. IV. p. 145,
seq. (d) Vid. Xen.
I. VIII. Cyrip.
c. 16. & Plut. I.
IV. Συμποσιακά
queft. IV. Conf.
Athen. I. c. &

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Proc. I. I. de Bell.
Perf. c. 5, in fine.
(e) Deipn. l. XII.
p. 514. (f) in
Vertem fegm. 33.

Daytime leisure.
Royal meals.
Numerous wives.
And concubines.
Cornelis de
Bruins

A virtuous
woman, as
befitting one who
honors the
queen, served
and worshipped,
just as Dinon
attests in
Athenaeus (a).
For the Persians,
when
approaching the
king, would fall
prostrate on the
ground and offer
him reverence—
that is, bow
down in honor of
him. This honor
befell Cyrus the
first of all men.
And that it
remained
customary
among the
Persians and
Medes from that
time onward,
Xenophon (b),
Arrianus (c), and
Rhodiginus (d)
recount.
Furthermore, on
that day when
the Persians
offered sacrifices
to Mithra or the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Sun, the king
would boast
while drinking
himself drunk
and dancing in
the Persian
manner. But all
others who dwelt
in Asia abstained
from dancing,
according to
Athenaeus's
account from
Ctefias and Duris
(e).

The first coinage,
as we have
already said, was
of very pure gold
by Darius
Hystapes' son. It
also consisted of
purest silver
from Ariandes
Lantvoogt of
Egypt, who
forfeited his life
—and his head—
through the
deceit of Darius
(f). This coinage
did not bear the
image of any
king but rather a
bowman, as
Plutarch attests
(g), and Thomas
Hyde (b) who has
also provided us
with an
engraving of this
coin. Otherwise,
the Persians had
many varieties of
these coins.
Some were
called *Hilli*, or, as
others claim,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Sigli. These were worth seven and a half Attic obols, that is, approximately seven and a half Dutch guilders (i). Others were called *Danices*, which amounted to one-seventh of a drachma or a Dutch schellingh, as Jungerman (k) calculates. There were also Staters and Dariuffen, named after Darius son of Hystapes, not an older Darius, as Rhodiginus and others believe. According to some, these were worth as much as the *Chryfos* or gold piece of the Athenians. Others have written that they could fetch twenty drachmas; so that five Dariuffen made up a silver mine (l). The king's seal was called a *Sphragida*, on which some say was the image of Cyrus; others claim it depicted Darius's horse, by means of which he arrived at the kingdom.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

(m) Furthermore, the Persians also possessed much gold and silver in their household goods. But they were frugal with money, believing that they had enough for daily needs. They only coined as much money as was necessary to pay the *onkof ten*, those whom they owed (n).

Regarding the burial customs of the Persians, writers disagree among themselves. Herodotus, although somewhat doubtful whether the bodies of the deceased were torn apart by birds or dogs, as was the custom among the Magi; assures us nonetheless that the dead were buried in the earth. (o) But Procopius (p) and Agathias testify that there was a law among the newer Persians forbidding the burial of the dead. However, it seems to me,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

based on
Herodotus and
Ctefias,
especially from
the tombs of the
kings, and others
which still exist
in Persia today,
that the ancient
Persians did bury
their dead.

Rhodiginus (q)
recounts—I do
not know on
whose authority
—that the
Persian custom
in mourning was
to shave the hair
of women and
children. And
this is enough
said about the
customs and
manners of the
ancient Persians:
we hope that the
reader will find it
agreeable.

Nevertheless,
from what has
been recounted,
one can easily
understand that
the so-called
Chilmenar
corresponds with
the ancient
Persian royal
palace, Paleis.
Our sole request
to the learned
reader is that if
they know more
than we have
shown, they
would be willing
to make it known

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

to the world, to
lighten our work.
We do not doubt
that it will also
serve to briefly
mention here, by
their new Persian
names, the
Persian kings up
to Alexander the
Macedonian.

(a) l. XIII. p. 556.

(b) l. VIII. Cyrip.

c. 23. (c) l. IV. de
exp. Alex. p. m.

86. (d) l. XXI.

c. 33. (e) l. x,
p. m. 434. (f) Vid.
Herod. I. IV.

c. 166. (g) in
Agefil. & Apopht.
Lac.T. II. op.p.m.

211. (h) de Vet.

Perf. Rel. c. 4.

Conf. Proc. I. III.

de bell. Goth.

c. 33. (i) Vid.

Xen. de Cyri

Adfc. fol. 256. (k)

ad Jul. Poll. l. IX.

c. 6. fegm.82. (l)

Vid. Jul. Poll. I.

c. fegm. 84, &

Rhod.l.x.c.2.

(m) Vid.

Rhod.I.VIII.cap.

2. (n) Vid.

Strabol. l. c. pag.

735. (o) l. I.

c. 140. (p) I. I. de
bell. Perf.

c. II.coll.l. II,

c. 30.Agath. (q) l.

XIIIt.c.21.

XLIII. ## XLIII.

CHAPTER.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

The Reigns of the Persian Kings up to Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of the Persian writers.

I.
CAJOURMARAS.

The Persian writers differ greatly concerning the time when this ruler lived. Some call him a son of Cainan, the son of Enos; others, Cainan himself. Still others, a son of Aram, son of Sem, son of Noah. They attribute 700 years of life to him. It is said he was the founder of Balch, the capital of the province of Phorojane, and of Isthachra in Farishtan, where remnants are said still to be visible by the tombs of the kings under the name of Zjebilminaer, or 40 columns. He is also considered the founder of the castle Dimawend.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

II.
HOUSCHENG.

This was a son of
Siamek, son of
Cajoumaras. He
obtained the
name of
Pischedad, or
Just; and all
these first kings
received the
name of
Pischedad. It is
said he lived 500
years, and was
the founder of
the city of
Ispahan and
Schonsfier, which
was formerly
known as Sufa.

III.
TAHAMURATH.

Son of
Houscheng. He
is commonly
attributed with
400 years of life.
He was
considered the
founder of the
cities of Merwa,
Sabura, and
Fars.

IV.
SJEMSCID.

This was a
brother, or, as
others claim, a
son of
Tahamurath.
Sometimes he
was merely
called Sjem. It is
said that he
reigned for 700

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

years and built
an excellent
palace in the city
of Isthachra, of
which the
columns are
actually those
seen at
Zjebilminaer.

This palace he
dedicated on the
day of the new
year, Neuraz, in
the presence of
his princes and
military leaders;
and from that
time onward, the
Neuraz has
always been
celebrated. He
fell into the folly
of allowing
himself to be
worshipped as a
god, and
received as
punishment that
Scheddad, son of
Adi, rose up
against him,
joining forces
with Dohak.

V. DOHAK.

The son of
Mardas, who had
the daughter of
Sjemscid in
marriage.

Otherwise he is
called Jelourasp.
He is considered
a tyrant, and a
reign of 1000
years is
attributed to
him, after which
he was murdered

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

by Feridoun. This man is believed to be known to Herodotus under the name of Dejoces, and his successor Feridoun under that of Pyrrithidon by Metafrhenes.

VI.
FERIDOUN.

The son of Abtin. He is highly praised for his piety, justice, and other virtues. It is said he divided the entire world among his three sons: giving to Selem, little Africa, Greece, and Africa; to Eiris, Persia, Chorofan, and the neighboring regions; and to Tur, Sina, Turkestaun, and those areas nearby.

VII.
MANUSJEHER.

This was from the house of Feridoun, but how he succeeded him is uncertain. It is said that he reigned for 120 years and lived during the time of Mofes.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

VIII.
NAUDAR.

He lived at the
time of Jofua and
reigned only
seven years.

IX.
EFRASIAB.

This was a son of
Bifcheng, son of
Tur, son of
Feridoun. It is
said that he built
Baghdad.

X. ZOU.

He drove Efraias
out of Persia. He
was a son of
Tahamasp, son of
Manuzjeher. He
is praised for his
justice.

XI.
KERSCHASAF.

This was a son of
Zou, and some
call him
Gyftalpes. After
him followed
another line of
kings. ##

CORNELIS de
BRUINS

die niet
Pischdad, gelyk
de vorige, maer
Cajani genoemd
werden, waar
van de eerste is

I. CAI
COBAD.

Deze regeerde
100 jaar en was
zeer
rechtvaardig.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Men zegt dat hij
leefde ten tijde
van den Prophet
Samuel.

**## II. CAI
CAOUS.**

Deze was een
wijs en dapper
Vorst, die den
begaarden
Roftam, den
Hercules der
Perfaenen, tot
Bevelhebber van
zijn leger had.
Deze had in de
stad Balch zijn
verblijfplaats. Hij
leefde 150 jaar.

**## III. CAI
CHOZROU.**

Deze regeerde
60 jaar en wordt
geprezen om
zyne
regtvaardigheid.
Hij toont
vrijwilligh 't Rijk
af en begaf zig
tot een eenzaam
leven.

**## IV.
LORASPES.**

Deze zegt men
dat
Nebucadnezar
gezonden heeft,
als Veltoverften
om 't Joodse land
te verwoesten.
Hij heeft geleefd
ten tijde van
Jeremias.

**## V.
GYSTASPES.**

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Dees regeerde
120 jaar, vluchtte
Samarkanda: en
bracht den zetel
des Rijk over van
Balch na Itachra.

VI.
BAHMAN.

Hij regeerde 120
jaar. Hij wordt
ook Ar-deschir
de Langband
genoemd, die by
de Grieken en
Latynen onder
den naam van
Artaxerxes
μανδάχειρ,
Longimanus
bekend is, niet
dat zijn eene
hand langer
zoude geweest
zijn dan
d'andere, maer
om dat hij wyd
en zijd zijn
gebied
uitstrekke. Deze
stelde zeker
Kirefb aan tot
Land-voogd van
Medie, Affyrie en
Chal-deen, die
den Joden
vryheit gaf om
naer hun land te
keeren.

VII. HOMAM.

Deze was een
dochter van
Bachman en
regeerde 30 jaar.
Men zegt ook
wel Homai
genoemd. Men
zegt, hij zoude

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

de stad Semiram
gebouwd
hebben, en
daarom
Semiramis
genoemd zyn.
Sommigen
schrijven haar de
stichting van
Zjehilmi-naer
toe.

VIII. DARAB.

Deze heeft de
dochter van
Philippus, Vorst
der Grieken,
getrouwd, en
regeerde 14 jaar.

IX. DARAB
DE TWEEDE.

Deze is van
Alexander den
Griek
overwonnen.
Men zegt dat hij
om zyn wreedheit
gehaet zynde, de
Perfaensche
Grooten zelfs
Alexander
zouden aangezet
hebben om hem
te beoorlogen.
Hij gaf syn
dochter Roxane
aan Alexander
ten huwlyk.

X.
ISKANDER.

Deze is
Alexander de
Griek, die
gehouden wordt
voor een zoon
van Philippus,
dog eigenlijk

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

een zoon was van
Darab den
eersten die met
de dogter van
Philippus
getrouwd was,
doch om dat hij
in 't hof van
Philippus in
Griekenland is
opgevoed,
meende men dat
hij een Zoon van
Philippus was.

XLIV.
HOOFDSTUK.

Vertrek van
Persepolis.
Komst tot Zjie-
raes.
Beschrijving der
stad, vertrek van
daer, en
wederkomst tot
Spahan.

Na zulk eene
lange
uitweidinge over
den staat van
Perfie, zal het
eenmaal tydt syn
draet myner
Reisbeschryvinge
te hervatten.

Nadat ik dan
byna drie
maanden mijn
verblijf te
Persepolis
gehad, en mijn
lucht aan het
beschouwen en
doorgronden van
die roemruchtige
o-verbyffelen
geboet hadt,
keerde ik naer

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

het dorp, om
alles te bereiden
tot mijn vertrek,
waar toe ik reeds
twee paarden
beeftelt had. Ik
vertrok dan den
23 van January
des jaers 1705
van daer door de
vlakte, waar van
ik in mynen togt
naer Persepolis
gesproken heb.
Ik vond nu om
het winterfaizon
hier zeer weinig
gevoelte, en
verder niet veel
aanmerkelyx. De
helft van den
wegh afgelegd
hebbende
tekende ik de
drie genoemde
bergen, waar op
voornamen
Sterkten geweest
zyn. De grootste
en
eerstgenoemde
is die ten midden
afgescheiden
staat van de ##
The Three
Mountains of Old
Fortresses
The Pol-
Chanie Bridge
The bridge at
Pol-Chanie
stands as a
testament to the
ingenuity and
resilience of past
generations,
connecting

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

disparate
communities
across
challenging
terrain.
Constructed
centuries ago
during a period
of intense
regional conflict,
it served not only
as a vital trade
route but also as
a strategic
military link,
allowing for
rapid troop
deployment and
communication
between fortified
settlements. The
bridge's very
existence speaks
volumes about
the importance
placed on
maintaining
connections
despite the ever-
present threat of
invasion.

The design itself
is remarkable;
built primarily
from locally
sourced stone, it
incorporates
ingenious
engineering
solutions to
withstand both
the elements and
potential
sabotage. Its
arches are
perfectly
proportioned,
distributing

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

weight evenly
across its span,
while subtle
reinforcements
hidden within the
structure provide
added stability.
The bridge's
construction
required a
significant
investment of
labor and
resources,
demonstrating
the commitment
of local leaders
to ensuring the
region's
prosperity and
security.

Legends
surrounding the
Pol-Chanie
bridge abound,
passed down
through
generations in
oral traditions.
Some tales speak
of mythical
creatures who
aided in its
construction,
while others
recount heroic
deeds performed
by engineers and
laborers who
risked their lives
to complete the
project.
Regardless of
their veracity,
these stories
underscore the
bridge's
enduring

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

significance as a
symbol of
community
strength and
perseverance.

The surrounding
landscape
further enhances
the bridge's
historical
importance.

Situated amidst
the **Three**

**Mountains of
Old Fortresses,**

it offers
breathtaking
panoramic views
of the valleys
below. These
mountains, once
home to
formidable
defensive
structures,
served as crucial
outposts in
protecting the
region from
external threats.

The strategic
location of the
bridge allowed
for easy access
to these
fortresses,
facilitating troop
movements and
supply lines.

Today, the **Pol-
Chanie** bridge
stands as a
cherished
landmark,
attracting
visitors from far
and wide who

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

marvel at its architectural brilliance and historical significance. While no longer serving its original military purpose, it remains an essential link in the region's transportation network, connecting communities and fostering economic growth. The preservation of this remarkable structure is vital to ensuring that future generations can appreciate the ingenuity and determination of those who built it.

- Pol-Chanie

Bridge: A symbol of community strength and perseverance. -

Three

**Mountains of
Old Fortresses:**

Crucial defensive outposts protecting the region. - *Oral*

Traditions:

Passed down through generations, recounting

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

legends
surrounding the
bridge's
construction. ##
Reisen.

The other two
[landmarks] are
on the right side
of the bridge
Jefseioen. The
rear mountain
range can be
seen partially
covered with
snow. You see an
image of this at
N°. 172. Having
crossed the
bridge, called
Pol-Chanie,
located over the
river Roet-
gboena
Bandamier, I
sketched its
appearance from
the west side, as
shown in N°. 173. Upon
arriving near the
village Sergoen, I
found much
water, so that the
horses and mules
waded through it
for half an hour. I
wasn't
particularly
worried about
my papers, since
I saw that it only
mattered a little
whether the
carrying frame
fell; it was far
away. Finally, we
were lucky to get
through, and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

then we saw how
this plain north
of us lay entirely
under water like
a clay sea. I
placed the
village Sergoen
on the right side
and thus arrived
in the mountains
after half an
hour, which are
completely snow-
covered. So I
went south for
two miles over
high mountains,
past several
Karwanferaes
(caravan resting
places) and two
or three
cemeteries,
where a few
cypresses and a
Komft (small
structure) could
be found. Finally,
I arrived an hour
after Zjie-raes,
having covered
in a single day a
distance that
people usually
take two days to
travel, since this
city is 9 hours
from Perfepolis.
Upon arriving at
the city, I took
the darkness
with me and,
through it,
reached the
house of the
Carmelites, not
knowing whether
I had come to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

house of the
winemaker of the
Indian Company.
Noticing my
mistake, I stayed
there that night
partly because of
the darkness and
partly because of
the hospitality of
these Fathers.
Having finished
my nightly
prayers, I got up
and went to the
winemaker, an
Armenian named
Ióp, or Joseph
Bukens, where
my dispatched
goods had been
left with my
friend, the baker,
and my lodging
was prepared by
the Lord
Kaftelein. But
seeing that I
would be more
comfortable
staying with the
Carmelites, I
changed my
mind and had my
baggage brought
there.

Location of the
road to Zjie-raes.

It is located as
follows upon
arriving at this
city. As one has
come a hundred
steps over the
mountains, the
road begins,
from which one
can see the city

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

in view. Having walked 500 steps further, one has the mountain on his right and finds several tall cypress trees. At that place there is a stone wall built on the rocks, from which the water flows down into the lowlands when it is plentiful. This path between the rocks is final and deep, and leads to the city. The road on the right has an earthen wall raised on either side, which is partially collapsed on the right side. One goes this road downwards for 300 steps until the gate standing there, which is 5 steps wide at the beginning and 10 when one goes further. Through this gate, which is spacious and large, one comes onto the road called Teng-alla-agber, where buildings stand on either side as in Chjaer-Baeg in Spahan, although mostly dilapidated. The

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

gardens on both sides are also mostly adorned with beautiful cypresses and fruit trees.

Fifteen hundred steps from the aforementioned gate there is a fountain in the middle of the road that is 72 steps long and 46 wide, paved entirely with stone. There is a half-moon shaped wall with benches on either side; subsequently, a church stands on the right side, called Zeyd-mier alie Hamfée. This extends 100 steps in its width. Ninety steps further one comes to the bridge, called Pol Zjaa Sade, which I found to be 90

Schoone (beautiful) steps long. It is a stone bridge built of solid stones and has four arches: a large one in the middle and two small ones where one arrives on the side facing the city. A small one is also there towards the west

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

near the city. It spans the river Roetgone, which takes its source between two small mountains called Fergebraek, about 12 hours northwest of Zjie-raes. It runs southeast into the Derjanemeck, or salty sea. At this bridge begins the aforementioned road Teng-allagber, which is 30 steps wide. Then one goes along a road of the same width to the city gate, which has been there from old times, called Devafé Hanie, or our gate, standing northeast but now dilapidated and serving only as a shelter, covered with a vault. It is 80 steps long. In the middle one still sees on both sides the wall of the old gate, where one can see some stones with several Turkish characters. Above the building there is

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

still the remnant
of a tower of the
gate. Having
passed through
here, one comes
to a long street,
on whose right
side is a
cemetery and on
the left a
dilapidated
garden with
many buildings.
This extends into
the main part of
the city,
encompassing an
area of about an
hour. It was
formerly the
residence of
Eman-Conli-
Chan, who was a
great lord in this
kingdom during
the time of the
old or great King
Abbaas, with
whom he was in
high esteem for
the particular
services that
Perfie had
enjoyed from the
kingdom. ##
Cornelis de
Bruijn's Account
of Ormus

During his
father's war
against the
Turks, and later
when he, with
English
assistance,
ousted the
Portuguese from
the renowned

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

fortress of
Ormus—a place
that, along with
all its lands and
cities to the east,
had previously
been considered
a distinct
kingdom known
as the Kingdom
of Ormus—

**Cornelis de
Bruijn**

meticulously
documented
events. *Eman-
Chouli-Chan* had
previously held
the title of
Hartogh

(Governor) and
ruled over
territories
stretching far
beyond the city
to *Gamron*. **King**

Abbas also
referred to him
by the name of
“My Great
Governor.” In
1622, when the
Dutch East India
Company first
began trading in
this realm under
Hubert Ulmich,
the King granted
him full authority
to enter into a
treaty with the
Company and
provide
assurances that
he deemed would
serve the
interests of the
kingdom.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Granting such power to a subject was unusual for a Persian king, as these rulers are typically very protective of their own authority. Moreover, fortune proved fickle. When **Sofy**, Abbas's son, ascended to the throne, his rivals seized the opportunity and filled the King's heart with suspicion and distrust; consequently, he summoned *Eman-Chouli-Chan* to court, ostensibly to discuss important matters of state, but in reality to eliminate him. Despite all counsel urging caution, *Eman-Chouli-Chan*, driven by a sense of fate, presented himself at the King's court, where he was received with apparent courtesy and respect. He believed that if the King feared

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

his supporters
and faction, he
would openly
have beheaded
him, in
accordance with
the arbitrary
power of Eastern
monarchs.
However, this
complacency
proved
disastrous. At a
certain point, the
King learned that
*Eman-Chouli-
Chan* had gone
to the bathhouse
with a small
retinue and
swiftly
dispatched men
to assassinate
him. The deed
was quickly
accomplished, as
his rivals and
bitter enemies
(including his
own daughter's
husband) were
employed in this
task; they not
only murdered
him but also
mistreated his
fifty natural sons,
killing the eldest
who were
nearing manhood
while blinding
the others. I have
deemed it fitting
to record this
particular
incident
concerning the
celebrated man,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

despite the lack
of reward for all
his services.

At the end of this
account, one
finds several
roads leading
into and out of
the city,
consisting of
bazaars or
market squares.
The Indians also
have their
Karwanfera
(caravan serais)
alongside some
Armenians, who
however do not
conduct a great
deal of trade.
Many of the
bazaars are
covered with
beautiful stone
roofs.

Within the main
part of the city,
one sees a
magnificent
building filled
with arches on
either side. The
front section
resembles a
church. Adjacent
to it is an elegant
tower whose
upper portion
has collapsed.
This building
serves as a
public college for
the advancement
of knowledge
and is called
*Madre ze Imon
Conli-Chan*.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Within the city there are six prominent churches: the first is named *Gha toen Kjeomet*, dedicated to the daughter of one of their twelve Imams, namely **Hoflyn**, and **Sy Onoel Korføe**; the second, *Zeyd alla dien Ofeyn*; the third, *Sjeg noerbags*; the fourth, *Zadaed mier Mu bo met*; the fifth, *Chja tzicraeg*; and the sixth, *Mad-zijd nou*, or New Church. Outside the city is another notable settlement near the aforementioned bridge. I am informed that in addition to these churches, there were approximately 300 small ones resembling chapels where services were held. There are about 200 *Banjens* (market stalls). The city consists of 38 districts: 21 belonging to the *Heydere*, and 17 belonging to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Mamet ollaey;
the Jews are
estimated to
number around
700 households,
mostly consisting
of poor people
who live together
in a district of
the city and
largely earn their
living by making
wine. Some work
with gold, others
with silk. It is
believed that
they are
descendants of
the ancient Jews
who were exiled
from Jerusalem
to Babylon and
subsequently
settled here. The
number of
Indians residing
here is estimated
at around 1000
people. They
primarily craft
trinkets from
gold.

An unfortunate
fate befell the
Governor of
Gamron. ##
Reisen: A
Description of
the City

Having been
cleansed and
paid for lodging,
I am now
providing funds
to a usurer. The
Europeans here
are few in
number. The

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

most prominent
are two
Carmelites, one
of whom is a
Milanese named
Petro d'Al-kanter
di Sante Terefe,
a handsome man
with whom I
have spent much
time with
pleasure. The
other Father is a
Pole named
Sladislau, who
has been sent
here for the third
time. He has
spent his lifetime
here; having
already been in
Persia for 37
years, he now
reaches an age
of 73. There's
also an Italian
named
Francisco, Wine-
maker to the
English Society.
The Portuguese
have their own
wine-maker here
as well, to
prepare the
wines that are
annually sent to
Gamron and then
to India.

The buildings
and houses in
this city are
mostly
dilapidated; the
streets, if it rains
even a little,
become
practically

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

unusable, indeed impassable. In many places one must continue walking stooping under the eaves of the houses, especially in the Jewish quarter. On the roads, one hears much stench due to the multitude of drains that flow from the dwellings onto the public areas. This makes the air, which is not pure to begin with, even more unhealthy; it's evident on the people who are mostly pale and thin. Even the Europeans who reside here suffer from a sickness during the summer months. They die from what I do not know; they have a dangerous burial ground. For the jackals or wild dogs, which are numerous here, pull the corpses out of the graves at night, so that one sees many holes under the tombstones on the burial grounds. These

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

beasts,
descended from
dogs and foxes,
make a terrifying
noise at dusk,
resembling the
cries of humans.
I have
experienced this
during my first
journey in the
description of
Turkey.

The city's main
ornament is the
cypress trees,
which I have
never seen so
numerous or so
beautiful and tall
anywhere else.
Many large
gardens outside
the city are also
full of them, with
lovely avenues
that are a delight
to the eye. These
trees, planted in
good order,
stretch widely
around the city.
In the mountains
on the northeast
side, half an hour
from the city,
several buildings
appear where
some saints lie
buried. One of
the most
prominent is
called Baba-Koey,
or the Holy Place
of the Mountain:
because the saint
lived there in
solitude. This is

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

why the Persians
have great
reverence for it
and daily visit
the place. The
building has
several rooms.

Inside the outer
structure one
sees a square
fountain

surrounded by
some cypresses,
alongside

another tree
whose trunk I
found to be 30
palms thick.

From there, one
ascends with 62
steps, each about
a foot and 2 or 3
inches high, to
another building,
where one
reaches it with
yet another 5
such steps,
covered with a
dome. Here lies
buried the
aforementioned
hermit.

My intention
here was to
depict the city on
paper. But
unfavorable
weather and
strong winds
forced me to
retreat
downwards.

There I found a
beautiful, though
dilapidated,
structure built on
a rocky hill.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Below is a large fountain, now without water, and towards the side of the city a vast garden full of cypresses and other trees, alongside beautifully planted avenues; standing here across from the middle lane is another dilapidated building directly opposite the first. This garden is surrounded by an earthen wall. But everything lies desolate and abandoned, with no one tending to it. The place is called Ferradons or Paradise, inhabited for 200 years by a king whose name was Karanita. East of the city, about half an hour away on the slopes of the mountains, there used to be a significant old fortress named Kallaey's Fundus, of which only remnants remain now. I climbed it with great difficulty from the hillside and, looking around

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

above, found
several
remaining
sections of walls
built on the rock.
They are made of
small stones and
cement that is as
hard as flint.
From what can
be observed in
this remnant,
there must have
been a
circumference of
about half an
hour. Higher up
on this mountain
one sees that
another wall has
also been
erected.

On the summit of
the mountain lies
a heap of ruined
stones. From
which it can be
inferred that
there was once a
separate
fortress. On the
west side runs a
large section of
the wall, which
forms part of the
mountainside,
where you still
see remnants of
a higher wall
here and there;
also from the
outer wall, a
portion of some
high building in a
tower-like
fashion. This
undoubtedly
used to be a gate

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

through which to
enter. For here
one also finds the
main path
leading up the
mountain; the
place being
exceedingly
steep. One can
also see other
fragments of the
wall that were
attached to it. I
sketched this
view from the
southwest side,
where one... ##

Cornelis de
Bruin's
Observations

Observing three
or four remnants
of a dilapidated
building on the
ruins, with the
central section
now separated
from the others
having served as
a round tower
within the wall.

The image is
presented
alongside. One
sees in the plain:

RUINS, ON THE
MOUNTAIN
KALLAY
FANDUS.

a structure
largely in decay.
Here lies the
tomb of one of
the most
prominent
Persian poets,
named Sjegzady.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

The books of the
Peruvians
consistently
mention his
poetry; hence
their great
respect for his
tomb, which he
himself had built
400 years ago.
He was a Dervish
of Zjie-raes.
Twenty books
written in Arabic
and two in the
Persian language
are attributed to
him. This
building is
spacious, large,
and elegantly
constructed.
Adjacent to it
stands a deep
octagonal
fountain with
flowing water,
which is very
pleasing and
refreshing to
behold. One
descends to it via
some steps
between the
wall, where it is
surrounded by
reeds; although
the rim of the
well is enclosed
by a round wall,
allowing one to
clearly see into
the well. This
water flows
towards the side
of the city, and
for a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

considerable
distance under
another building,
which has
several other
beautiful
overflowing
fountains,
subsequently
spreading
further through
the land.

Regarding the
fish that swim
and play from
one fountain to
another, none
may be caught.
However, crabs
are also found in
this water, of
which I captured
some.

Surrounding
these buildings is
a proud row of
cypress trees.
There's also a
type of
watchtower,
similar to our
bleaching
grounds, where
much good-
looking material
is daily
displayed.

But returning to
the point we left
off, it should be
noted that on
this mountain I
found the view of
the city and the
surrounding
countryside more
beautiful;
therefore, a few

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

days later when
returning, I
chose a spot near
one of the
remaining
building
sections,
partially visible
in the image,
standing towards
the Oof-ten. ##

The Rise of
Artificial
Intelligence:
Opportunities
and Challenges

Artificial
intelligence (AI)
is rapidly
transforming our
world, impacting
everything from
healthcare and
transportation to
entertainment
and finance.

While AI offers
tremendous
potential for
progress and
innovation, it
also presents
significant
challenges that
must be
addressed
proactively.

The development
of sophisticated
algorithms and
machine learning
techniques has
enabled
computers to
perform tasks
previously
thought to be
exclusively

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases more accurately and develop personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, increasing safety and efficiency. Businesses are leveraging AI to automate processes, improve customer service, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement. As machines become capable of performing increasingly complex tasks, many workers may find their jobs automated out of existence.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

It is crucial for governments and businesses to invest in retraining programs and create new opportunities to mitigate this impact.

Furthermore, ethical considerations surrounding AI are paramount. Algorithmic bias can perpetuate existing societal inequalities if not carefully addressed. The potential for misuse of AI technologies, such as in autonomous weapons systems, poses a serious threat to global security.

Ensuring the responsible development and deployment of AI requires collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and industry leaders.

Transparency and accountability are essential principles. We must strive to create AI

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

systems that are fair, unbiased, and aligned with human values. International cooperation is also vital to establish common standards and guidelines for AI governance. The future shaped by AI will depend on our ability to harness its power while mitigating the risks it presents.

- **Machine**

Learning: A core technology enabling AI's capabilities. -

Algorithmic

Bias: Potential for unfair or discriminatory outcomes in AI systems. -

Ethical

Considerations:

Crucial aspects of responsible AI development and deployment. ##

The Rise of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire, a formidable power that spanned centuries and continents, emerged from humble

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

beginnings in
Anatolia during
the late 13th
century. Initially
a small Turkish
principality led
by **Osman I**, it
rapidly expanded
through strategic
alliances,
military
conquests, and
shrewd political
maneuvering.
The empire's
early successes
were largely due
to its highly
disciplined army,
including the
elite **Janissary**
corps—Christian
boys forcibly
converted to
Islam and
trained as
soldiers—and its
innovative use of
gunpowder
technology.

By the 15th
century, the
Ottomans had
conquered
Constantinople
in **1453**,
effectively
ending the
Byzantine
Empire and
establishing
Istanbul as their
vibrant capital.
This pivotal
event marked a
turning point in
world history,
solidifying

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Ottoman
dominance in the
Eastern
Mediterranean
and opening up
new trade routes
to Europe. Under
successive
sultans like
Mehmed II and
Selim I, the
empire continued
its relentless
expansion,
incorporating
vast territories
across North
Africa, the
Balkans, and the
Middle East.

The reign of
**Suleiman the
Magnificent**
(1520-1566) is
often considered
the golden age of
the Ottoman
Empire. He
oversaw
significant legal
reforms,
patronized the
arts and
sciences, and led
numerous
military
campaigns that
further expanded
the empire's
borders. His
legal code,
known as the
Kanun,
standardized
laws across
diverse regions
and contributed
to a period of

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

relative stability
and prosperity.
The Ottomans
also developed a
sophisticated
administrative
system, dividing
their vast realm
into provinces
governed by
appointed
officials.

However, despite
its impressive
achievements,
the Ottoman
Empire faced
numerous
challenges
throughout its
history. Internal
power struggles,
economic
difficulties
stemming from
fluctuating trade
routes, and
increasingly
powerful
European rivals
gradually eroded
its strength. The
discovery of new
sea routes to
Asia diminished
the importance
of Ottoman-
controlled land
routes, impacting
their revenue
streams.
Furthermore, a
series of military
defeats against
European powers
in the 17th and
18th centuries
exposed

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

vulnerabilities
within the
empire's
defenses.

By the 19th
century, the
Ottoman Empire
had become
known as the
“sick man of
Europe,”
struggling to
maintain its
territorial
integrity amidst
rising
nationalism
among its
diverse
populations and
increasing
pressure from
foreign powers
seeking to carve
up its remaining
territories.
Despite attempts
at modernization
and reform—
such as the
Tanzimat
reforms aimed at
westernizing the
empire's legal
and
administrative
systems—the
decline
continued,
culminating in its
dissolution after
World War I in
1922.

- **Osman I:**
Founder of the
Ottoman dynasty.
- **Janissaries:**

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Elite infantry
units composed
of Christian
converts. -

**Suleiman the
Magnificent:**

Sultan during the
empire's golden
age. - *Kanun*:

Suleiman's legal
code. - **Tanzimat**

Reforms: 19th-
century efforts to
modernize the
Ottoman Empire.

> "The world is
like a great sea,
and Istanbul is
its pearl." - A
common saying
reflecting the
city's importance
within the
empire. ##
Reisen

From the city,
designated by
No. 174. We also
distinguish it
with a five-digit
number.

Specifically, we
note that No. 1
means Ghatoen
Kjeomet; 2 Sjegh
zeyd Oddien, a
church of the
Turks, which is
abandoned; 3
Zeyt alla dien
offsyn; 4 Sjeg
noerbags; 5
Zadaed mier
Mdbomet; 6
Cha't Zjeraeg; 7
Mad-zjid nou of
Nieuwe Kerk.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Near these last two, one sees a large building that serves as the school, about which we have spoken. No. 8 means Bibie dokterroen, a large building where some tombs are located; 9 Zeyt mier altie hamfe, outside the city near the bridge Pol Zja Sade; 10 the garden named Chjaerbag; 11 Zey adoen, a village where a bridge over the river lies, bearing the name of the village; this bridge is 65 paces long; 12 the river Roetgome; 13 Seme Verdoneck, being the low mountains; 14 Koey Sjeg, the high mountains; 15 Ferrodous, or Paradys. On these mountains, a few steps down from the city I have sketched, there is a particularly deep well, hewn out of rock, whose mouth measures 15 feet in length and 8 in breadth.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

We dropped a stone into it, from which, after a moment, a strange sound emerged, as if animals were housed within. It was indeed so: for I found that there were doves there, constantly flying in and out. I measured the depth of the well once and again, but fruitlessly, since our rope did not reach that far; we split it, because it was fairly thick, and then reached the bottom. I found a depth of 420 feet, eleven inches. We also used large round balls made of oiled cloth, which we let drop into a burning iron scale to ascertain the net shape of the well. But due to the great depth, all we could see below the light was only its very small appearance. We also released the balls while they were burning within. But we found that the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

light disappeared
as it descended
and ascended;
from this we
inferred that the
rock did not go
straight down
and therefore an
entrance must
exist. Shortly
thereafter,
however, we saw
the light again.
This well
undoubtedly
served as a
water well. On
the same
mountain there
is another, but
smaller.

Fundus: which
name the
fortress, still
called Kallaej
Fundus, or
fortress of
Fundus,
retained. This
mountain would
also have been
surrounded by
the sea at that
time, which later
took a different
course. And this
was 6000 years
ago, when
construction of
the land in this
plain began
alongside the
city Zjie-raes,
where a
Sjemfchid then
lived, who ruled
the Perfect
Empire as

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

emperor and had
also been from
Perfepolis; as we
have already
noted here
before.

Perfepolis he
also believed was
built after Zjie-
raes, which was
also called
Schirus or Siras.

It is located
southwest of
Perfepolis in the
Farfi region on
the river

Roetgome, 12
common day's
journey from
Spahan, 23 or 24
also from
Gamron, whose
description is
entirely incorrect
in the Land
Descriptions and
maps. For there
it is felt to be
about equally
distant from
Spahan and
Ormus.

Outside the gate
of this city,
named Dervafj
Bagh-zjia
standing
northwest, where
on both sides a
half-round of the
upper tower can
still be seen, is a
beautiful
promenade,
named Koer-Zjia-
Bag, which
extends

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

northward
continuously to a
fore-way. one
king's garden.
He has the
King's Garden.

After walking
160 paces, at the
middle of the
road one finds
two short stone
pillars, followed
by 626 paces,
and then two
such pillars
again. A further
180 paces brings
one to the front
building of the
garden, so that
the length of the
same is 966
paces. After
passing this
building or
forehouse, one
sees a plantation
or promenade
with
exceptionally
beautiful large
cypress trees. Its
length is 620
paces, its width
20. It is generally
covered with
flowers in the
middle. One sees
a stately house
built on an
elevated place,
about 3 feet
high. Around the
house runs at the
same height a
water channel
and elegant
fountains, whose

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

two stand on
each corner of
the square
building. They
run through the
same channel
into one another.
Inside the house
are rooms
around, and in
the middle
thereof a large
hall with a dome
roofed over, from
outside
surrounded by
niches. Before
reaching this
building, one
sees at the
proper hand a
square fountain
which measures
85 paces from
one corner to the
other. On both
sides of the
mentioned road I
counted 72
beautiful cypress
trees; one of
them had a
branch that was
22 palms thick.
Beneath these
are also some
Cornelis de
Bruins

Ge
Zenaerboomen.
After the
mentioned house
stretches
another lane, at
whose beginning
one finds
cypresses and
further on,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Zenaerboomen.

It is in length
equal to the first,
as are other
lanes that lie
there. This
garden bears the
name of Baeg
Siae or Garden
of the King. I
surveyed it on
March 22nd,
which was the
beginning of the
Nouw-roes
festival: at which
time several
thousands of
people come to
display
themselves, to
amuse
themselves both
on the road and
in the garden,
just as happens
with us during
fair times; that
gave a very fine
impression.

To know the size
of the city, I
walked around it,
starting from the
house of the
Fathers, which
lies just outside
on the
northeastern
side of the same.
Then I turned to
the west and
after a quarter of
an hour arrived
at a small bridge
with two arches,
where a
watercourse

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

flows, which
from the
northeast runs
around the city,
taking its
beginning about
half an hour from
the old gate,
where, as said,
one first enters
the city, between
private houses.
From there it
flows through
the plains and
gardens from the
mountains. There
is water in it all
year round. After
another quarter
of an hour, one
has another
waterway
coming from the
southwest, which
loses itself, so
that one no
longer sees it
when
approaching the
city closely. A
quarter of an
hour further on
is another, and
on the
southwestern
side of the city
there are 2 or 3
standing waters
or pools
overgrown with
reeds and
shrubs, where
many waterfowl
reside, breeding
there. Here, as
around the city,
one finds the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

houses so
dilapidated that
one imagines
seeing a village.
On this side one
has a beautiful
landscape free of
grain and crops
up to the
mountains,
which lie about 2
hours southwest.
To return from
these standing
waters to the
place where I
had departed, I
still had a large
hour's work. So
that the city in
its circumference
encompasses two
full hours and a
quarter of an
hour. From the
Fathers'
dwelling, I
sketched a view
of the land,
where the river
flows through
the plain. I added
my own gardens
with their
cypresses,
alongside Mount
Kallaeÿ Fundus
with the remains
of the old
fortresses
depicted by
No. 175. All that
is to be known is
indicated with a
finger-pointing.
The number 1
points the way to
Spahan: 2 the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

chapel dedicated
to Saint Arie on
the southern
side; 3 the
chapel of Elias; 4
the Chjaer
garden; 5 Zieg
Zady's grave; 6
the house of the
Governor; 7 the
dilapidated
remains of the
old fortresses; 8
the river where
the caravans
going and
coming settle.

I also sketched
the view, as it
appears from
above when one
approaches the
city, between the
mountains. The
wooded area that
one sees on the
right-hand side
of this gate is a
garden in which
many European
graves are
located: among
which lies a
Dutchman
named Dirk van
Blokhoven,
under-clerk in
service to the
Company, who
died in the year
1666 on May
24th; a
Frenchman
named du Pont,
deceased 1665,
and other
Christians,
including four

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

clerical Fathers,
of whom the first
was buried in
1621, the second
in 1622, the third
in 1641, and the
fourth in 1664.

This depiction
you see on
No. 176, and
another made by
me sitting near
the gate; just as
one sees from
there the road to
the city, and a
portion of the
same, alongside
the water that
flows into the
lowlands
between the
mountains on the
right side.

I also put on
paper the view of
the way teng-
alla-agber, sitting
in front of the
bridge where the
church stands,
and subsequently
the shape of the
road, as appears
here beside it.

In the month of
February two
English nobles
from Spahan
arrived, one
named Gayer,
who had arrived
before my
departure from
there, the other
named Mainard
after him from
Turkey. I decided

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

that as soon as the weather was clear again after a long period of cold, rain and wind, with the sky clearing up, to ride with these gentlemen to a mountain located half an hour east of Zjieraes, on the right side of the plain. For we had been told that there were remains of an old building or church called Ma-zit Madre Sulemon, or Church Remains of a Church. I found this place to be 18 or 20 paces square on each side. One still finds three gateways, just as those at Perfepolis. A gate on the east, one on the northwest and the third on the northeast. They have an interior height of eleven feet, with a female image facing each other, as large as life, holding something in its hands, just as those at Perfepolis. At the gateway on the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

southeast, you
can see,
underneath on
both sides, nine
small images
beautifully
broken on the
rock-stone,
which show
themselves
above the ground
halfway through.
On the northwest
side lies a stone
in the manner of
a water basin.
Furthermore, it
is surrounded by
stones that are
laid closer
together. The
sidewall ## The
Face of 't L

The Face
Outside Zji-raes
>The wind
carried whispers,
tales of a face
unlike any other
- the *Gesicht*
van't L, the Face
of 't L. It was
said to reside
beyond Zji-raes,
a spectral
presence woven
into the very
fabric of the
shifting dunes
and echoing
canyons.

Legends spoke of
its origins, some
claiming it was a
fragment of a
forgotten god,
others a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

manifestation of
the desert's
ancient sorrow.
Regardless of its
true nature, the
Gesicht held an
undeniable
power, capable of
both immense
destruction and
profound
healing. Those
who sought it out
rarely returned,
and those who
did were forever
changed.

The people of Zji-
raes lived in fear
and reverence of
this enigmatic
entity. They
offered prayers
to appease it,
leaving gifts of
water and
precious stones
at the edge of
the desert,
hoping to ward
off its wrath. The
elders warned
against
venturing too far
beyond the city
walls, lest one
stumble upon the
Gesicht and be
consumed by its
otherworldly
gaze.

Yet, despite the
warnings, some
were drawn to
the mystery.
Driven by
ambition,
curiosity, or a

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

desperate need
for salvation,
they braved the
perilous journey
into the
unknown,
seeking to
unravel the
secrets of the
Face outside Zji-
raes. Their fates
remained
shrouded in
uncertainty,
adding another
layer to the
legend and
solidifying the
Gesicht van't L's
place as an
enduring
enigma.

- **Zji-raes**: The
walled city
bordering the
desert. - ***Gesicht
van't L***: Literally
“Face of 't L,” a
legendary entity
residing beyond
Zji-raes. - **The
Dunes and
Canyons**: Vast,
shifting
landscapes
surrounding Zji-
raes. ## The
Face Outside Zji-
raes

Gesicht buiten
Zji-raes. ##
Images in the
Vault

The discovery of
the *Ma-zjit*
Madre Sulemoen
—literally,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

“Mother Stone of
Souls”—was a
watershed
moment for
archaeologists
studying the
**Rotz
civilization.**

This vast
subterranean
complex,
unearthed
beneath the arid
plains of Xylos,
contains an
astonishing
collection of
sculpted reliefs
depicting scenes
from Rotz
mythology and
daily life.

The sheer scale
of the vault is
breathtaking; it
stretches for
nearly five
kilometers, its
walls lined with
thousands of
intricately
carved panels.

The artistry
displayed is
remarkable,
particularly
given the
apparent lack of
metal tools used
in their creation.
Scholars believe
that the Rotz
employed a
sophisticated
system of stone-
working
techniques
involving

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

abrasive
materials and
precise
hammering to
achieve such
detail.

> “The level of
craftsmanship is
simply
unparalleled,”
remarked

Dr. Elara Vance,
lead
archaeologist on
the project.

“We’ve never
seen anything
quite like it. The
way they
captured
movement and
emotion in solid
rock...it’s truly
extraordinary.”

One recurring
motif throughout
the vault depicts
beings with
elongated limbs
and large,
luminous eyes—
likely
representations
of the Rotz
deities. These
figures are often
shown
interacting with
smaller,
humanoid
creatures,
suggesting a
hierarchical
social structure.
Other panels
illustrate scenes
of agriculture,
hunting, and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

elaborate
ceremonial
rituals.

The *Ma-zjit*
Madre Sulemoen
also yielded
numerous
artifacts,
including
fragments of
pottery
decorated with
geometric
patterns,
polished stone
tools, and several
enigmatic
objects crafted
from an unknown
crystalline
material. The
purpose of these
latter items
remains a
mystery, though
some speculate
they may have
served as
ritualistic
implements or
even advanced
technological
devices.

The ongoing
excavation
promises to
reveal further
insights into the
Rotz, a
previously little-
understood
culture that
flourished in
Xylos millennia
ago. The
preservation of
this remarkable

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

site is
paramount, and
international
efforts are
underway to
ensure its
protection for
future
generations. ##
Journeys.

TOWARDS ALL-
ACBER.

For the portals
or passages have
shifted so much
that it
undoubtedly
came about
through an
earthquake. In
the middle, one
still sees the
most of the
upper
cornerstones.
The drawing,
which
encompasses
them all, you see
from the
Southwest side
at No. 178. A
quarter of an
hour further
Eastward, on a
hill, are some
ruined walls that
have run around
it. They say it
was a fortress.
For one sees the
large stones
cemented
together. It also
appeared to me
otherwise.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

A good quarter
of an hour
further from
several trees
alongside a
pleasant stream,
which takes its
beginning beside
a small rocky hill
and comes down
under the ground
from the nearby
mountains,
extending its
course further
Eastward in the
manner of a
river. We found it
in some places
deeper than a
man's height,
and many fish
there, of which,
having brought
nets with us, we
managed to
catch a good
load. We had our
midday meal
under the shade
of the
aforementioned
rock and trees.
This place is
called Kadamga,
that is,
unexpected
welcome. From
here we rode on
for half an hour
further, to get a
view of several
statues in a rock.
We found there
three separate
places, and some
things roughly
and clumsily

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

carved into the
mountain rock.
In one old place
one saw two
figures, with
carvings; one has
his hand on the
hilt of a large,
broad sword. In
the second, one
sees a man who
has a large round
thing on his
head. In the
third, which is
slightly lower
than the middle
and stands
approximately
level with the
first, one sees an
image that wears
something
resembling a
mitre, holding
forth its fine
hand on the hilt
of a rapier, as
mentioned
above. But
everything has
deteriorated so
much that little
can be
recognized. Here
alongside is a
garment.

Ss 3 ## Cornelis
de Bruins

A small standing
water body
occupied by
several *Ze-naer*
and other trees,
as one can see in
No. 179.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

From here we retraced our steps and arrived back within the city just after sunset with a bright moonlit sky.

Just then three Frenchmen came from Gamron; one was managing his lantern's trade, and the other two had previously served for the French Company and were now seeking to return to their homeland via Spahan. They also departed shortly thereafter with the English, as mentioned before. As far as I am concerned, on the 17th of the month I received a letter from Gamron informing me that a ship from Batavia had arrived on February 26th, but it was unknown when it would return; furthermore, our Head, Mr. Kaftelcin, had also received his summons and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

permission to
return to
Batavia. This was
not to occur until
the month of
August. I
therefore
decided to return
to Spahan,
rather than
endure the
hottest and most
unhealthy time
currently present
in Gamron, to
undertake my
aforementioned
journey with the
mentioned
gentleman.

I then departed
on the 26th of
the month at 3
p.m. from Zjie-
raes, having no
other thoughts
but to complete
this trip alone.
But arriving at
the village of
Sergoen at 8
p.m., I found, to
my surprise, the
gentlemen who
had traveled
ahead of me.
With them, I
continued the
following day
through the
plain, which was
so waterlogged
that the pack
animals were
diverted onto
another path.
Nevertheless, we
kept to the right

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

road towards the
previous bridge
over the river
leading to
Perfepolis, where
the

aforementioned
gentlemen
wished to visit
the monuments.

As my pack
animal was with
the others and I
did not know
whether they
would continue
further across a
distant bridge
over the river to
reach Perfepolis,
I found myself
drawn along with
the company. We
arrived at the
village of Mier-
chaskoen an
hour after noon
and decided to
ride straight to
Perfepolis from
there, and to
have our midday
meal in the cold
kitchen. After
that, I led the
company to view
the remaining
relics they
wished to see.

For this purpose,
we rode back to
the village where
our pack animals
had arrived
earlier. Here we
spent the night
in the
karwanfera and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

departed again
the following
morning from
there via Naxi
Ruftan; along a
road where we
had to turn
eastwards
around the
waterways to a
village half an
hour away, and
further on.
Following this,
we returned to
the
aforementioned
tombs and took a
course
northwards
along the eastern
side of the
mountains.

Having traveled
for half an hour,
we came upon a
place where we
found 23 holes
carved into the
rocks; the largest
had a depth of
approximately 3
feet, with a width
and height of
little less. We
could not
ascertain what
they were used
for.

On this side, we
also found a
good landstrip
partially
cultivated,
alongside several
villages where
we found a large
number of sheep

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

and goats, and
observed how
the young were
separated from
the old; which
amused us
greatly.

While frequently
laughing at each
other's
misfortune as we
rode through this
plain, attempting
to shoot at
targets, it
happened that 3
or 4 of them ran
into something,
causing some
farmers' horses,
including several
mares, to run
loose across the
field. Even the
horses we were
riding could no
longer be
restrained, so
when one from
our company's
horse came upon
a deep ditch and
was unable to
control the
animal, he was
forced to throw
himself off the
side of the ditch,
slightly injuring
his leg in the
process. We
spent several
hours retrieving
our horses,
which kept
running on
ahead. This
amusing incident

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

caused us to
burst into
laughter with
each other, as
none of the
entire company
had escaped
unscathed. For
anyone who
remained seated
was compelled to
chase after the
galloping horses
that were
leading, so that
they would not
disappear from
view. The land
also lay partially
underwater, so
we sometimes
needed half an
hour to find our
scattered coins
and other
equipment. We
regarded this
only as a comical
play; which
having been
acted out, we
departed from
the plain into the
mountains.
Having arrived
here and passed
by a diagonally
lying rock, my
horse stumbled. I
threw myself off
and slightly
injured my arm;
which seemed to
be something
that would
inevitably
happen after the
previous

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

incidents. We
continued— ##
Travels

Driven by several
locations, where
we found 3, 4, or
even 5 or 6 holes
in the rock, as in
the
aforementioned
[locations], we
then left behind
those mountains
where the
fortifications had
been, to the right
side. Then we
traveled through
a river that flows
through the land,
constantly
keeping to the
east side of the
plain which I had
crossed on the
west side during
my journey to
Zergoen, and
after an hour's
ride arrived at
the village of
Majien with the
setting sun,
where, having
traveled for 9
hours, we stayed.

With the evening
fell rain, which
lasted all night:
forcing us to
remain until an
hour past noon.
Finally, riding
onward mostly
along the river,
which, when I
had passed it dry,
was now filled

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

with water upon
our return, we
arrived at the
karwanfera
Imanfada at 6
o'clock, located 4
hours from
where we had
spent the night.
Here we halted
and the next day
continued again
at 6 o'clock to
the *karwanfera*
Aed-loen: there
strengthening
our hearts with
the cold
provisions we
had brought
along, and some
fish that were for
sale there. An
hour before
sunset we
arrived again at
the *karwanfera*
Aes-paes, having
traveled seven
hours from the
last resting
place. It was
particularly cold
due to the strong
north wind which
we had mostly
experienced
before, and
which had frozen
the water in
several places.
On the last day
of the month we
set off again at 7
o'clock and
encountered at
midday the
ruined

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

karwanfera
Dombacyne,
where much
water flowed
through and over
the land. We also
found a great
deal of wild
game, some of
which we shot.
At 4 o'clock we
arrived in the
karwanfera Kos-
kiefar, after
having traveled
for 6 hours. In
the village lies a
mountain or hill
of common
height, on which
the locals say
that there used
to be a small
fortification. Now
one sees a few
houses standing
against it,
running along
the common road
like the upper
part of several
houses, over
which one
passes. I believe
I have never
seen a place so
well suited for a
coming-down as
those where the
Evangelist Mark
speaks in
Chapter 2; where
the afflicted man
was let down
through the roof
on a bed by four
men.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

On April 1st in
the morning at 6
o'clock we
subsequently set
off on our way
with much ease,
and
strengthened our
hearts somewhat
at the bridge
that lies over the
river Pol Siakoe.
An hour after
noon we passed
by the
karwanfera
Kievielar, and
arrived four
hours later at
Egerdoe, having
thus traveled for
7 hours. The next
day we continued
our journey and
lingered a little
near a flowing
stream. At 4
o'clock we
arrived at Jes-
degaes. On the
northwest side,
where there are
now no houses,
upon arriving
here we saw
again on the
mountain part of
a wall that would
have remained,
as the rumor has
it, from an
ancient
fortification. This
mountain is
entirely rock,
where one sees
very large
chunks lying

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

down both on
and alongside
the road. On the
third day of the
month we set off
again at 7
o'clock and
refreshed
ourselves in the
village of
Abnabaet, so
much said, The
village as
Kandywater,
because the
Kandyfui-
Abnabaet. water
there is very
good. At this
village one sees
still a square
wall of earth,
remaining from a
Kafteel, built
during the time
of King
Abbasden the
Great. After
midday we rode
to the right side
past the village
of Abbaas-abaat,
The village
where one sees
two dove towers,
being Abbas-the
first that one
meets, and the
last-abaat. Still
further onward
traveling to the
village of Mag-
zoet-begi, which
is somewhat
larger than the
last mentioned,
we stayed there
in the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

karwanfera,
which was built
of earth. Now we
had traveled 6
hours again.
Here we also
found a dove
tower. On the 4th
day of the month
we drew with the
daylight again
through the
plain, where
many villages,
gardens, and
dove towers are
seen, all lying
close together.
The mountains
are a large hour
apart from each
other. We had the
Sneubergen
behind us, and
found it quite
warm here.

An hour before
noon we arrived
at the village of
Kominsfa, now
having traveled 5
hours. The next
day with the
rising sun we
were again on
horseback, and
arrived at 11
o'clock at
Majaer, 5 hours
from the last
place. On the 6th
day of the month
I rode 2 hours
before daylight
with Monfr. de
Lettoille from
there, leaving
the other

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

company at that
place, which
intended to
comprehend the
journey to
Spahan in two
days. At 9 o'clock
we halted, letting
the baggage
beasts precede.
An hour later we
met the
interpreter of the
English, named
Davoed, who had
previously served
as an interpreter
for the English,
now being
rejoined. He
treated us with
some bowls of
wine, and thus
we parted from
each other.
Subsequently we
arrived at the
karwanfera
Mierfa elrafa,
where we to ##
XLV. CHAPTER.

**Notable Garden
of the King and
his Mother
Outside
Spahan. News
from India.
Fallen
Fortification on
Mount Dief-
selon. A
Notable
Persian Lord
Visited by the
Dutch Head.
Arrival of a
New Head.**

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Shortly thereafter, I resumed my lodging in the *karwanfera*, despite the insistence of Captain Kaftelein, who wished me to remain in the Company's house. After resting, I went to visit some of my good friends, without forgetting Monsieur Jean Billon, a Frenchman, who had arrived at this court as envoy for the Knights of Malta after my departure in December, receiving his accreditation on March 22nd of the year 1705. He came shortly thereafter to greet Captain Kaftelein in the afternoon, and was dismissed at dinnertime. We had celebrated Easter with the same lord on April 12th and 13th; therefore, on the 20th I joined the English lords to perform the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

customary
blessing for the
Easter feast. I
was well
received and
very warmly
welcomed in
good company
both during the
afternoon and
evening, so much
so that I stayed
there overnight.
The following
day, I also
greeted the
Fathers within
the city and at
Julfa, along with
Mr. Jan Oets, to
return their
felicitations
which they had
offered to our
Head. This
continued for the
next day as well.

On the 25th, the
Days of
Mourning of
Huffleyn began
again. For two
days thereafter, I
rode with
Captain Kaftlein
before dawn
outside the city,
taking the road
through the
grand newly
constructed
garden of the
King, which
required a circuit
of approximately
five hours. We
entertained
ourselves by

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

observing these airy places and returned within the city shortly after midday.

At this time, we received certain news concerning the victory of the *Bontgenoo* over those at Hochstedt in the French territories; the victories of the *Bontgenoo* of the English and Dutch, who were noted here, were withheld.

Now the month of May arrived, renewing the customary circuits of Huffleyn. The same displays were carried out as before, although somewhat altered, since they never always display the very same thing.

On the eighth of this month, I rode with the aforementioned Jan Oets to a notable garden of the King, named Garden of the King's Majesty. This lies three good hours

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

to the east of
Spahan in a very
pleasant plain
full of villages
and gardens,
which, perched
on the heights of
a final passage
between two
separated
mountains,
create an
enjoyable sight.
Here are
stationed some
guards to receive
the tolls from the
toll houses,
goods that are
carried through
here. An hour
from there one
arrives at the
aforementioned
Garden, which is
divided into two
separate parts,
both enclosed by
a particular wall.
In one of these,
one sees a large
body of water
full of ducks and
other waterfowl.
One sees many
water birds in it;
it is pleasant to
observe. One
also sails
through it with
several small
rowing boats.
Adjacent to this
stands a building
that is partly
dilapidated, so
that nothing
royal can be seen

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

there or on the garden itself. A great stretch across the land is a beautiful waterway whose path extends towards irrigating the garden. Besides these are still several other waterways. There is also a large long lane through which one comes along this road.

From this garden we still— ##
Travels

After traveling for half an hour further to the garden of the King's Mother, called Mar-jambeeck, we arrived there early at eight o'clock and with insight to amuse ourselves with fish: for which we had taken two nets with us. We also got a good sod from there for half an hour, causing the air to tremble so that the next day we could resume this amusement in the Roet-gonna river, which has its course there,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

covered by a long, slender bridge. Here we caught so many fish that we sent a portion of it to Mr. Kafttelein on two separate journeys. We also used the rudder, with which we shot 20 blue pigeons.

Continuing our journey and helping ourselves with the cold kitchen, we arrived within Spania just before midnight with a strong machine.

On the 13th of the month, the French Envoy visited our Head Officer, who entertained him at dinner that evening. We visited him in turn the next day, and parted after two hours of staying.

On the 28th of the month, Mr. Kafttelein announced to all those under his service within the Dutch Company that Mr. Willem van Hoorn, General of India, had absconded from

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

his position, and
that Mr. Joan van
Hoorn was
appointed in his
place. With this,
he released them
from the oath
they had taken to
the old General
and instructed
them to take it to
the new one. The
letters from
Batavia arrived,
which also
brought this
news, and were
read aloud to all,
and after the end
of each letter,
three times all
the small pieces
of faith,
according to the
custom of the
places in which
the Company has
its cantons. This
happened here in
the garden of the
residence of the
Company, in the
Talael, where a
spring-ing
fountain stands
in the middle.
The rest of the
day was spent
drinking healths,
marking four
weeks, and other
joyful signs.
Shortly after,
came the Feast
of Pentecost,
which we
solemnly
celebrated with

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Mr. Kafttelein, as
the yearly
custom also
brought.

Shortly
thereafter I
learned that
some remnants
of antiquity
outside Spania
were to be seen.
This prompted
me to go there
with the
aforementioned
Jan Oets. We
arrived an hour
before daybreak
at the mountain
Dief-felom, or
Reuzenbergh
(Giant's
Mountain),
located about 3
hours east of
Spania, on the
north side of the
Zenderoe river,
where different
mountains are
separated from
each other in the
plain. Those who
live nearby
believe that
giants used to
live here in
previous times,
and the
mountain got its
name from them.
This mountain is
divided by a
gorge from the
other, through
which the water
takes its course
by overflowing.

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

On the peak of
the section that
one first
encounters, and
which rises in
height like a
shepherd's
crook, most of it
appears, except
that on the S.
West side one
sees the wall of a
strong fort that
was there. This
crowns the top of
the mountain.
My curiosity
could not be
completely
satisfied to
explore the
difficulties of the
rocks, which no
one outside our
surveyor could
climb due to the
great heights
and constant
brokenness, as
there is no path
along which one
can come. He
also approached
the wall but
could not go
further.
Therefore I
cannot testify to
what was inside:
this much that
the mountain is
particularly hard
and iron-like.
Meanwhile, our
hunter
volunteered to
reach the other
mountain, which

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

is considerably larger, being visible from us, so that if he encountered anything worthy of remark, he might report it back, so that we, if possible, could also go there. We waited for him for a whole hour in vain, and therefore decided to return down along the aforementioned gorge, which cost us some effort. When we reached the exit, where another hour had passed, we saw our hunter on the side of the mountain, where we saw him standing for a long time in an overhanging position, how he would descend again, because the rocks sloped so steeply. Finally, he performed his perilous descent, which was a sight to behold. For he held himself with hands and feet to some protruding pieces and holes in the rocks, and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

let himself down
downwards,
hampered
meanwhile with
his rudder, which
hung over his
body with a belt.
He came off
safely, and when
asked why he
hadn't come
back along the
same way, he
replied that he
couldn't have
done so due to
the danger of the
path, which was
so difficult that
he had to crawl
on hands and
knees in many
places; it wasn't
possible for us to
visit.

The account he
brought us
began with this:
that on this
mountain, which
lies east of the
first mentioned
part, there are
three pits dug
out of the rock,
whose mouths
have a depth of
10 or 12 feet
(approximately 3
meters), having
in one an iron
chain, about an
arm thick,
fastened into the
rock. This
extends from ##
Cornelis de

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Bruins' Account
of the Mines

From one side to
the other of the
pit,
approximately a
man's height
above ground.

This pit lies
somewhat lower
than the other
two in the
mountain and
slopes
downwards, also
being wider than
the others. He
added to his
account that he
had thrown some
large stones into
these pits, but
hadn't heard
them return from
only one of them,
because the
stones were
carried away for
a long time by
the excessive
depths of the
pits. This was
confirmed by
testimony.

Whether they are
entirely dry or
filled with water
beneath could
not be
ascertained. He
also reported
that he had
found at that
location a ruined
street, along
which
dilapidated
buildings stood

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

on either side,
and in the
middle, seven
vaulted cisterns.
Still standing
were two
bridges, also
ruined but still
passable,
approximately 3
feet wide and 10
long. These
served to travel
from one village
or neighborhood
to another. They
extend over a
cistern. His first
encounter was
with a road or
street that,
according to his
estimate, had a
width of 150
paces. Several
rooms were still
visible within
these buildings.
The mountain is
level above. A
depiction of the
aforementioned
mountain is
shown here
alongside, drawn
from the South
side, where one
can clearly
observe the wall
constructed on
top. This
mountain was
once frequented
by robbers who
were
subsequently
driven away to
protect their

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

possessions. To prevent further access, some rocks were then blasted away.

**BERG DIEF-
SELON
(Thieves'
Mountain)**

Upon our return, we proceeded along the river, crossing it via a stone bridge that was partially broken.

Subsequently, approaching near the aforementioned King's garden, called Goes-jeron, we drove through the river to spend the remainder of the day there with the cold provisions we had brought with us; as it was still two hours before noon. In between, we cast our net into the river but with little success. Therefore, we sent out our people to search. They returned with a good catch, from which we sent a portion up to the upper deck, keeping the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

remaining
portion for our
evening meal. At
six o'clock, we
departed from
there. ## Reisen

en quamen dus
ten 8 uren weder
binnen de stad.

Kort hier aan
reed ik met den
Heer Kaftlein
naer Mierfa-
about-aleb,
Geheimschryver
zyner Hoogheid
den

Ryxbef-tierder,
die ons eenige
dagen te voren
had

uitgenoodigt. Wy
quamen daer des
morgens ten agt
uren aan: en als
wy daer een uur
hadden

doorgebracht
met het rooken
van Tabak, en
drinken van den
gewoonlyken
drank, onder het
voorzetten van
konfituren en
fuikerwerk, be-
gaf zich de
gemelde Heer
met ons Op-
perhoofd in een
ander vertrek,
latende ons
verzelt van
eenige zyner
vrienden. Een
half uur daer na
quamen de
Heeren weder by

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

ons, wanneer de
fpyzen en allerlei
vruchten naer
den tydt des
jaers opgedifcht
werden. De
drank was veleli:
eenige als
Limoenade of
Serbet; eenige
wit en warm
genaemt
Gaelaeb-nabat,
ook Bidmus-
nabat, dat
eigentlyk roze-
water met fuiker
toegemaakt is.
Verscheide
waren ook kout,
en bruin en geel
van kleur, die
byzonder
aengenaem
waren, gelyk wy
voorheen van
den Bid-mus
gezet hebben.
Hier in werpen
zy zeker groen
zaet, dat droogh
zynde zwart
wort, genaemt
Togmet-golfa.

Hier wel onthaelt
zynde trokken
wy een uur na
den middagh
wech. Onder-
tuifchen verftond
ik dat deze
nodiging was
geschiedt door
laft van den
Ryxbeftierder,
die dit onthaal
wel binnen zyn
huis zou

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

aengeregt
hebben, had hy
niet willen
myden de
verscheide
gedagten, die uit
dit bezoek
zouden zyn
opgenomen
geweest. Voor
zoo veel ik kon
uitvor-ichen
begreep ik dat
het Hof gaerne
ge-wilt had dat
de Maetschappy
de verlof-fing der
mensen, die in
den voorleden
jare eene
bedevaert naer
Mecha gedaen
hebbende, in het
wederkeeren
over zee door
Moskette
Arabiers,
leggende in het
inkomen van de
Perfaensch golf,
ge-vangen
waren, te weegh
bragt, en zich
liet gebruiken tot
het vereffenen
der ge-schillen,
gerezen tuffchen
de Perfanen en
de gemelde
Arabiers, zonder
dat het Hof, naer
het scheen, egter
weten wilde dat
het zich daer
mede bemoeide.
De 19, 20, en 21
der maent waren
de dagen, die de

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Perfaenen voor
ongelukkig
houden.

Waerom'er toen
weinigh ge-arbeit
wert, en de
meeste winkels
ge-floten bleven.

Den 26 der
maent quam in
den mor-genfont
hier een looper
der

Maetschappy,
gericht aan den
Heer Kaftlein
met eenen brief
van den Heere
Willem Bakker
Jakobs zoon, die
hier kwam om de
plaats van ons
Opperhoofd te
be-kleeden. Hy
gaf hier in te
verftaan dat hy
reedts te Jes-
dagaes was
aengekomen; dat
ontrent gereken
t Wort van
Spahan 25

uren af te
leggen, en den
27 hier stondt te
zyn. De Heer
Kaftlein gaf hier
op laft aan zyner
Stedehouder en
andere be-
ampten der
Maetschappye
des avonts van
Spahan te
trekken, om
dezen Heer in 't
gemoot te ryden,
om hem te

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

verwel-komen. Ik
oordeelende van
mynen pligt te
zyn deel te
nemen aan dezen
uittogt voegde
my by het
gezelschap. Het
ver-trek gingh
ten 7 uren aan,
begaande ons
gezelschap in 23
personen te
paert nevens de
bedienden, waer
van de
Stalmeester het
handpaert van
den Heer
Kaftlein ne-vens
zich leide. Agt
loopers waren
hier by, alle
gekleedt naer
het gebruik des
lants by
diergelyke
voorvallen. Maar
wy hebben hier
boven daer van
gespro-ken, en
de verbeeldingh
daer van gege-
ven. Nogh waren
by ons negen
Benja-nen of
Indianen te paert
met 4 loopers,
zoo dat het getal
44 menschen
uitmaak-te. Ten
tien uren rultten
wy een wei-nigh
aan de vervalte
karwanfera
Margh: van waer
we voortrokken
tot de kar-

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

wanfera Mierfa-
alie-reja, mede
ten deele
vervallen. Wy
quamen daer
ontrent
middernagt ten.
Den 27 der
maent re-den wy
ten 4 uren na
den middagh een
uur verder voort,
zynde
middelwylen
nogh twee
Frangoisen, en
een Armenisch
Koopman, ons
hier bygekomen.
Het was dezen
dagh zoo warm,
en de wint zoo
heet, als ik nogh
noit hier te lande
ondervonden
had. Des floegen
wy ons in de
schaduwe aen
den voet van het
ge-bergte
Ortsjoeire neder,
houdende daer
ons avontmael
met byzondere
vrolykheit. Hier
onthielt zich ook
een Perfaensch
Heer in een grot
van het
gebergte, om de
frische lucht te
genieten. Hy had
zy-ne tenten in
het vel, dewyl hy
daer op-zicht van
wegen den
Koningh te
nemen had over

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

het graven
eeniger
waterput-ten. Hy
ons aenkommen
vernomen heb-
bende zond ons
eenige
ververschingen
van vruchten,
niëvens een
groot ftuk ys,
denkende zonder
twyffel dat wy
des noo-digh
hadden, waer in
hy zich
bedroogh. Wy
aenvaerdden het
egter
beleefdelyk, en
erkenden de
moeite van den
brenger. Om van
onzen kant ook
te toonen dat wy
wiffen wat wel
leven was,
zonden wy twee
onzer bedienden
naer hem toe
met twee
schotelen vol
vruchten, nevens
een ftuk ys
driemaal zoo
groot dan wy
ont-fangen
hadden. Hy liet
ons bedanken
zonder egter iets
aan de brengers
te ge-ven,
volgende hier in
de Perfaensch
ka-righeid.

Ontrent 8 uren
kregen wy op het
ge-bergte het

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Maersjal of
fakkellicht in 't
komt van het
Nieu Op-
perhoofd, dat
voor het nieuwe
Opperhoofd
gedragen wert
volgens de wyze
dezer landen
ontrent luiden
van aenzien, die
des nagts over
wegh reizen. Wy
stegen dan ##
XLVI. CHAPTER

Second
Departure from
Spahan.
Arrangement and
Manner of
Traveling.
Various Plant
Growths. Wild
Boars. Burial
Place of a King's
Son. Another
Notable Grave.
Numerous
Mosquitoes.
Arrival at Zie-
raes.

According to our
decision, we
departed on July
15th in the
evening at ten
o'clock. We took
this opportunity
with foresight,
without
informing anyone
of the journey, in
order to avoid
the company of
many friends
who would have
accompanied the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Kaftelein.

Because this Lord had spent many years of his residence within this city in all gentleness and friendship, which he maintained not only with the Christians but even with the Persians, he could not forgo this formality, which would have been unpleasant for him. For many of the Persians were ready to accompany him, and therefore kept asking him about the time of his departure. Even the Bishop of the Armenians did so, who was obligated to the **Opperhoofd** by numerous services.

The Lord's Stallion rode with his hand-horse in front, followed by two outriders and six runners. Then came the Baker accompanied by a Frenchman. Here arrived the *Kalian* or tobacco flask carrier, sitting on a *Jagtan*; of which

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

equipment we have spoken before. Upon this followed the box-bearer, that is, a servant who carried linen and other necessary items for dressing. Behind him came a water carrier, who brings water in a leather bag hanging under the horse's belly. Then two beaters or falconers. Two cooks kept themselves by the loaded beef. Riding out front were two servants with the *Mafraffen*, that is, large oblong bags in which bedding is wound up, along with a beater or sweeper, who prepares the places where one arrives. Four black slaves also remained here, along with a torchbearer and 17 men on horseback, and still 6 runners.

The Lord's Lady had with her two Dutchmen, who were in service of the Company, one a bookkeeper, the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

other an
assistant by way
of provision. She
had an outrider
alongside two
runners. A
Kafualeider
walking held the
reins steadily,
followed by
another who led
four slave girls.
There also sat a
servant on the
Jagtan
accompanied by
a torchbearer: so
that her
following
amounted to 32
people, among
whom 9 foot
runners were
counted.

After the Baker
had welcomed us
on the 28th of
the month with
the midday meal,
we departed at
four o'clock and
arrived shortly
before nightfall
at Spanhan,
where he was
received in the
courtyard of the
Company and
welcomed by the
firing of three
cannon shots.
These pieces also
sounded upon
the approach of
his Lady, who, to
avoid coming
into the city
during daylight,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

arrived an hour
after nightfall.
She was a Dutch
lady, but born in
India. The
Kaftelein
received her
politely and
welcomed her
with a meal.

On the last day
of the month, the
King's players
were heard
playing lightly,
also throughout
the night and
longer, because
the feast was
being held of
Baba-Soedsta
adien, about
which we have
spoken before.
On the eighth,
the birthday of
the Prophet
Mahomet was
celebrated. Upon
this, people
began to play
lightly again in
the evening,
lasting through
the following day.
This is why most
shops remained
closed.

On the 12th and
13th of the
month I made
everything ready
for the journey,
taking leave of
my friends, and
bringing all my
goods to the

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

lodging place,
where I stayed
on the
fourteenth,
because the
Kaftelein had
firmly settled
that he would
depart the
following day.

Reisen

Die bewiesenen
Geheimnisse,
wobei der
kleinste nicht die
Last war, die mir
zu meiner Zeit
widerfuhr. Der
Herr Kaftelein
jedoch, nicht
geneigt mit dem
Druck dieser
Pflichten,
begnügte sich
mit dem Lob, das
er in Spahan
hinterließ, wo er
durch seine
Freundlichkeit
und seinen
Umgang mit
allen Menschen
Zuneigung
gewonnen hatte.
Er willigte daher
nirgends anders
ein als im Antrag
seines
Futterknechts
Jan Oets und des
Dolmetschers
François Sahid,
seinem alten
Freund, die ihn
ausgeleiteten.
Außer ihnen
bestand unser
Gefolge aus 41

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Personen, von
denen 30 zu
Pferd ritten.
Unter diesem
Gefolge waren
vier
Niederländer,
der Herr
Kaftelein, der
Hofmeister
Zypestein, David
van den Zande,
der vor kurzem
aus Aleppo bei
mir ankam, und
ich. Die Tochter
des Herrn
Kafteleins reiste
mit ihrer
Dienstmagd in
der *Kafia*,
begleitet von
einigen Sklaven
und Sklavinnen,
die im
vergangenen
Jahr
vorausgeschickt
worden waren.

Unsere
Reiseweise war
ungefähr so, wie
wir bereits
erwähnt haben.
Ständig wurden
Köche und vier
Diener mit
Teppichen,
Decken,
Bettzeug und
anderen
Notwendigkeiten
vorweg
geschickt, damit
wir bei unserer
Ankunft einen
vorbereiteten

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

Aufenthalt finden
würden.

Zwei der
wichtigsten
Diener ritten zu
Pferd neben der
Kafia der Tochter
des Oberhaupts,
um die Mauren,
denen sie auf
dem Weg
begegnen
könnten, aus
dem Weg zu
gehen. Dazu
gehörten zwei
Fußläufer, von
denen einer ein
Armeener war,
der den Mund
der *Kafia* führte.
Dieses Gefährt
ist in der Art
eines Tragstuhls
oder Sessels
gefertigt, mit
rotem Stoff
rundherum und
oben verkleidet
und behangen.
Hierin kann ein
Mensch bequem
sitzen. Ein *Mund*
hat oft einen
solchen
Trageapparat an
beiden Seiten
hängend. Kamele
auch: aber dort
gibt es keinen
solchen Komfort.
Bei dieser *Kafia*
befindet sich
immer der
Sjarvadaer oder
Futtermeister
des Viehs, um zu
überwachen, ob

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

etwas auf dem
Weg von seiner
Herde abhanden
kommt und dies
wieder in
Ordnung zu
bringen und das
Gute innen und
außen zu lassen.
Dieser *Kafia* geht
gewöhnlich eine
halbe Stunde
voraus. So war
es auch mit
unserem: so dass
wir nachts das
Fackellicht
sahen, das sie
begleitete.
Dieses Licht wird
mit Einbruch der
Dunkelheit
angezündet. Das
Vieh lässt man
vorab gehen.
Dennoch ritten
wir es oft vorbei.

Mit diesem
Gefolge also am
genannten Tag
aus Spahan
abgeritten,
kamen wir gegen
zwei Uhr nach
Mitternacht in
die
Karawanserei,
genannt Mierfa-
resalefa. Am
Morgen dort
empfing uns der
Dolmetscher
Sahid wunderbar
mit den Speisen,
die er mit sich
genommen hatte.
Nachmittags
verließen uns die

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

indischen oder
bengalenischen
Makler, die mit
uns gekommen
waren, und
kehrten nach
Spahan zurück.
Wir zogen um
fünf Uhr wieder
fort und kamen
eine Stunde nach
Mitternacht in
der
Karawanserei
Majaer, wo unser
Dolmetscher uns
auf gleiche Weise
empfang. Die Zeit
von fünf Uhr
nach Mittag
näherte sich nun:
und die Flut kam
an, dass die
Freunde, so weit
gereist, sich zu
Fuß
zurückzogen.
Dies verursachte
einige Unruhe,
nicht ohne
Tränen um die
alte und
aufrichtige
Freundschaft des
Herrn Kaftlein
und dieses
François Sahid,
wodurch auch
das Herz von
Oets getroffen
wurde, der dem
Herrn Kaftlein
nun einen Vater
verlor. Es musste
jedoch so sein.
So
verabschiedeten
wir uns auf dem

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

gemeinsamen
Weg, nicht weit
von der
Karawanserei.
Anschließend
hielten wir
zweimal an
einem fließenden
Fluss an und
kamen bei
Mitternacht in
der
Begräbnisstätte
Zja-resfa, um
dort zu bleiben.
Hierzu schickten
wir einige Leute
voraus, um
sicherzustellen,
dass ein
Aufenthalt
vorbereitet war,
den man den
Aufsehern des
Ortes
beantragen
konnte. Sie
fanden unsere
Bitte
willkommend,
wohlwissend,
dass sie dafür
eine gute
Vergütung
erwarten
konnten. Zu
diesem Zweck
ließen sie das
Volk, das dort
gewöhnlich
kommt,
mehrmals aus
dem Weg gehen
und machten
einen Halt in
Korog, um der
Sache der
Frauen, die wir

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

bei uns hatten,
gerecht zu
werden. So
genossen wir
hier unsere Ruhe
in Freiheit und
viel Vergnügen
an der Heiterkeit
des Ortes, von
dem ich das
Aussehen
zusammen mit
dem einer Quelle
auf Papier
skizzierte, wie
hier zu sehen ist.
Wir blieben hier
bis zum
neunzehnten des
Monats. Nach
Mitternacht
zogen wir um
fünf Uhr wieder
fort, rittend
durch die alte
zerstörte Stadt
Cominsja, aber
eine halbe
Stunde vom
genannten Grab
entfernt.
Nachdem wir die
Hälfte des Weges
zurückgelegt
hatten, kamen
wir an den
Garten Baba-
Ziel, wo uns
neben einem
fließenden Fluss
der Kaffee
bereitstand und
das Fackellicht
zum Schutz vor
der Dunkelheit
der Nacht
angezündet
wurde. Es war

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

eine Stunde vor
Mitternacht, als
wir in der
Karawanserei
Magfoet-begi
ankamen; von wo
aus wir am
nächsten Tag
wieder abzogen
und sieben oder
acht Stunden
neben uns
grasten auf der
Ebene sahen. Ich
trat mit dem
Jäger des
Pferdes, um sie
mit dem Zügel zu
unterkriechen:
aber sie warteten
uns nicht ab.
Nachdem wir die
halbe Strecke
zurückgelegt und
etwas Kaffee
getrunken
hatten, kamen
wir an der
Karawanserei am
Dorf Aep-nabaet
an, von wo aus
wir am folgenden
Tag wieder
aufbrachen und
eine halbe
Strecke ruhten
unter dem
Rauchen von
Tabak und dem
Trinken von
Kaffee. Wieder-
Cornelis de
Bruins' Journey
We continued
onward until we
reached the
village of Jes-
dagaes and

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

within the
caravan station,
where we halted.
Here we
refreshed
ourselves in a
garden full of
fruit trees,
located about
half an hour
north of this
place. We cast
our net into a
nearby river, and
fortune favored
us as it rarely
had in these
lands. In one
throw, we caught
no fewer than 16
fish, each over a
foot long,
besides a good
quantity of
smaller ones; so
that we feasted
heartily, finding
the table laden
with fresh and
smoked fish,
which we soaked
in an excellent
drink, not
forgetting to
think of our dear
friends who were
left behind in the
homeland. The
fish found here
are of very good
taste, well-fed,
fat, and white.
Five or six
women residing
in this garden
treated us kindly,
which we
acknowledged

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

with due respect.

At four hours
after midday, we
returned to the
caravan station,
sending the
young lady along
that route on
horseback.

During our
coming and
going, we saw
many partridges
on the mountains
but were unable
to shoot any.

On the 24th of
the month of
May, we
departed from
here and arrived
at the village of
Gombes-lala,
consisting of
very few houses,
near a
dilapidated
caravan station,
reckoned to be
four hours from
Jes-dagaes. Many
gazelles take
refuge in these
mountains, and
we set out early
one morning to
surprise them,
but heard
nothing of them.
We found some
people here with
their tents and
livestock, where
we entertained
ourselves,
finding plenty of
fresh butter,
milk, chickens,

**(4) See
Plutarch, I. c.,
p. m. 1023 seq.**

eggs, and
whatever else we
needed. After
midday, at six
o'clock, we rode
on again,
arriving at the
village of
Degerdoe at ten
o'clock, where
we took lodging
in a rather poor
caravan station.
We found the
people here quite
rude and
mocking, as if
they were
accustomed to
being served in
the service of the
King. ## The
Cruyt of Chef-
Tereck

1. **The Tarptyn Takje, a Bloom of Gul-Nasranie**

The Vogel Sjoerakan, and a Snipe.

- **Tarptyn Takje:** A rare bloom known for its vibrant colors.
- **Gul-Nasranie:** A region famed for its unique flora.
- **Vogel Sjoerakan:** A type of bird native to the area.
- **Snipe:** A migratory game bird.

The hunter paused, admiring the delicate Tarptyn Takje amidst the reeds, before raising his gun towards the fleeting silhouette of a Snipe. ## Reisen.

were in service of horses that come here to graze. And no better are the people of Koskiefar, a village 7 miles further along. On the 26th of the month at 5 o'clock after noon we rode from there and arrived at the village of Poel-Sackoe at 9 o'clock, where we stayed until the following day, with whose arrival we cast the net in a river that runs nearby. Here we had a beautiful fish meal,

including carp among others, so our servants also enjoyed themselves. We settled into several houses, as there is no *carwanfera* here and few travelers stay here.

After about 6 hours, we continued on our way and just outside the village we met two runners of the Company, sent from Gamron with letters stating that Director Magnus Wichelman had been struck by a severe fever, and after lying speechless for two days, had passed away into the world. This unexpected news did not please Captain Kaftlein in the least for several reasons, especially fearing that his plans to travel to Batavia might be set back by this event. He ordered these runners to stay with us until we reached the village of Koskiefar, which was still 3 hours' journey, so they could open the letters there with ease. We arrived there at nightfall. But the thoughtful considerations that fell upon Captain Kaftlein while reading these letters robbed him of his nighttime rest and deprived us all of any enjoyment we had hoped to find here. For all our fear was that he would have to stay in Gamron for some time regarding matters of the Company. Therefore, the next day he wrote letters to Spahan and Gamron, sending the first immediately and holding back the last in case runners from Spahan might come within a few days, as happened.

We continued on our way at five o'clock, having covered half the distance when we passed by a dilapidated *carwanfera* where we settled for a little while. In this plain, which is covered with much water and reeds, much fowl can be seen. We also saw many people with their livestock, both horses and cows, sheep and goats, thousands at a time, which is pleasant to see at this time of year. This was the reason that the fowl had separated from there and moved to the other side, where it remained.

At nightfall we arrived in the highest mountains. When one comes over here and back into the lowest terrain, one arrives at the village of Alfa-pas. Here we settled into the *carwanfera* at 11 o'clock, finding space within the building constructed of baked stone.

Having risen in the morning I found within this village a growth of gunpowder that was almost dry at this time of year. They call it Madroen. It stands about two feet above the ground and spreads with many branches which are close together. Above it is as if with small buttons tightly joined, being laughingly colored with small leaves, like the letter A on N° 180 appears. The Persians distill water from this here that has the same power as ginger. The gunpowder itself, although dry, has the same scent.

There is also another growth of gunpowder, closely fluted like bells, all above surrounded by five partitions, like the Grenade blossom. On the stem are a few small leaves. It is found in large clumps together, standing slightly higher than the previously mentioned one. Each house is full of fairly large seeds that are

dark black, lying fluted in a cap as that of the burrs. The name is unknown to the locals. All they can say about it is that if you take it, it causes some bewilderment. You see it depicted by letter B. Further up in the mountains I found wild Spanish Thyme. This is completely ripe being beautiful red and otherwise green. They brought me a sample of half-ripe, half-unripe, where both colors were found. See the picture on letter C without the leaves, which do not differ from the Spanish Thyme. One of our servants tried the ripe one but found it so hot and constricting that he could not get rid of it from his mouth quickly enough. You see these three kinds of fruit in their actual size. When you go further, you encounter many Terebinth trees, from which the locals collect resin and sell it to Spahan. The fruit, which grows heavily on them and is in round light green buds, is picked and salted, and used when roasted, just as we use capers. You see a branch depicted here to life on N. 181. Whereby I added the drawing of a white flower called Goel-nasrame, which sprouts tall and with many branches, being speckled yellow and red inside.

Now there is a thunderstorm and strong winds from the West, however without much discomfort to us, as the road did not hinder much. In this plain, which ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

die zich langh en breedt uitstrekt, zyn vele waterloopingen en moerassen met riet en andere ruigte bezet. Here, numerous wild boars roam in herds resembling hundreds, causing significant damage to crops and grazing as far as the village. To drive them away, the local landowners set fire to all the reeds where they hide, destroying more than fifty with the flames. But those who neglected the fire found themselves so terrified that even the villagers were forced to flee. From this fear, they allowed the boars free rein, seeing no way to eradicate or expel them. I was told that some of these boars are as large as cows, and the extent of the damage they can inflict is easily imaginable.

We continued our journey after midday, encountering a group from the brother of the Duke of Laer in the evening, accompanied by fifteen *Kafuaes* with their wives. We arrived at the village of Oed-joen around nine o'clock. Having sent scouts ahead to secure lodging for us in a royal garden, where the tomb of King Sultan Hoffen Mameth's son lies buried, we found it there. This grave is said to be 280 years old. The structure inside is a small chamber. The vault is made of stone and covered with wood. A cloth hangs down to the ground over the vault. On the vault rests a *Muts* or turban. Above the building stands a *Koe-pelt* (a type of dome). The building itself has several lower chambers, where we were very comfortably accommodated. The entire garden is enclosed by a stone wall.

As soon as the sun rose on the following day, we returned to fishing, catching in a river that runs alongside the village through the plain, a variety of fish, both large and small. We had the same

luck the next day. To enjoy this pastime and the freedom of the area, we remained there until five o'clock after midday. Then we departed and ascended over the

Moejelyken (difficult) mountain of Iman-fade, arriving at the village of the same name around nine o'clock, where we sought lodging and experienced some warmth for the first time.

On August 1st, we visited the tomb of a saint named Imon Sadde Ismael, who has supposedly rested there for 700 years. The Persians hold such reverence for his tomb that even dukes and other nobles engaged in any endeavor must avoid passing by it; instead, they are obliged to detour around the village or the grave itself, thereby granting favor to the local landowners, who are not subjected to the demands of such dignitaries. This tomb consists of a moderately large building made of baked stone, covered with a dome, and surrounded by a wall, also featuring a grand gateway through which one enters.

Around four o'clock, we departed again, arriving at the village of Ma-jien around eight o'clock, where Lord Kaffelein and his daughter had taken refuge in a pleasant garden. We entered the *karwanfera* (caravanserai) that stood close by. In this garden, I found a plant called Chef-tereck, standing four or five feet tall, densely covered with branches and foliage. Beneath were large leaves. On the branches were clusters of small houses, each containing four seeds, light tan in color. It is said to have a strong scent that comes mainly from its flowers, which are small, mostly white or blue, and purple, mixed with red, like the blossoms of legumes. The villagers know nothing more about it than that this plant is esteemed for its fragrance, just as the flowers are. I depicted it in No. 182.

Here, I also obtained a bird called Sjoerakan, a type of *Entvogel* (songbird), also quite large. Its head is yellow, its beak red, and its feet are also marked with red. You see it depicted in No. 183, indicated by the letter D.

I also shot a small bird considered to be a variety of Beckaffin or Snip. It was black, gray, and white over its body, and had legs that were entirely rosy. You see it as large as it was depicted by the letter E.

The following day, we continued our journey at four o'clock after midday, having on our right side the aforementioned mountain where a remarkable fortress was built in ancient times, about an hour and a half from us.

In this plain, we saw a great deal of livestock, and the local farmers were busy mowing or reaping the grain, using curved scythes to grasp as much as they could cut with each swing. To wash the grain, they use small carts with four wheels. They run

these over the grain and work in this way. When the grain is threshed, they heap it up: and when they want to purify it, they spread a layer of dry grain around the heap.

Then ## Reisen.

And then they rode over them with a cart or wagon, and that all around, until the grain was taken out and the straw cut. After this, they thresh it in the wind, whereby it is separated from the grain and the remaining chaff, while the straw and cut straw fall nearby through its weight. Then they sift the grain with the chaff, whereby the pure grain falls onto a heap. The chaff, which still has grain in it, is beaten out with a wood that is quite thick at the head but flat underneath, standing the stem thereof somewhat diagonally, in a manner similar to how our flails are made. They call it a *Goezer-Kaeb*. After this, they sift this beaten chaff and purify it from the straw.

We saw several tents scattered throughout the land. Around dusk, we crossed the Brandemir River by means of the aforementioned bridge, near the two other mountains where the forts were located, about which we have spoken. We took our lodging at the *karwanfera* Ab-germ, about an hour from this bridge. Being there, we made our way to the mountain, where a very beautiful clear spring flows out from the rock. We sat there for entertainment by lamplight and saw many lizards in it, which can hide under the rocks where further watercourses are. This spring is about three feet deep, and the ground so clear that one can see all the lizards. We threw them bread, which they eagerly took away. Through this, we felt a desire to trap them with the net; which succeeded so well that in one throw we captured 20 of them, among whom were 3 or 4 that were a common foot long. From these, we made breakfast the next morning and found these lizards covered with a sauce of butter and mustard, partly also stewed, quite good in taste. But this entertainment cost us a sufficient payment. For when evening came and we wanted to take our night rest after this hunt, we were beset by thousands of mosquitoes that well deprived us of sleep and forced us to spend the night outside the *karwanfera* in another way. This discomfort also affected not only the attendants of the cattle, who spent the night with all the servants, but sang and jumped to keep themselves moving, and thus to await the night, or whether there might be hope of being less plagued. One of our people had stayed in bed,

and because he hadn't covered himself well, was so counted the next morning that one could not look at him without laughing. But most complained the young lady whose hair also wasn't clean: though she held herself bravely, hearty as a young Amazon, against the discomforts of the journey. No greater annoyance than the horses, being so affected by this clamor, had bobbles full on their necks in the morning.

The day finally broke, and through this we departed from this place along another road as I had taken before, riding for nearly half an hour in this plain over a stone bridge that is little above the land, though it has small arches at several places. The water flows by times over this bridge, just as over smaller ones made of wood and earth, where many watercourses are found. One sees whole stretches of fields covered with rice.

At 10 o'clock in the evening we arrived at the *karwanfera* Poelegoor, where we met a runner sent from Gamron to Captain Kaftlein: from whom we learned that the widow of Director Wichelman had died on the 12th of this month and thus followed her husband in a short time. Here we found as many mosquitoes again as made it impossible for us to read the letter. Therefore, we decided to move on and choose a better lodging place. Thus, we ordered the messenger to return and accompany us. Shortly thereafter, we came into the stony mountains and two hours after midnight within the *karwanfera* Baetis-gaedie, seven hours away from the last lodging place and two hours from Zjie-raes. This *karwanfera* is built of stone and has good accommodation for travelers. We also found few mosquitoes there.

On the 4th of the month at 4 o'clock after noon we sent the runner with the letters that were to be in Spahan, and shortly thereafter continued our journey so that we arrived in Zjie-raes at 8 o'clock. Here we went into the house belonging to Captain Kaftlein, which served as an inn, where on the following morning Father Petro d'Alkantera came to welcome Captain Kaftlein. I also visited this spiritual man with our steward in the afternoon and found the aforementioned old father in good health.

The next day the merchants who trade with the Company came to find Captain Kaftlein, who after noon of the previous— ## XLVII. HOOFDSTUK.

Departure from Zjie-raes. Fruitful gardens at Tada-woen. Pagan dwellings. Arrival at Jaron. Situation of the city. Numerous date palm trees and their income. Wild pistachio and turpentine trees. Remains of old fortresses on Mount Beries. Hot winds. Arrival at Laer.

HERE, we left this place after sunset, the city of Zjie-raes, and sped swiftly onward through the plain along a very good road. After two hours of riding, we crossed a partially broken stone bridge called Pol-fassa, where we found no water today due to the great drought. Near here lies a mountain in the plain, separated from all the other mountains, stretching itself out for a considerable distance, which we left on our right side. About two hours after midnight, we arrived within the *karwanfera* Babba Had-jie, a building entirely of stone, lying close to the mountains about 5 hours from Zjie-raes.

On the morning of the ninth day, the Heer Kaftelein was somewhat unwell due to fever; this led us to decide to divide the laborious or daily journey, which would last for eight long hours, and to rest halfway along the way in a garden. We did so, and found many resting places and gardens along the road, and subsequently crossed the mountains, from where one can see the plains of Zjie-raes and the city itself in clear weather. We continued onward into

the plain until we reached the village of Paroe, a village half an hour off the main road. We arrived there an hour after noon in a garden enclosed by a wall, through which flowed running water where we caught a few crabs. I found that most people in this place were donkey drivers. The following day, after noon, we continued on our way and reached the *karwanfera* Moffe-farie, so named after the nearby village. Here we went at torchlight to fish in a river running alongside it, catching a beautiful catch of large and small carp, with which we cheerfully feasted the next day when our servants also caught some with rods, along with a crab. Nearby we found several villages where many rural people had settled down with their tents and livestock in the best areas near the waterways.

At six o'clock, we continued onward past numerous houses made of reeds and similar materials, which together formed a large village lengthwise. We took our road mostly southward, passing over ## Reisen.

Over fifteenagtigh gebergte, tot dat wy een uur voor middernacht ons nederfloegen in de karwanfera Paey-ra, waar on-trent verscheidene dorpjes leggen. Nu waren we vier uren van de plaats, daer we onze nachtruft genomen hadden. Hier vloede een kleine rivier door het lant, langs welke op het gebergte vele Wilge-en wilde Vygeboomen stonden, ook wilde Saly. De vygen, ons in een scho-tel toegebracht, vonden wy licht geko-leurt, en niet onaengenaem van smaak.

Den twaelfden na den middag vorderden wy onze wegh, en vonden na wei-nigh tyds eenige hoopen van fteenen overgebleven van eene ftaat, die wel eer daer zoude geftaan hebben. Dus berichtte men my, die geen tekens van eenige grontleggingen daer aan kon bespeuren. Verscheidene dorpen en tuinen vertoonen zich ter rechter zyde naer het gebergte.

Het was een uur voor middernacht, als we kwamen aan de karwanfera As-mon-geer, geheel van fteen gebout, nu zes uren gevordert zynde over eenen wegh ten deele heuvelagtigh, ook over gebergte vol fteen, en door eenige goede vlakten. Den 13 werden ons uit de dorpen, die naer het gebergte leggen, toegebracht versche vygen, druiven, en limoenen. Hier zynde vond ik een kleine wilde bergkat, van koleur als een Ciperfche kat,

hebbende hooge pooten, en lange groote opftaande ooren, en een ftaat byna als van een rat. Ik zag, als ze zich likte, dat haar tong niet zoo fcherp was, als die van de gemeene katten.

Ten 6 uren na den middagh gingen wy weder op wegh voorby vele luthoven en tuinen, en kwamen ten 9 uren op het gebergte in een tuin van den wegh af-gelegen, daer wy onder het geboomte onze ruffplaats namen. Wy hadden nu drie uren afgelegd, en hielden ftill omdat we de dagreizen te groot oordeelden om in twee deelen te fplitfen. Ook begon de warmte te naderen, waer door eenige van onze dienaren, ook de dienftmaegt, onpaffclyk werden. Deze tuin is gelegen in het dorp Tada-woen, dat zeer groot is, en alleen in tuinen befaat, waar in men vindt meeningte van Granaet-, Oranje-, Vy-ge-, Perfik-, en hooge Dadelboomen, die nu alle met hun rype vruchten beladen stonden, uitzeght dat aan de lefte nogh wat fchortte. Overvloedt van Meloenen vonden wy hier ook door den overvloedt van water, dat alom door de tuinen ge-leid wort, die hier door geweldig vruchtbaar blyven, zoo dat een groote meening te van vruchten naer Spahan te koop ge-bragt word. Zy zyn rondom met ber-gen bezet, waer door ze van verre de gedaante van een digt bofch hebben.

Een half uur van deze plaats ten Noort-ooften ziet men in de rotfen van dit gebergte, dat hoogh en fleil is, verscheide Oude grotten, die ik den 14 dezer maet voor grotten. den avont, als de hitte der zonne vermin-dert was, gingh bezichtigen. Ik vond aan eenige nogh een gedeelte van eenen voormuur, van fteenen en ciment samen-geffelt, loopende een final padt langs de fleilte der rotfen, die op het gebergte uit-komen, dat men aan wederzyden bespeuren kan. In de diepte tufchen welke ber-gen vloet een rivier, ontrent welke het beneden geweldigh kout was, en hooger aen d'een zyde daer de wegh is, een andere kleiner waterloop. In deze spelon-ken, meent men, hebben de Gebbers of de vier Aenbidders hunne wooningh gehadt, waer over ik my hier na breeder zal uit-laten, dewyl ik uit Indie wederkeerende mynen wegh met vroedagt hier o-ver genomen hebbe.

Wy konden dezen avont niet befluiten tot vertrekken om een ongemak van koorts, die de dochter des Heeren Kaffe-lein op onze aenkomt was aengekomen, en zich zoo fchielyk verhefte, dat ze den volgenden nacht meeft buiten kennis lag. Dit ongeluk trof haren vader zoo zeer, dat hy zich niet van tranen kon onthou-den, en te vreezen flondt dat hy zelf haer nacht en dagh, dewyl hy haer tee-der beminde, de helpende hant zou wil-len bieden; dat zelf om ziekte van hem gewedt ware, dewyl hy een zwak man, en vele pynlykheden onderworpen was. Dit ongemak was te grooter, om dat de dienftmaegt, zelve ziek zynde, tot geen dienft bequaem was. Wy vonden dan niets raedfamer dan elk naer ons ver-mogen op te paßen, en den goeden Heer de ruff aen te raden tot voorkoming van alle onheilen. Want het gingh nu met ons volgens het fprekwoort: Als het hoofd lydt, lyden alle de leden. Het ge-welt der ziekte duurde tot den 17 der maent, wanneer ze met den

morgenfont in ruff raekte. Dit deed ons befluiten de Kafua door vier mannen te laten dragen, om de reis tot de ftaat Jaron voort te zet-ten. Wy namen dan agt wakkere man-nen uit het dorp hier toe aan, op dat vier van hun elkander verpoozen zouden. Ondertuffchen kwamen twee loopers van Gamron, die met de brieven, die te Spa-han moften zyn, aenfontts afgevaerdigt werden.

Dezen dagh wert ons een vifch gebragt Vremde zoo groot als een kleine kabeljaeu, waer vifch. naer hy geleek. Van die grootte hadden wy nogh noit eenen vifch gehad, nochte oit in Spahan gezien. Hy was ook van fmaak als de kabeljaeu. Waerom wy hem op de vaderlantfche wyze toebered-den, en den ftaat daer van brieden. Hier

Vv 2 by ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

We received a continuation of carp. Thus, we had a decent midday meal of *vich*, after which we set off an hour before sunset. We rode for a long time through a narrow path from the village, after which we reached a partially flat area and then somewhat mountainous terrain. Our progress was slow, as the *Kafua* was carried by footmen, so we didn't reach the caravan station Mich-Geck-fogie until midnight. We had now spent three hours traveling and found ourselves surrounded by mountains.

On the 18th of the month, we continued after midday over somewhat mountainous terrain, then again across plains, partly along a good road, several waterways, and small bridges. At midnight, we arrived at the village Fag-ra-baet, where we took lodging in a garden exceptionally beautiful; for which we had sent our people ahead. This garden is full of date palms, with a short row of *Zenaer* trees in the middle. The rest are fruit trees: pomegranates, quince, oranges, pears, very good and succulent in taste. The garden was not large, but one of the most beautiful I had seen in these lands to that point. There was also a building there, high with stories and thick-walled, with two fountains inside. In the middle of the garden stood a large, beautiful pool with a cascading waterfall directly over the building, flowing through a stone gutter into the fountains within the house, constantly spraying. This garden now belongs to the *Hartogh* (Governor) of Gamron, named Mameth momien Chan, whose father built this structure. His ancestors have also generally been Land-Stewards here for some time.

On the 19th, shortly before sunset, we departed from there to travel another hour until reaching the city Jaron; where at 9 o'clock we took our quarters within the caravan station of the same name, about four hours away from the last mentioned caravan station. Here we found a good well, covered with a large stone dome.

As soon as the following day began to rise, I went into the city, which was moderately large but appeared desolate to me. It resembled more an open village, considering the houses, built of earth and mostly separated from each other. I observed 2 or 3 churches where services are performed, which looked quite simple, having only a small chamber. The city is very full of date palms, which together form a community resembling a forest. People consider these trees to be the best found in this land. For their fruits are not only yellower and cleaner in color than the others, but also more pleasantly sweet and more granular. One estimates the income from each tree, calculated by one person for another, annually at 7 guilders. When they are rented out, each yields over 300 pounds annually to the owner, coming to three duiten per pound according to our calculations. Each tree has from four to eight clusters, which extend above the branch, hanging like a bunch of grapes. All these clusters are particularly large. From these fruits, the city derives sustenance, as there is no trade involved. The management of these is currently with the *Hartogh* of Zjie-raes, named Ibrahim Chan, who himself resides in Spanhan and governs the city through his stewards, both in Zjie-raes and here. I sketched its appearance from the North-facing side, as it was placed on the caravan station. The depiction is shown alongside. The city extends East to South towards the mountains. We also remained there on the 21st of the month, having dismissed the eight hired men to return to their villages, as they could not continue further due to their own affairs. We then took from the city 8 others to bring the young lady to Laer, as she was still particularly weak, even though the fever had subsided. The Captain *Kaftelein* also sent a runner with letters to Gamron, so that one would send him a carrying chair from there as quickly as possible.

Thus, we resumed our journey an hour after midday and arrived in the mountains within an hour, which must be crossed Southeast. This mountain is called Jaron. It is particularly high. We now descended it through winding paths, many turns, further through rocky and often difficult and dangerous roads that seemed to necessitate us dismounting from the horses.

On the 22nd, at dawn, we were halfway down, where a large area is enclosed by a stone wall. The ground is also paved with stones extending towards a bridge. On this mountain are several large water basins covered with stone; but there was no water in them, which flows between the mountains during wintertime, so that the road is on some places - ## TRAVELS.

JARON.

places are almost unusable. Here you see many wild pistachio and turpentine trees that yield a lot of gum. I found there a ball as big as an ochre nut, dried by the heat of the sun so that I could

preserve it properly. It took about nine hours to cross the mountain, so we arrived within the *karwanfera* Zja-talle an hour later. This *karwanfera* is built of stone and very suitable for accommodating travelers. It lies in a plain surrounded by mountains and is 5 hours from the place where our last night's lodging was taken.

Shortly after midnight, we set off again, partly through plains and then through mountains, but not as high as the previous one, although we encountered some more difficult roads here and there that were less comfortable for the beasts.

Upon arriving at a fountain with the water flowing down from the mountain in the morning light, we descended into a plain nestled between the mountains along a very rocky path.

When we arrived at the *karwanfera* Mon-feer after about 8 hours, we were met by a Carmelite who had come from Conge to Gamron, whose brother had broken his leg on the journey and died there. He himself had been ill for three months and was not yet completely recovered, but fit to go to Spahan.

In this *karwanfera* we settled down after traveling for four hours. It had been built of stone only a few years ago. We found good comfort in it, despite its small size. Nearby lies another dilapidated *karwanfera*, and directly in front of it an open garden provided with red and white fruits that were served to us on a dish. Most of them were ripe. Orange trees were also full of sweet apples, still green but juicy. Next to this runs a very good water source. Under these trees I found leaves of herbs, the lower ones being as long as a span and half as wide, while the upper ones are much smaller. The stems are covered with a soft Persian-like down. The Persians call these leaves Goes-Sontoor, or Ka-. ##
Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

Kameeloren. You don't know its strength. There was also a plant as tall as a man, called *Zja-raek*. Its leaves coated with butter are used to be laid on the arms and legs of people suffering from worms, as many such Gamronian diseases become prevalent. That's why entire groves of this plant are cultivated. There's a crop resembling a cucumber, growing somewhat crooked and pointed. The blossom above it is red and white. You can see the whole figure depicted in No. 184.

A little after midnight, we continued onward through flat plains and arrived at the village of Dom-banje at dawn, dividing ourselves into various houses because the caravan was broken down. We had now advanced for 3 hours, having already entered the Southeast quadrant. Then I turned back half an hour to observe the remains of a fortress that had been there in old times on a hill located westward. This hill is somewhat separated from the others to the West and stretches in length towards the Northwest from the Southeast. It's particularly steep from the

Northeast to the Southwest. I climbed it, and found above a well carved into the rock on the East side, whose mouth had a diameter of 10 feet. I threw some stones into it, and by the sound they made when landing, determined that it wasn't very deep. Close beside it, towards the Northeast side, lies still a vault, which is 19 paces long and 12 feet wide in the middle, above which little remains of a building with a dome-like structure. It's round, and open on top and along the sides where it has been broken down. To the North one sees this hill sloping; to the South Southwest a path of 16 paces, which is 14 feet wide in the middle. It's partly rock, beginning at the mentioned round structure and winding against the mountainside. It's much narrower at its beginning and end. I sketched this view while sitting on the length of the hill from the East side, as it appears in No. 185.

As the sun set, we continued onward through the same plain, which is large and has many fertile areas. Just outside the village, I found a beautiful rug adorned with cotton, standing remarkably tall; but there were no buds yet. During the night, we found near the mountainside a

beautiful well from which we filled our leather flasks, because we had drunk everything dry due to the intense heat and warm winds. These winds blow here as hot as an oven, something I have never experienced in any land. Also, the sun's heat is very oppressive for travelers. In this fertile plain lie several villages; and a small plantation exists near this well.

During this night, I rode out without a torchlight with Captain Kaftlein to cover some distance of the long ride. While doing so, we came upon some people resting in tents on the right side of the road. We forced one from the group to accompany us to show us the correct path to the resting place, where we arrived an hour after midnight (we had now traveled for 5 hours). This was the village of Aes-Zje rafie. But because there was no caravan, we took refuge in a fairly good house. The water here was slightly salty. On the walls of this house I found many inscriptions from travelers, including these words: HERE LIES DIRECTOR JOANNES KREITS WHO DIED IN THE YEAR MDCXC. DEN XXIX OF MAY. This had occurred during the procession of Lord Joan van Leenen, Extraordinary Councilor of India, sent as an ambassador to the Society at the Court of Spain. He was the second person from that embassy. He is buried outside this village, very simply and without a single stone on his grave. This place is very large with gardens where many date and other trees are found. Before our departure from here we received runners with letters from Spahan and Gamron. After departing which, on May 26th, an hour before sunset, we resumed our journey, encountering the adventure in the mountains. Here we had to pass through rocky and many small and poor paths. Having reached the plain and passed through several villages, we stayed in the village of Bieries, where we arrived an hour after midnight,

inside the caravan, which is large and well-built from stone, having now traveled another 5 hours. The village is large and has good houses, all adorned with date and other trees. Half an hour from there one sees the remains of an old fortress, and in front of it a wall that runs around the mountain. A little above on the mountain one sees

The grave of Director Kreits.

The village of Bieries. ## The Zja-raek Plant

The discovery of the *Zja-raek* plant in the remote highlands of **Xylos** marked a turning point in botanical science and offered unprecedented possibilities for medical advancement. Initially dismissed as folklore by many researchers, tales of its extraordinary properties—particularly its ability to accelerate cellular regeneration—had circulated among the indigenous **Kaelen** people for generations.

“The *Zja-raek* is a gift from the earth,” Elder Lyra often said, “It mends what is broken and restores life’s balance.”

Dr. Aris Thorne, a botanist known for his unconventional methods and unwavering dedication, was the first to seriously investigate these claims. After years of painstaking expeditions and countless setbacks, he finally located a thriving colony of the plant in a hidden valley shrouded by perpetual mist. The *Zja-raek* itself is an unusual specimen: a vine with iridescent leaves that shift color depending on the ambient light, producing small, luminous berries.

Thorne’s initial experiments confirmed the Kaelen legends. Extracts from the berries demonstrated remarkable regenerative capabilities in vitro, stimulating rapid cell growth and repair. Subsequent trials on animal subjects yielded even more astonishing results—severe wounds healed within days, damaged tissues were restored to full functionality, and signs of age-related degeneration appeared to reverse.

However, the *Zja-raek* is not without its complexities. The plant’s potent properties also presented significant challenges. Early attempts at large-scale cultivation proved unsuccessful; the *Zja-raek* appears to be incredibly sensitive to environmental changes and thrives only in the unique microclimate of its native habitat. Furthermore, prolonged exposure to high concentrations of the extract resulted in unpredictable side effects, including accelerated tumor growth in some subjects.

Despite these hurdles, Thorne’s research has opened up entirely new avenues for treating a range of debilitating conditions. Clinical trials are currently underway focusing on applications such as spinal cord injury repair, burn treatment, and even combating neurodegenerative diseases like **Alzheimer’s**. The

ethical considerations surrounding the plant's use—particularly regarding potential misuse and equitable access to its benefits—are being carefully scrutinized by international regulatory bodies.

The discovery of the *Zja-raek* serves as a powerful reminder of the vast untapped potential hidden within the natural world, and the importance of respecting indigenous knowledge in scientific exploration. The future holds immense promise for harnessing this remarkable plant's power to alleviate suffering and improve human health, but only through responsible research and careful stewardship.

- **Cellular Regeneration:** The *Zja-raek* significantly accelerates cell growth and repair.
- **Environmental Sensitivity:** The plant requires a specific microclimate to thrive.
- **Potential Side Effects:** High concentrations of the extract can cause adverse reactions. ## The Ruins of an Ancient Fortress

185.

This engraving depicts the ruins of an ancient fortress, showcasing its weathered stone walls and remnants of defensive structures perched atop a rugged hill. The upper portion reveals crumbling ramparts and a partially collapsed tower, with visible traces of masonry and fortification details that hint at its former strength.

186.

The lower illustration presents a wider view of the site, revealing the fortress's strategic position on a rounded hill. A fortified wall encircles the summit, while below, modest buildings and palm trees suggest habitation or agricultural activity in the surrounding area. Two figures are visible near the base, providing a sense of scale to the imposing structure. ## XLVIII. CHAPTER.

Description of Laer. Abundance of Wells. Invitation of Captain Putter. Pleasant Caravanserai. Arrival at Gamron. Arrival of Batavian Ships. New Governor in Gamron. Severe Illness of the Writer.

The city of Laer is actually an old kingdom, for which the Persians have done a great deal to provide shelter. It is now still one of the most renowned trading cities, where many silk fabrics are woven. They also make here the best loops for muskets from all over Persia, hence most people come from there as well.

I set about carefully examining the city, where I found the roads very flat and even, being made of a hard sand foundation. Most houses are built high up, some with wind vanes, others with two. The main building is the *Bafaer*, standing in the middle of the

town. It is grandly built of stone, having an arch above, and decorated with beautiful tile panels. It is 216 steps long. In the middle there are platforms on both sides that stretch a good distance along the same way. At the end of this *Bafaer* you see a beautiful square place, where the *Ra-goene*, or the Drum House above the gate of the *Ba-faer* is located. Opposite it stands a large and spacious building with a beautiful front gate. This is the residence of the *Hartooggh*, named Ywaes Chan. The Castle built of stone lies within the city on a large, high rock, where it extends far above all around. Around the city there is a forest of date palms, also orange and lemon trees, which are very small, along with many other trees: causing it to be so that one can only see part of the city from the outside. Seated above on the caravanserai I sketched it out. You see here a portion depicted of the East South-East side, where the Castle appears above the mountain. On the right side the city extends far ahead, but cannot be seen through the multitude of date palms. Further on it lies open like a village, wide and spread out between the mountains. There are many churches there, but none of great value. The main one, which has a large dome, is called Pier Panon after one of their saints. Many water basins are there for drinking and other necessities. They are all covered with stone domes or long vaults.

On this day two persons appeared to welcome Captain Putter on behalf of the *Hartooggh*, requesting him to stay for a few days so that he could come greet him in person. They added that the *Hartooggh*, ## Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

Though, had he been warned of our arrival beforehand, he would have overtaken us. However, Captain Kaftlein graciously dismissed this, as our departure could not suffer any delay. A merchant sent gifts consisting of four particularly fine baskets filled with pomegranate seeds, pomegranates, and dates; the bearers received a reward for their service. Here, the merchant himself came to greet our leader, and was received and entertained in the customary manner.

As the sun descended, we continued on through a beautiful plain, alongside a large stretch of houses and trees that seemed united with the city. Subsequently, we passed through several villages, one of which was quite large. It was an hour past midnight when we arrived at the *karwanfera* Baftja-pariaeuw, located 4 hours from the city. However, there was nothing to obtain there, as this place was surrounded by desolate terrain. On the 30th, we continued our journey again, mostly across a flat and unremarkable plain with little mountain range. We also encountered sandy stretches at times. Three times we crossed a small river, now merely a stream where the water flows abundantly during wintertime. We turned westward, and after advancing for two good hours, we arrived at the *karwanfera* Bafiele, where we waited for the Kafua for half an hour. Then, having proceeded further, we reached the *karwanfera* Bafta-

paryonw an hour before midnight; it is small and partially dilapidated but where an old woman permanently resides, and has several useful items that she obtains from nearby villages to sell. This place is 4 hours from the left *rufplaats*. On all sides around here are numerous covered water tanks, where the water is very good. In this land, a great deal of labor is employed in constructing irrigation channels.

Many canals are made for irrigation, and wells are dug, because without water neither people nor cattle can exist. From this, one can gauge how much esteem these peoples have for living springs, which have always been valuable from ancient times. One sees an example of this in Moses' first book at the place where Isaac digs the wells that his father had dug and were later stopped by the Philistines. The holy writer further recounts how they dug and found a well with living water, and thus came into dispute with the herdsmen of Gerar.

The hot winds and heat of the air— ## Reisen

We were now caught and found no better places to stay, so we continued our journey. We traveled for six hours across flat terrain, experiencing dry air and a damp smell common to this region. In the evening, we traversed rugged mountains and difficult roads until reaching the town of Gormoet, or rather, two small caravanserais, which was five hours from our previous resting place.

The next day, we set out again through flatlands dotted with date palms until arriving at a village. We observed that all the dates were stored in sacks as if recently harvested, and the birds did not appear to be eating anything. We also crossed some steep terrain with limited water, but there was enough for our needs.

We passed by the town of Kafua or Draegzetel, located near Gamron. Two men awaited us here to tend to our horses. The young *Juffrou* had been sent ahead to prepare everything. We arrived at the caravanserai Tang-boedalon after two hours past midnight and remained there for five hours.

Here we found Adriaen Bakker, the *Pachuismeester*, who was also the secretary and chief of Gamron, along with Mr. Kaftlein. We rested here for an hour before continuing our journey. This caravanserai is small but beautiful, built on a hillside overlooking a river. We found it very pleasant.

We passed through several waterways that flow underground in nearby basins. There's also an old watermill located ten Z.Z. West of this place, brought here to provide water for the town.

The following day, we continued our journey toward Oostwaert and reached the caravanserai Goer-bafer-go-en after four hours from our last resting place. Here, the others received fish, small fowls, and a flag from Bot, among other things.

We spent another day traveling through flatlands until arriving at the town of Koreflon, located in the middle of this plain and very large. We stayed here in a fine house belonging to the burgomaster, without cost. The weather was warm; I went outside under a tree but did not feel cold.

Even before sunset, we traveled through flatlands with many wild trees. Halfway through our journey, we passed by the river Koreflon, which had very little water in it during winter and became quite wide during summer. There is a bridge here that spans over four hours of travel; however, it is broken and unusable.

I went there myself and found that this bridge was seven feet high with arches above it. After passing by many houses belonging to Dadelakken, we arrived at the town of Gesje after one hour past midnight. We stayed here in a caravanserai called Tang-boedalon for five hours.

Here, many women were present who offered us butter, milk, eggs, chickens, and other food items; however, the water was scarce.

We continued our journey for another day until reaching the town of Bandalie, where we stayed overnight. We rested here for five hours.

This building has four sides open so that the sea breeze can blow through it. The distance to the Persian Gulf is about 300 feet; it appears as a full sea.

Here were also the Tolk Varyn and five or six *Benjaensche* merchants who had come to wait for Mr. Kaftlein, bringing some provisions with them. On other days, we received fish, small fowls, and flags from Bot, among other things. ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Journal

...ters, but common and small. We received English beer for drinks. This morning I went to *frant* to obtain some sea-wash, but found nothing of importance. It was very hot; then after midday the sea wind cooled us. The mentioned building lies north of the Periphatic Gulf, which stretches from the E. N. Oosten (East Northeast) to the W. Z. (West Southwest). We sailed towards Konge, which is located on *frant*. Here one can clearly see the island of Kismis lying S. Z. Oosten (Southeast). On the starboard or E. Z. Oosten (East Southeast) lies the island of Lareek, between which both ships pass that must sail to Konge and other places further upriver. Until here we had sailed O. Z. Oost (Southeast),

extending our route further towards Gamron Eastward, partly along *frant*. We continued on our way with the evening, and upon approaching the village of Piere Soroë, or the Fishermen's Village, we met the Lord de Klerk, a lieutenant of the Director, together with the Fiscal, an hour from Gamron. After sharing several glasses of wine with each other, we proceeded with our lanterns simultaneously, so that we arrived at Gamron at ten o'clock, lying 3 hours from our last resting place. The Captain went to take up residence in the old building of the Company, and I in a particular house which, however, was available for the Company. Here I found 5 English and 2 Dutch ships on the roadstead, one being the ship *Meidregt*, and the other a galliot. Several coastal vessels were also present nearby. On the 8th of the month, Mr. Lid, the English Director, came to greet the Captain with several other gentlemen of that nation. I also paid my respects to the English Director the following day, who received me politely.

On the 18th of the month, we sighted a ship coming from the sea in the morning; it anchored on the roadstead shortly after midday. It was the yacht *Hartlooper*, dispatched from Batavia, followed by 5 other ships. It carried letters for the Captain, wherein their Excellencies appointed the Captain as Director to this place, replacing the late Mr. Wichelman. Along with these letters, the skipper came ashore after midday. Upon which the Captain received congratulations on this new position in the evening. Then, that evening, several cannon shots were fired in front of the residence as a sign of joy; which was answered by our ships lying on the roadstead. This lasted for some time and ended with the evening meal. The following day, our ships fired again. The first fired 11 shots, the second nine, and the third seven; whereupon the first fired three times in return as an expression of thanks. All this was done as a mark of respect for the new Director. On the 26th, another English ship departed. Also, the English Head arrived with several gentlemen of that nation to congratulate the new Director.

On October 2nd at night, our galliot *De Bode* set sail for Bassura. The following day after midday, we sighted the 5 expected ships from Batavia, which dropped anchor not far from the roadstead during the night and then sailed towards the roadstead again the following day. Around midday, the boats came ashore. These ships had arrived under the command of Commander de Boer, flying the pennant of the *Liefde*. On board the ship *D'Ellemeet*, commanded by skipper Blauw, was Opperkoopman Six, with the ships destined for Surat to mediate in the disputes between the Company and that nation, and to remain as Director there. The ship *Reigersdael* was commanded by skipper Jacob de Jongh, and the ship *Koningh Karel* by Herman Stellingwerf. On this ship was Mr. J. Baron van Larix, destined for Opperkoopman in Spahan, to remain there alongside Mr. Bakker as Co-Director. The ship *Volmaer* was commanded by skipper J. Kroes.

During these days, great signs of joy were displayed here with trumpets and drums, because at the beginning of this month news had arrived that Governor Mameth Alie Chan had been appointed new Governor. Upon which, without counting from the Castles and the point, 5 cannon shots were fired: three shots also from the Castle at Lareek and from that at Kismis; these signs of joy lasted for three days continuously. This Lord had previously been a Stadtholder or Governor here some 8 or 10 years ago, and subsequently held the same position in Kirman or Ormana, from which place all the wool comes. There is also a silver mine. The previous Stadtholder Mameth Moemen Chan was dismissed four months earlier due to several complaints brought before the Court, and his son was placed in his stead pending further orders. On the 11th of this month,

Comes to Gamron.

The Captain appointed as Director of Gamron.

Joy over it. ## The Stadtholder of the Governor-in-Office

Illness of the Writer

New Year Festival of the Benjan People

Here to Mierfa Moerella, to begin as a second errand upon arrival of the Dukes. He is embraced by most of the people and on his arrival, the cannons of the castles are believed to fire, also an order given that no one should work or load anything concerning the ships.

On the 12th of this month, I was struck here with a very severe fever, which lasted throughout the entire night, and grew even stronger the following day. As soon as I felt the first movement of it, I drank a good glass of *allemwyns* and made my way to the seaside, hoping to drive away the ailment by this means. But in vain: for returning, I had to go to bed. Meanwhile, Captain Kaftlein greeted the newly arrived Stadtholder Mierfa Moerella, while some shots were fired near his residence. Shortly thereafter, this gentleman visited the new Director in turn and was received as had happened before.

Meanwhile, the fever persisted with me, which I tried to ward off with my usual use of *allemwyns* and by walking about. But it was much too stubborn and violently disturbed my limbs at night. I relieved myself according to my custom from food, drinking only the broth in which a chicken had been cooked without salt, further water tempered with tamarind through a little sorrel. My strength meanwhile diminished, especially because I was afflicted with a cough that made me gasp 60 or 80 times in a day. Having lasted for ten days, the fever left me: so that then I began to use some meat of a chicken with the broth to restore my strength,

which had been so greatly reduced that walking was entirely denied me. For this reason, I await my full recovery from that time onward.

Meanwhile, the Benjan people here celebrated their New Year festival, on which the merchants, as is customary, present a gift to the Director and those in rank following him, gifting each according to his means: so that even those who are in service of the company are adorned with a piece of cloth worked through with gold or silver. Then they also stir up joy by lighting lights. Then the Director comes with some retinue to greet them: when they perform some small works which they lay down before the company at the beginning. The two foremost merchants (for one visits both) have their dwelling in a fairly large building, where however little courtesy is to be found, although they possess great wealth.

On the 21st of the month, it began to darken here with thunder, followed by strong winds and rain which fell opportunely for the fruit time: so that people sang hymns over it throughout the entire day.

Chapter XLIX.

Description of Gamron. Unhealthy air and great heat. The Writer's decision to depart.

Description of Gamron.

GAMRON was formerly called Camrang by the Portuguese: a name derived from the great abundance of *Gamberi*, or small flower crabs, which are found there. The Persians now call this city Bande Abbasse, that is Abbaas harbor: a name it received when King Abbaas after conquering Ormus also brought Gamron under his rule. It is reckoned to be 200 miles, or many hours, from Spahan. *Zjie-raes* lays from Spahan to my experience two or three and seventy hours, and from Gamron about 113 hours: so that this journey would only amount to 186 hours; in which I have further been delayed in my return in this same kingdom.

It encompasses within its circumference a small hour, lying entirely as an open spot; and stretching out lengthwise along the seaside from East to West, or Northeast and West Southwest. Remarkable buildings are not there. Most are woven and unseen. The foremost are the dwellings of the English and Dutch nations. Even the Duke's residence is very common. There is no convenience or comfort for foreigners or sailors. One only finds a few poor taverns for the common people. The *Bafaer* also has nothing to show. One sees four buildings of stone, which go here

for castles, but low, small, and partly dilapidated. One of these lies somewhat inward in the city. ## Cornelis de Bruijn: Description of Muscat

The city itself is small and lightly fortified, with just enough guns to acknowledge passing ships. Along the coast, one sees numerous tents made from date palm fronds and other tree branches. Here, common folk hide and feel ashamed. Within the city walls are a few date palms and little else. All the prominent houses have wind towers, often two, constructed in a roughly square shape, rising quite high; they capture the wind from all sides. The interior is hollowed out. Each of the two outer sides has three or four narrow, tall openings, generally smaller than those on the other side, appearing somewhat flimsy. Between each opening is a small vent where the wind blows and descends, making it pleasantly airy to sit nearby. This is where midday meals are taken, often enjoyed above the flat roofs of houses at night, without being bothered by the air. This applies during very hot weather; once the heat subsides, people retire indoors. These wind towers add considerable charm to the city.

Of the two residences for the English and Dutch, one always flies a flag as a signal for incoming ships. The most important building is currently the new Dutch Residence, located at the eastern end of the city. Construction began during the time of Envoy Hoogkamer, who laid the foundation stone in 1698. It's not yet fully completed but is particularly large and boasts impressive warehouses and beautiful rooms, some two stories high. Above, in the center of the building, is a lovely spacious hall from which, as well as from all the upper floors belonging to the Director and his Second-in-Command, one can see the sea very enjoyably, watching the wind play through the large windows.

I sketched the appearance of this place on a chart belonging to our interpreter, who was able to approach the city closer than the ships. It is depicted as No. 187, with everything that looks recognizable indicated by fives. Number 1 shows the house of the Hartogh; 2 the Fort Captain; 3 the French trading post; 4 the English one; 5 the Dutch one; and 6 another Fort Captain's residence, and 7 the new Dutch Residence.

To the north, on the land side, are the graves of Europeans, the most notable of which—and there are many—are elevated and covered with domes. The abundance of gravestones is hardly surprising, given how unhealthy this place is; many people succumb to the foul air, especially during the hot months, within a short time. Feverish illnesses rage here fiercely, killing people who were still fresh and healthy just one day before in as little as 24 hours. October and November are also considered dangerous months, as many people do not die during those times. The air here is alternately humid and dry; the latter being healthier and fresher. As soon as it appears, the water becomes cooler to drink

within a few hours than when it's found at fountains with moist weather, which is then hot and unpleasant. The best water available is fetched three hours from Gamron in earthenware jugs on camels and other pack animals from a place called Eylen, located northeast of the city, about four hours from the coast. This area is considered healthy and suitable for habitation. Another good source of water can be found an hour from the city at a place named Naeyban, close to the sea. During my stay in this coastal region, we had several refreshing days; however, the heat lasted longer than usual this year, causing us considerable discomfort. It is unbearable when it's intense; even the seal wax melts, as I was told. To find some relief from such distress and misery, some people sitting in their shirts will now and then moisten themselves from head to toe with water. Our interpreter had a well dug beneath his house where he could sit and spend much of the day. Surely those who escape death from the sick might be considered among the fortunate here. Many also suffer severe ailments from the sick, including worms that settle in people's arms or legs and remain there as if dead, or are expelled; this is mixed with danger, should the worms break out during a feverish episode. Others are afflicted by high fevers and die within a short time. So that when I had to say something about someone who wasn't feeling well, I would send him back for harsher punishment than he would suffer in any pillory. However, many, even prominent people, do not seem to be worried about this, given the hope of wealth.

Mortality during summer. Alternating air. Unbearable heat. The new Dutch Residence. Appearance of the place depicted. Graves of Europeans. ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of **machine learning**, a subset of AI, has been particularly groundbreaking. Algorithms can now analyze vast datasets to identify patterns and make predictions with remarkable accuracy. This capability is revolutionizing fields like medical diagnosis, where AI systems can detect diseases earlier than human doctors in some cases. Self-driving cars, powered by sophisticated AI algorithms, promise to improve road safety and reduce traffic congestion.

However, the increasing reliance on AI also raises ethical concerns. Algorithmic bias, stemming from biased training data, can perpetuate and amplify existing societal inequalities. For example, facial recognition technology has been shown to be less accurate for people of color, potentially leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes in law enforcement and other areas. The

displacement of human workers by **automation** is another pressing concern, requiring proactive measures to retrain and support affected individuals.

Furthermore, the potential misuse of AI poses serious risks. Autonomous weapons systems, capable of making life-or-death decisions without human intervention, raise profound moral questions. The spread of *deepfakes*, convincingly realistic but fabricated videos and audio recordings, can be used to manipulate public opinion and undermine trust in institutions.

Addressing these challenges requires a multi-faceted approach. Robust regulations are needed to ensure that AI systems are developed and deployed responsibly, with safeguards against bias and misuse. Investment in education and training programs is crucial to prepare the workforce for the changing job market. Open dialogue and collaboration between researchers, policymakers, and the public are essential to navigate the complex ethical landscape of AI.

“AI has the potential to solve some of humanity’s greatest challenges, but only if we develop it responsibly and ethically,” stated Dr. Anya Sharma, a leading expert in artificial intelligence ethics.

Ultimately, the future of AI depends on our ability to harness its power for good while mitigating its risks. By prioritizing ethical considerations, fostering transparency, and promoting inclusive development, we can ensure that AI benefits all of humanity.

- **Ethical Considerations:** Addressing bias and ensuring fairness in algorithms.
- **Workforce Development:** Retraining programs to adapt to automation.
- **Regulatory Frameworks:** Establishing guidelines for responsible AI deployment. ## Lareke and Kismis

Lareke, and Kismis.

187

188 ## Reisen

The ships that come here to the roadstead anchor a good half hour from the shore; and their goods are hauled out by vehicles from the land, and then reloaded, as near as possible to the French shore. This hauling and reloading is done by laborers who go into the water for that purpose.

Islands. Ormus. The following islands lie in this gulf. Ormus is the first, lying southeast about three miles from the city. Formerly it was a renowned trading town in Asia, a kingdom and island of the

same name, located in the mouth of the Persian sea basin, close to the southern corner of the Kingdom of Persia, having stood under its own king and protected by the Portuguese, who had seized and overthrown the castle, which remained until the year 1622. Since then, the Persians with the help of the English besieged and captured it. After that time, the city has greatly diminished. Foreigners are not gladly allowed to enter there, and the castle is still regarded as important. Foreign ships may also not approach too closely, so as not to arouse suspicion. This island also had a pearl bed, which they say has disappeared.

Lareke. Another island, called Lareke, lies southeast about five miles from the city.

A third is there, named Kismis, or Z. Kifinis, southwest four and a half miles distant. This last is certainly the largest, extending in length 6 or 7 miles. From here most of the wood is brought that is used for the city and the ships arriving there. It extends quite near Conge, between which and the island Lareke the ships can sail through.

On each island there is a castle. Two of these are of no importance. But that of Ormus is, as said, still regarded somewhat highly.

The appearance of the view of these islands on the water in front of the city is shown on No. 188, where Ormus is indicated with the letter A: The Castle at the extreme end of the northwest corner with B: Lareke with C: and Kismis, or rather a portion thereof, with D.

Now the time of departure approached, as the ship *Mydregt*, steered by skipper Jan de Haen, was ready to sail to Batavia, where I intended to transfer. I then sent my goods to a boat to continue the journey for two days, however poor my health's condition was, as those who have not yet left my place of residence could possibly go or fail. However, I felt that the journey should proceed in this way. Because traveling overland did not allow for my frailty, staying here was full of danger, and I hoped the sea air would bring me some relief. Thus, in God's name, I prepared to embark.

L. CHAPTER.

Departure from Gamron to Batavia. The Malabar Coast. Couvers Island. The Cliffs of Santa Maria. An English ship under Mangeloor. Dolphins. Flying and other fish. Sea Devil. Arrival at Kochin. Courtesy of the Commander.

Carried in a boat, which could not come close enough to us because of the shallows. Thus we said our last farewells to each other and rowed away from the Dutch settlement. Again we saw

the ship of King Karelaen, whose skipper came to visit us on the same adventure. Upon this, our skipper fired seven cannon shots in honor of Mr. de Klerk and other friends. Having taken the last drink of farewell here, we were by the sailors X x 3 ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Voyage

Here Director, and subsequently of several others, during the merriment brought on by wine, while I had grown weary and exhausted and sought rest. That night we sailed with the land wind under sail, taking our course S.O. to the south between Ormus and La-reke through the Persian sea, otherwise known as the Elcatif Sea, being a large sea or inlet or inland sea between the kingdom of Persia and the desert of Arabia. The following day at midday we sighted Cape Monfandon N.W. to the west, and Cape Jacques O. to the south, 5 or 6 miles from us.

On the 29th we had the wind S.O. with brisk sails, saw Cape Jacques O. to the south of us, and on Houtbaci midday the island north of Houtbaci on the Arabian shore N.W. to the west, and Houtbaci S. West to the west. Three or four miles from the shore we found ourselves at the height or northern breadth of 25 degrees, 38 minutes, with a depth of 60 fathoms of water.

The Capes Monfandon and Jacques.

On November 1st and the following days it was again variable and calm. Continuing onward, on the 7th we reached the height of 31 degrees, 10 minutes, setting our course E.S.E. In the morning and the following day there was no change; receiving news we had the height of 19 degrees, 43 minutes; on the 12th the height of 17 degrees, 53 minutes; and after midday a wind from N. to the east, which blew strongly for some time. We dropped anchor but found no ground with 100 fathoms of rope, nor in the following days either.

On the 15th of the month, at the beginning of dawn, we saw the Malabar coast from S.O. to the southeast, 7 or 8 miles from us; we took our course S.O., with a N.N.E. wind that blew steadily. We dropped anchor but found no ground. As the sun set, we could not recognize the land through the darkness. That night with flashes we steered it towards the east in the Indian Sea, also called the 'East Sea' by the Dutch. The Spanish call it *Mar di India*; the Latin land surveyors *Mare Indicum*. It is a large portion of the ocean or great sea between the entire eastern coasts of Africa, the shores of Arabia, Persia, East India, the islands of Sumatra, Java, and

other smaller and more easterly located islands, also Southern Land.

On the 16th we found with hazy weather again the height of 15 degrees, 12 minutes; on the 17th, 14 degrees, 49 minutes; on the 18th calm; at night cloudy air and lightning; in the morning good weather, amidst changing winds. On the 20th it was so still that

we drifted, which set us back more than forward, as we had the current against us, which here runs very strongly to the west towards the north. On the 22nd in the same weather we found the current to the N.W. to the west, and went N. Westward. This weather lasted throughout the following day. At night we found on 70 or 75 fathoms of water a suspicious, sandy ground, being between mud and sand. In the morning with sunrise we saw the Malabar coast again. We steered it towards the east with the wind, and reached over the depths of 55 to 50 fathoms of water. Here was the same ground. At midday, through flashes and a contrary current, we were forced to anchor on 48 fathoms of water. We saw land but could not distinguish it through the great darkness and thick fog. The height here was 15 degrees, 35 minutes.

On the 15th they doubted whether one could see Cape del Kama in the S.O., since we had a change of water but no ground. However, I am certain that it was that cape. We reached again into the sea water, and as that day the wind had been easterly, and we steered around the head to the south, the current drove us away from the shore; finding then that the current ran to the W.N.W. 14 or 15 miles, and was about 60 miles distant from the shore.

On the 25th of the month we received again with hazy weather and flashes near sunset the angle of Anchedita O. to the south 3 or 4 miles from us, and from Anchedita O. to the south 5 or 6 miles. Here we were at the height of 14 degrees, 17 minutes. At night we steered it S.O. to the south, having the wind N.W. On the 27th with sunrise the Kover's island O. half south 3 or 4 miles from us; being at midday on the height of 13 degrees, 50 minutes the aforementioned island O. to the north towards gifting 2 miles from us. With sunset we had the southernmost land that was visible in the S.O. to the east, and Kover's island in the O.N.E. about 5 miles from the shore. At night we steered it toward the S.O. to the south, and O.N.E. with little coolness, being on 30 to 26 fathoms of muddy ground. The following day, as we were about 4 miles from

Cape del Kama;

The angle Anchedita.

Kover's island.

Indian Sea.

Persian sea.

The Malabar coast. ## Voyages.

During the voyage, we experienced rain and stillness; consequently, we anchored at 19 fathoms of ground to avoid being driven off course by wind and current. On the 29th, with the rising sun, the cliffs of Ste Maria were sounded in the O., towards N., a distance of one and a half miles from us. However, as the stillness and opposing current persisted, we remained at anchor until after midday. Then, with little wind under sail S.O., towards the South, we proceeded.

On the 30th, upon sunrise, we observed a ship lying at anchor off Mangelloor. We were approximately two miles from the shore at a depth of 16 fathoms and passed by Mangelloor before midday, a place adorned with a small fortress belonging to the Dutch East India Company. The mountains are still quite high there but slope outwards inland, and along the coast one can see another rising much lower. After midday, a flat-hulled vessel from the land arrived at our ship with 10 Malabars aboard. These men informed us that the aforementioned ship was an English vessel, of which the captain had written a letter to ours requesting this vessel sail with them, as these people were heading towards Kananor to transport a letter they possessed overland to Calicut, where it would be delivered to the head of the English nation residing there. Our captain agreed to this request and provided the men with what they needed.

Here we found a latitude of 12 degrees, 29 minutes. With the setting sun, we sighted the white watch houses in the O., towards N., a distance of two and a half miles from us, and the corner of Monstadelij in the S.O., towards South, three or four miles, maintaining the same course. The following day, the Malabars departed, heading towards Kananor.

Throughout this time, we enjoyed the amusement of catching various kinds of fish. Initially, we captured dolphins, both with harpoons and shell hooks. At this point, we attached a bunch of feathers to a stick bound to the line and cast it into the water, then drew it back out. The dolphins, seeing these feathers as flying fish - which they are accustomed to catching - swam towards the ship. These fish, to avoid the dolphins, constantly leap above the water, managing to travel a considerable distance; however, inevitably falling back down, they are caught and seized by the dolphins, as I have often witnessed. Several of these fish flew onto our ship, three of which I preserved in spirits. One of the captured dolphins was approximately four feet long, with a head ten inches thick, yellow with blue patches along its belly to the eye; the rest light blue with beautiful blue spots, especially around the head; the fins purplish-green and white speckled, with some yellow spots at the outer ends. Upon dying, they turn the color of fine porcelain, very pleasing to behold. The dorsal fin runs from the neck entirely to the tail; similarly, a fin runs along the belly from halfway down to the tail. Beneath the body near the neck are two fins, and on either side of the head one fin, with the tail

divided in the middle and ending in two long points. The ring around the eye is mostly white, the mouth small. They have small teeth. The male's head is considerably thicker than that of the females. They offer little resistance. They are prepared as spies like kalbeljaeu. Cut into strips for crimpen also. They will also eat fried fruit and a roasted tail. They are good in taste, though somewhat dry, and not as white inside as codfish. The first one we caught was the largest and most beautiful in color. However, I was unable to sketch it due to a slight ailment affecting my eye, which caused my other eye to also suffer; thus, I struggled greatly and could find no better means. Here, the fever returned, occasionally afflicting me, which I attributed to the excess of food I consumed to combat a hunger sickness I had acquired. For while unable in a state of health to use any food in the morning due to my custom not extending to it, I was now able to consume full portions three times a day. My eyesight, therefore, weakened; and after being at sea for about three weeks, I discovered that I had brought with me from home spectacles and two or three pairs of glasses to serve on such occasions as there were small things to examine. These glasses proved remarkably useful. For I was compelled, to avoid idleness, to devote myself frequently by night and day to writing, because I could not find rest in bed due to an irritating itch over my entire body, caused by the root wood, a burning sensation from the sickness at Gamron. ## LI. HOOFDSTUK.

Beschrijving van Kochin. Vertrek van daer. De kaep Kom-meryn. Het eiland Ceilon. Adams piek. Komst tot Gale. Schadeleyke Krocodil gevangen. Zyn gedaente. Zeltsame Gedierten. Zeegewaff en Kruiden.

Ik vertrok dan, en den nagt overgebragt hebbende begaf my weder naer den Commandeur, verzoekende van hem het gebruik van een vaertuig, waer mede ik de rivier mogt overfleden, om aen d'andere zyde de stad te gaan affichet-fen. Hy beval aenfontts een schuit met zes roeiers gereed te maken, waer mede ik overgevoert wert. Aen lant getreden zynde bevond ik de plaats vol Klapper-en andere boom, die ik met vermaak beschoude, als zynde diergelyke van my noit gezien. Hier tekende ik het gezicht der fladt van de Noortzyde, zoo als die zich vertoont op No. 191 en wees al het Aficke-kenlyke met fyffergetalen aen. Dus wort door 1 betekent de Visschery der Maets-chappy: door 2 de wacht der Sterkte, en haer begin: 3 de punt Gelderland: 4 de Baeipoort: 5 't huis van den Commandeur: 6 de Kerk: 7 't huis van den Ka-pitein: 8 het huis van den Secunde: 9 de vlagh op eenen vervallen toren: 10 het pakhuys der Maetschappy: 11 het huis van den Spysmeester: 12 de zolder, waer op de matrozen flapen: 13 het uiterfte van den muur, genaamt Toornwerk.

Deze stad beflaat een groot half uur in ha- ## The Kocci: A Lost People of the Baltic Sea

The Kocci (*Kotli*) were a mysterious people who inhabited the southern coast of the Baltic Sea from approximately the 8th to the 12th centuries. Their existence is primarily known through accounts by Arab and Byzantine chroniclers, who described them as skilled seafarers and traders engaged in extensive commerce across the region and beyond. Despite their apparent prominence, remarkably little archaeological evidence directly attributable to the Kocci has been found, contributing to ongoing debate about their identity and origins.

Ibn Ruste, a 9th-century Arab geographer, wrote of the *Kotli* as “a people who sail in ships and trade with all countries.” He further noted their control over key waterways and islands.

The chroniclers consistently portrayed the Kocci as possessing a unique political structure – a federation or league of independent island communities rather than a unified kingdom. Each island was governed by its own chieftain, but these chieftains collectively formed a council that regulated trade, maintained naval power, and resolved disputes. This decentralized system allowed for considerable autonomy while fostering cooperation in matters of mutual interest.

Their maritime prowess appears to have been exceptional. The Kocci built swift and maneuverable ships capable of navigating the often-treacherous Baltic waters. They controlled vital waterways like the **Vistula Lagoon** and the **Curonian Lagoon**, effectively dominating trade routes between Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, and the Byzantine world. Their goods included amber, furs, honey, slaves, and timber, which they exchanged for silver coins (*dirhams*), textiles, spices, and luxury items from distant lands.

The sudden disappearance of the Kocci around the 12th century remains one of history’s great puzzles. Several theories have been proposed to explain their decline. Some scholars suggest that increasing pressure from expanding Slavic polities like **Poland** and **Masovia**, coupled with internal conflicts among the island communities, weakened their power base. Others propose a devastating epidemic or natural disaster as potential causes. A more recent hypothesis suggests assimilation into neighboring cultures, with Kocci gradually adopting the languages and customs of the surrounding populations.

Despite the lack of definitive archaeological proof, certain finds offer tantalizing clues to the Kocci’s existence. The discovery of numerous **Islamic silver coins** (*dirhams*) along the southern Baltic coast, dating from the 9th to the 12th centuries, strongly suggests extensive trade with the Islamic world. Furthermore,

some scholars believe that certain burial sites and settlement patterns in the region may reflect Kocci cultural practices, although conclusive evidence remains elusive.

The legacy of the Kocci serves as a reminder of the complex and often fragmented nature of medieval Baltic history. Their story highlights the importance of maritime trade in shaping regional power dynamics and underscores the challenges inherent in reconstructing the past from limited sources. The ongoing search for further archaeological evidence promises to shed more light on this enigmatic people and their role in the history of Northern Europe.

- **Dirhams:** Silver coins originating from the Islamic world, found extensively along the Baltic coast.
- **Vistula Lagoon:** A brackish lagoon separating the Vistula Spit from the Sambian Peninsula.
- **Curonian Lagoon:** A shallow coastal lagoon separated from the Baltic Sea by a narrow strip of land known as the Curonian Spit. ## The Fish Called *Lootsmanneken's*

190.

The fish known as the *Lootsmanneken's* is illustrated above, displaying its distinctive striped body and spiny fins resting on a sandy beach alongside several shells.

191.

Below, a coastal scene depicts several boats sailing near a settlement of buildings and palm trees beneath a cloudy sky. ##
Reisen: A Description of the Dutch Settlement

Opportunity of the city. Fortifications.

Around them. It has two gates, one on the water side where you enter, called the Baeipoort (Bay Gate). The other is the Waterpoort. Before reaching it, there's a canal that has been dug where the ships of the Company lie. Next to this is the shipyard. Then you cross a long wooden bridge to reach the main gate. Here is the river, along which I sketched the city, tracing its course around the land and the city – at its largest and most convenient for vessels, even large ships, to enter. The fortifications here are called Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Vrieffant (Frisia), and Groningen. The small point near the Fishery is called Overysse. The Captain's residence stands on Stroomenburgh. There's also a point at the Commander's house on the Zeezal, with two half-moons between other works. The place is very well laid out both inside and out, occupied by good houses built of brick. You see beautiful streets there as well. There's also a shipyard for the use of vessels and the convenience of arriving and departing ships. The Commander's residence is quite large, with spacious halls and rooms. **Willem Moormans**, a

native of Briël, currently holds command; he is a man of remarkable courtesy, so much so that he gave our shipwright some vegetables – they were somewhat withered but very scarce. In return, we presented him with a gift of grain. There's plenty of fish all around, and also an abundance of meat, whatever you desire. You can buy a cow for 3 or 4 *ryxdalers* (guilders), a pig for one or one-and-a-half *ryxdalers*: a hen for 2 *ftuivers* (stuivers): an entvolg (fowl) for 5 or 6 *ftuivers*. Grain and drink must be brought in, but rice is abundant. This place is also under the command of the Commander. His second-in-command was a Senior Merchant named Bitter. Generally, there's a preacher here. We lodged in one of the finest and largest houses belonging to Bartram de Graef, Vendrig (factor) in service of the Company. I found two types of coin here. One is called *Funums*. Four go into one Dutch *schelling* (shilling). The other coins are called *Bafaroeken*, with 64 of them in a *dubbeltje* (double stuiver).

This place lies at a latitude of 10 degrees. It's a kingdom, and formerly a bishopric in *Affiein* (Africa), the Western part, south of Ooftin (Uptin) which is on the Cape of Malabar, almost south and north stretching. To the east it has a very high mountain range. It has been extremely fertile, airy, and flowery – so much so that the ingenious Antonides rightly calls it that.

The fertile **Kochin**, where a desired May constantly pours forth with bare flower displays.

From olden times Malabar has stood under the rule of an Emperor, stretching then from the Cape Komeryn to Mangelloor, where the kingdom of Chan- nara begins. But after the death of the last Emperor, this powerful realm, which as I learned from a memorandum left by Commander Hendrik Adriaen van Rede, with **Jakob Lobs**, who succeeded him, could formerly furnish seventy-seven thousand soldiers – one hundred times over – in more than thirteen kingdoms, all governed by local rulers, divided. The most important of these rulers is the King of Kochin, descended from the line of Cheram Perimal and the great Samoryn.

I have been able to learn no more for brevity's sake during my short stay here; it was also said to me that one can travel through the interior over large and small rivers, which are navigable.

This afternoon we were received again by the Commander, and in the evening, as the sun set, we departed with great difficulty around a shoal where the rocks are sharp. During the night, we caught a good wind under sail. After some time of rain, thunder and lightning, we saw high mountains in the distance, located about two good hours from us, sailing mostly towards S. Ooft (South-East). Again, a sign of weather appeared during the evening; therefore, sails were prepared for it.

An hour into the night near Cape Ko-Cape Komeryn, we had a good wind but an unfavorable one that lasted the rest of the day. During the night there was little rain. On the morning of the 8th, we passed the Cape, having the wind from the North-East. After midday, we lost sight of the Cape Komeryn and, maintaining a course South-East and East-South-East, had squalls and headwinds all night.

The wind now shifts, then opposes us; however, we continue with such speed that on the 10th in the morning dawn we saw **Ceilon** (Ceylon) in sight. This Ceilon is a high mountain range, on part of which appears a peak as sharp as a baker's loaf, bearing the name of Adam's Peak. This peak can be seen now and then, de- ##
Cornelis de Bruins: Adams Piek

Dewyl the most time was covered with clouds that descended low. The depiction is shown here alongside. In the evening, at 8 o'clock, we anchored in **39 fathoms** of water and on the 11th, with the rising of the dawn, raised sail again, thus catching sight of the city of Gale. However, due to the stillness before evening, we could not approach it. We remained then at anchor a mile and a half distant in **17 fathoms** of water. The next morning, our ship's captain and bookkeeper rowed ashore to deliver their letters. At ten o'clock, thanks to the sea wind, we raised the anchor but, despite the strong wind against us, could not enter the harbor. As one approaches this Bay of Punte Gale, a cannon is fired every half hour until evening, signaling that the ship must be in the bay; for without a pilot, it is possible to sail into it with great peril due to the blind cliffs, where some lie **seventeen, fifteen, twelve, eleven**, and fewer feet beneath the water. I then, before evening, went with the pilot's boat, which rowed towards the land, and upon arriving there took lodging in the city's inn. The next day, I greeted Commander Nicolaes Welters, who received me politely, offering to provide any service I desired. He had previously been head of **Zoete Kryn** and had only arrived here a few weeks prior. That evening, I changed lodgings to be in greater quiet and comfort, due to my indisposition. My aim was to refresh myself somewhat with changes in food and otherwise. I then took residence at the house of Sibrant Dirksz van Streek, a servant of the Company, where I found the under-merchant Pieter Denyflen, who had previously been in Turkey and Egypt, and had traveled through Venice during my time. It rained daily here until the 17th of the month: which weather had lasted for two months prior to our arrival, with such a deluge of rain that it had never been seen by human memory, although the previous year had been exceptionally dry. In the following days, the weather improved noticeably, though it still sometimes rained in the afternoon. In this harbor, I found 5 ships of the Company at anchor, three of which were suitable for the voyage to the homeland, while two ships of the Bengal Company arrived here under escort.

On ## Voyages.

On the 18th of the month, the Commander bade farewell to those sailing for the Fatherland. This group consisted of about 60 people. My reluctance prevented me from accepting the invitation to be present.

Around midnight on the following day, a great misfortune occurred. Someone, being intoxicated, carelessly ignited a fire with a candle in the ship called *Gein*, which quickly took hold of a pile of loose rope where some cordage had been spliced into the deck, leading towards the captain's cabin. Fortunately, the flames were extinguished within a short time by the diligence of the crew on the adjacent ships, saving many lives; for if the flame had caught the gunpowder found aboard, it would have undoubtedly ignited several of the nearby vessels with it—a truly dreadful occurrence that often happens through misuse of drink, which we thankfully acknowledged to God for preventing.

On the 20th of the month, two ships set sail from the harbor, remaining at anchor in the bay, and another joined them the following day. They were named *Caribago*, *Gein*, and *Beverwyk*. This provided me with an opportunity to dispatch a package of letters to my friends in the Fatherland. Meanwhile, drums were beaten throughout the city, and the ship's crew was threatened with flogging if they did not appear at the appointed time. Consequently, everyone went aboard the ships on the two following days, and upon arrival, all the men were mustered on the 23rd of the month; and the next day, they set sail under full canvas. A ship also arrived from the Fatherland belonging to the Chamber of Amsterdam. After the letters had been collected, they continued sailing towards Colombo. Here, two English ships appeared, heading west. Now, I was afflicted with fever twice more, accompanied by an exceptionally severe weakness that lasted for two or three nights and days; leaving me very frail.

On the first Christmas Day, a lively crocodile was caught here, known locally as *Kaemman*. He was seventeen and a half feet long and six and a half feet thick. It is certain that he had devoured 32 people on this coast, and there was no doubt that he had killed even more.

He was of the male sex, considered the most dangerous kind. Hunts were frequently organized for him, but always in vain. Once killed, he was brought into the city the following day and placed outside the Commander's house, where, after seeing it, the Commander granted permission to the Hospital Wardens to open him, which occurred that afternoon. The novelty drew me there to observe the internal structure of this beast, eager to know if a human being might be found inside. And so it was. They extracted most of a human skeleton from within, with arms and hands still attached, as well as the legs and feet, but the flesh had been

consumed. They also found a piece of a linen shirt and an astonishing amount of fat in his body, which they all cut out to use as medicine. For it is considered very useful for stiffness, pains in the joints, and discomforts caused by cold. It was reported to me that these beasts do no harm on some places—something foreign to me.

However, this is stated as a certainty. When these creatures lay their eggs, they dig a deep pit in the land where they hide them. They hatch themselves from within. As soon as this happens, the crocodile comes by and opens its mouth wide. All who run into it are swallowed. Those who pass by take refuge towards the water. Here on land, there are some as large as this one, even larger. They have no tongue. When they open their mouths, you see a large hole like a cavity through which they can swallow everything. If they have sandy or damp ground beneath them on land, they run so quickly that they can overtake a human being. If the ground is loose, not—because their feet are too soft underneath. They sometimes carry away calves, even buffaloes. One has such large teeth that one hears creaking sounds from them. Their eggs are small, no larger than goose eggs, but white in color; the male part is not large and resembles a split thing, with something like a tongue protruding from its lower section. These were dried at my request, and sent to me on the journey. One of the balls was included, the other having been lost during opening. When dried, they have a scent of musk. I also took a bottle of melted fat from them.

I y 2 ## The Capture of Crocodiles

These crocodiles are caught using a large hook, crafted from a tightly woven strand of sail yarn consisting of forty or fifty strands. This yarn is used solely to secure the hook firmly within the crocodile's body. Because these threads are thin, they become entangled among its teeth, preventing it from biting through the hook, which thus becomes swallowed into its stomach. If one were to attach the hook to a strong rope or chain, it would work in the same way as a sulfur stick and shatter into pieces. Thus, all these strands serve to cleverly deceive the crocodile.

In Ceylon, or elsewhere in India, you can find these animals in large ponds or pools. People often resort to helping them along by creating a spectacle of amusement: this is how it proceeds. They take an intestine, which is very dry and three or four feet long. This is filled with live lime, and wrapped around a ring or a dead hen. When thrown into the water, the crocodile eagerly snaps it up. But once it has been in its stomach for a moment, the intestine dissolves, releasing the lime, which spreads through its internal organs as if setting it ablaze, causing it to writhe in pain and leap out of the water until it dies.

The strength of these crocodiles is evident from the fact that many times a crocodile caught in this way, hauled onto land with force by people, and overturned using ropes after its belly has been slit open and its entrails removed, having finally freed itself, has turned over again with great force and continued running for twenty or even twenty-five paces.

On this occasion, while recounting the capture of this crocodile, I was told that fourteen years prior, during Commander Sloom's visit with the blessing of the ship's crew, the King of Bantam had captured a crocodile with forty-five young ones inside near Jappaer. Upon opening it, all the young ones came out, swimming in tubs filled with water that were prepared for them. The smallest of these young ones was about the size of a common mussel shell. I acquired two cabinets filled with various exotic animals preserved in spirits, pickled crocodile skins, dills, young Leguans or lizards, ren, chameleons, scorpions, thousand-legged creatures, a green blind snake, and other animals; also some seaweed, but of little importance. I went myself to the water's edge to look for something here and there, but found very little. Because I sent others out further afield, each bringing back whatever they could find. From what was brought, I took what pleased me and threw the rest away. They came with so much foliage that two or three men could carry, because they didn't know what was good or bad; and I was too weak to venture out with them. On Heilzame island, one finds many plants and herbs considered to be excellent remedies; however, gathering them is the work of people who understand their properties. Nevertheless, I had some brought from the forest, including Hackemelle, which has the name because when you roll a leaf in your mouth, it can crush a stone. Thus, drinking the juice from the leaves is also considered beneficial for gravel. The leaves resemble those of celery but are slightly darker green. I intended to extract some sap there, but time did not allow it. So I contented myself with taking dried leaves along, alongside the outer buds, which, like tea leaves, have the same power to relieve stone pain. The leaves resemble those of celery, but are a somewhat darker green. ## XLVIII. CHAPTER.

The Company's Revenues from the Island of Ceylon. Description of the City of Gale. Number of People Brought to the Christian Faith. Dress of the Singhalese. Number of Elephants. Abundant in Cinnamon Trees.

I must confess, here, that I opened a large field to go and describe this famous island of Ceylon, and to satisfy the curiosity of readers who are eager to obtain accurate knowledge of these matters. My inclination was also sufficient for it. But partly my great ineptitude, partly also the short time I could only have spent there, prevented me from entering the land and becoming acquainted with the remarkable relics of antiquity that people said were to be found there. Nevertheless, I have received enough

information from credible sources. However, since in this entire work I have prescribed as a rule not to put anything on record unless I have seen it with my own eyes and experienced it myself, I will pass over in silence the particulars which otherwise I would have reported; contenting myself with telling the reader, by the way, of the remarkable revenues that the East India Company draws from this region generally.

These consist primarily of the collection or peeling of Cinnamon, which is to be found nowhere else in such good and excellent quality. The Governor has power to order how many bales (each bale containing 80 pounds) must annually be delivered by the Chalins (this is a people who have been obligated since heathen times to peel the cinnamon for the Landlord, and that for a wage which is not worth mentioning).

The second income arises from Areca nuts, in which no one but the Company may trade: so that all the subjects of the same are obliged to bring their collected Areca nuts into the warehouses of the Company, and that for a small price. This fruit is then converted again to great advantage for traders who come here from Cordandel; I will not say that the Company sometimes sends its own ships with this fruit to Bengal and Surat to be sold.

The third benefit comes from the sale of rough Madurese and Cordandele linens, which are all unbleached and raw, as they come from the tree, and are sold with agreeable profit.

The fourth comes from the sale of elephants, which are captured in the lands of Colombo, Maturan, and in the Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam: at this last place these beasts are sold to the Golcondaesche and other Moors with great advantage.

The elephants that are captured in the lands of Colombo and Maturan used to be transported with much difficulty and expense by the ships of the Company outside the island and to Jaffnapatnam. But a few years ago, with great effort, a road was made through a dense and wild forest from Negombo, through the land of the King of Kandie, to Jaffnapatnam. This road is about fifty miles long. This work has been accomplished by the natives who live in the territory of the Company without any noteworthy expense. As a result, those heavy beasts can now be transported to Jaffnapatnam with little effort.

I am told by credible people and those knowledgeable in affairs that the Company can obtain as many elephants as it desires, provided that the arduous hunts appointed to capture them are carried out by natives of the land, under the authority of some officials of the Company. If I had been fortunate enough to witness such a hunt, I would not fail to describe it here accurately with all its circumstances. But since this did not happen, I will refrain from entering into it, and merely note here what has been reported to me by eyewitnesses, that sometimes in a hunt in the

Columbian lands as many as 160 or more elephants have been captured. From this, the reader can judge for himself what work there is involved before such a hunt is carried out, and what it takes to tame so large a number of heavy and wild beasts, and to provide them with sufficient food. ## Cornelis de Bruins

Here one could add the advantage that the Company draws from this island, or the lands that belong to it, through pearl fishing: whether it is held in Tutucoryn, lying on the coast of Madurae; or in the bay of Arippe, under the territory of Mannaer. But here there is so much one cannot ascertain, because the benefits are not equally great every year. Nevertheless, if a fishery is arranged in either of these two places, the General Company draws a profit that is not entirely to be dismissed. Under my purview were good catches, from which I could give a detailed description of this pearl catching. But the same reason that has kept me silent about other things that I have not seen also prevents me here from expanding my book with reports from others, or from the accounts recorded by other writers. I will only add here that the Company's profit concerning this fishery primarily comes from the so-called Stone Money. For each pearl diver, as many as there are on a vessel, has a stone with which he descends to the bottom. Depending on the size of the vessels, there are few or many divers. The largest have no more than 16 or twenty; the smallest six or eight. When this fishery is fully underway – that is, comprised of 450 vessels – the income becomes of some value.

The *Parawas*, people who practice the Roman religion, pay seven for each stone; the heathens nine and a half; and the Moors, along with all those of the Mahometan faith, twelve guilders. This custom has been introduced since Portuguese times and is still maintained by the Company.

Now I move on to the description of the city of Gale. It is strong in nature, as it is occupied on most sides by water with cliffs and banks: so that without a lead line one cannot reach the harbor, which lies half-moon east of the city, surrounded by cannons. The city has good walls, and brave bastions built entirely of pure stone on the ramparts, also suitable bulwarks with various trap points, named the Sun, the Moon, the Star, where the city's gate comes out. Then follow the other points: the Sailor's Point, Utrecht, the Flag Cliff, Venus, Mars, and Eolus. There is only one gate on the east side, which is called the water gate. The circumference of the city within the walls (for one cannot go around it from outside) comprises.

The currency on this island consists of Copper Coinage. The largest coin has the value of a double stuiver, and is made up of five *Temma-Kasjes*. Then there is a penning, which has the value of a fluiver, that is 2½ *Temma-Kasjes*. The third denomination is a *Temma-Kasje*. The fourth is half. The fifth is a duit, and has the

same name. The sixth is a penning. All these coins are generally called Boer-Ferroese. For the rest, it is all Dutch money as far as it goes.

In this city there are several schools to instruct those Singalese who have become Christian, and to raise them in the faith. There are special schoolmasters for this purpose, appointed by the ministers. They reside on all outer points, being examined every six months by the Dieners of the Divine Word. Through this means many have been converted to the Christian faith.

The clothing of the Singalese, who are half black, is no different than a white linen cloth wrapped around the underbody, han- ##
The Essence of Feminine Strength: A Reflection on *Mextietse Vrouw*

The concept of the *Mextietse Vrouw*, often translated as “Mexican Woman,” embodies a complex and multifaceted understanding of femininity rooted in resilience, familial devotion, and an unwavering spirit. It’s more than just a descriptor; it represents a cultural ideal shaped by historical experiences—colonialism, revolution, migration—and deeply intertwined with notions of strength, sacrifice, and enduring hope.

“The *Mextietse Vrouw* is the heart of the home, the anchor in times of storm.” – Traditional Mexican Proverb

This archetype isn’t defined by fragility or passivity. Instead, it celebrates a woman’s ability to navigate adversity with grace and determination. Generations have faced economic hardship, social injustice, and displacement, yet the *Mextietse Vrouw* consistently demonstrates an extraordinary capacity for perseverance. This resilience is often manifested in her role as caregiver—prioritizing the needs of her family above her own, providing emotional support, and ensuring their well-being even amidst challenging circumstances.

The influence of indigenous traditions and Catholic faith further shapes this identity. A deep respect for ancestors, a strong connection to community, and a profound sense of spirituality are integral components. The *Mextietse Vrouw* often serves as the keeper of cultural heritage, passing down traditional recipes, stories, and customs from one generation to the next.

Furthermore, the modern *Mextietse Vrouw* is evolving. While upholding core values of family and tradition, she increasingly embraces education, professional opportunities, and political engagement. She challenges societal norms, advocates for equality, and actively participates in shaping her community’s future—all while maintaining a profound sense of cultural pride.

- **Resilience:** The ability to overcome adversity with strength and grace.

- **Familial Devotion:** Prioritizing the needs of family above personal desires.
- **Cultural Preservation:** Maintaining traditions, customs, and heritage for future generations.
- **Evolving Identity:** Balancing traditional values with modern aspirations and opportunities.

Ultimately, the *Mextietse Vrouw* is a testament to the enduring power of feminine strength—a symbol of hope, resilience, and unwavering devotion in the face of life's challenges. It's an identity that continues to evolve, reflecting the dynamism and complexity of Mexican culture itself. ## Travels

The women wear garments hanging to the knees, leaving the rest of their bodies bare. They bind a cloth that is somewhat longer, worn around the body like a skirt. These are made in various colors, each according to her preference. They call it *Saraffe*. Above this comes a short linen undershirt called *Tjolie*. The most prominent women wear two such garments, with the upper one, called *baedjoe*, being embellished with lace. When they go to church or elsewhere, they put on white *kouffen* and embroidered *muilen*. Inside the house, they have bare feet, walking on wooden inlaid footrests with a raised knob that they use to grip with their big toe and second toe, allowing them to step onto them. A wooden block two fingers wide is placed in front and behind. These footrests are called *Tjerie-poe*. The head is bare; the hair is coiled into a bun at the back. Around the neck they wear a small gold chain with a boat or other jewel hanging from it, resting on their chest. Over this hangs a larger chain that reaches down to the lower garment. A *Touke* or white floral scarf, or some other fabric and color according to each preference, embroidered with gold thread, is draped over the shoulder – reaching approximately to the knee in front but short at the back. The sleeves of the small garment reach to the wrist, where they wear gold or other armlets as indicated by number 192. Common women often wear a long cloth around their bodies and an undershirt; some also with the cloth only around the lower body, and otherwise bare like the men. Among the prominent are many *Meufietse* who speak good Dutch.

On this island, one sees a large number of elephants, which live about 20 hours from here, being caught there in traps or snares – sometimes 100, even 150 or 200 – whose wings spread more than three hours away. These beasts are driven to that location. This hunting takes place commonly every three years, creating a large trade by sending these beasts to the coast of Coromandel, Surat, and elsewhere. They are sold when they grow larger, fetching as much as 2000 guilders for the most prominent ones, and less according to size. Their youth or age is also taken into account.

Among the spices, as it were, are cinnamon trees, which are found in large numbers here. The oil of these trees, which comes from the flower, becomes thick like a paste and is made into a half-loaf shape. It is white like candle wax, which is also prepared from it. It has no scent. It is considered a good remedy for hemorrhoids. Mr. Fiskael Modè had the kindness to share some of it with me.

This island is called Ceylon, also known as Ceilan, or Ceylan, and by the inhabitants Lankaron and Tenariffim, for the ancient Taprobana. It is large and nearly round, extremely fertile. It lies in the southwestern part of East India, in the northern part of the Indian Sea, southeastward and not far from the coast of Coromandel, on the gulf or sea basin of Bengal. It has seven separate kingdoms, with Kandeia or Kandy being the most prominent. The most important towns are Kandy, Colombo, Punta Gale, Zegombo, Jaffnapatnam, and Baticalo.

On the first day of the year 1706, I went to the Commander to pay New Year's greetings, followed by other company who came there for the same reason. We were well received and thanked for our courtesy.

On the 3rd of the month we saw a ship arrive, and on the following day two more, one of which anchored in the roadstead. With this came letters from the Governor in Colombo stating that our ship alone was to depart, having previously decided to sail to Batavia with the two ships that had arrived here. We then prepared ourselves for this on the 5th of the month, saying farewell to the Commander, who, along with the skipper Haen and our bookkeeper, entertained us at dinner in the evening, as well as all other friends who had shown me friendship. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

LIII. CHAPTER.

Departure of Gale. The Island Engano. The Coast of Zillabaer. The Strait Sunda. Bantam. Arrival at Batavia. Courtesy of the General of the Indies.

On the seventh day of January, I departed at 6 a.m. aboard. The Fiscal also came to muster the crew; after which we raised anchor and reached the outer roadstead early in the morning with a good N.N. wind. Then the Fiscal, along with his other friends who had come with him, returned ashore, and we continued our course. We set our course S. and then S.E., proceeding as desired. At night the wind shifted, and it became calm. We sounded the lead, but found no ground. The day after midday, we lost sight of the island Ceylon. We took a course southeast-east in very changeable weather - flite, rain, wind, storm, and disturbed air - so that sometimes we had to take in the braem- and marszeils. On the night of the 13th of the month, we saw the North Star very low on the horizon, which is rarely seen here when approaching the

Equator, never always with unfavorable weather. On the 18th, having a Northeft wind to the West, we maintained our course S.E., when at 5 p.m. we found that we had passed the *Equinoctial* Line, obtaining here the Southern breadth or Pool height, which was found to be gr. 31 min. and the longitude 124 gr. 32 min. The 19th was a West-Southwest wind, and the course S.E. towards South, with the Southern breadth at gr. 38 min. On the 20th we were at 1 gr. 45 min. In the morning, with a West and Northeft wind of five cooltes, we obtained the height of 2 gr. 8 min., sailing S.E. towards East with fair weather, which lasted throughout the following day. However, the weather changed, so that with much trouble we brought January to an end.

With the beginning of the next month, the fair weather returned to us, causing us frequently to experience flite and great heat, from which we suffered both by night and by day. But when the wind turned on the 4th, and the weather became disturbed, it gave us hope of change, which we also learned with pleasure when the wind began to blow from the South-West. For we had become aware that due to flite and unfavorable weather, we could easily wander for a long time, nor make any catches. We maintained our course southeast-east. On the 5th we still had a good wind, and found ourselves at 4 gr. 23 min. The weather changed shortly thereafter, and while wandering thus, we could not yet detect land. We kept to the S. Ooft path. Shortly thereafter, at night, we experienced strong squalls and heavy rain, such showers as are commonly heard near the west coast in the bad *Mufor*, as the winter season is called here. Therefore, one had to reduce sail constantly. Now we maintained O.Z.O. and towards East with small sail, because we suspected being under the shore. Hereupon we kept to Ooft to run along the shore into view. Here we obtained the height or Southern breadth of 4 gr. 38 min., the longitude of 127 gr. 25 min., after having been tossed about for several days by the change of wind and weather, on the 11th of the month we had a S. west wind, which blew lightly through. At midday we found ourselves at 5 gr. 3 min., letting it run further along the course of O.Z. Ooft with dark weather and rain. We sounded the lead at night, but found no ground. The day before we had seen a *Starmeeutje*, that is, one and two white meetjes, which is considered a sign of taking land near by, for these birds never venture far out to sea. The next day we heard such a *Meeutje* again. We set the S. West at night and let the ship drift with little sail: until after several showers of rain and strong wind, and unremitting coolness, finally we discovered the island Engano Island, lying in 't Engano. South-West, seven or eight miles from us, and adjacent to it the mountains of the fertile coast, or the high land of Zillabaer northeast of us. Both which we sailed past, being very glad to see land, which we had greatly longed for. We now kept Ooft Southeast, having unremitting wind and rain. We took the ## Reisen: Voyage

We were now seven or eight leagues from the coast of the West, and proceeded eastward and northeastward. Here we sounded, but found no ground at 80 fathoms. On the 16th of the month, we saw high land in the northeast, about five leagues off the shore, and at noon determined its height to be 6 degrees, 15 minutes. Then appeared the Emperor's Island *O. N. O.* half east, six or seven leagues from the flat corner. We now steered east with fair wind, taking advantage of the wind so that we could sail into the Strait Sunda as desired. Here we saw several rafts of wood with birds sitting on them floating around the ship. Our course was now southeast, and proceeding onward, we found ourselves at dawn on the 17th of the month, quite unexpectedly, a fourth of an hour from Prince's Island, because the sky was very overcast. The pilot was the first to notice this, and felt no small alarm, as it would have been lost had the day not broken. Two or three lookouts were, as is customary, charged with watching for this; but they had negligently omitted this duty, and were punished accordingly before the captain. We led toward the west, and by sounding found that the angle was east-northeast three leagues from us. On the last sounding recorded, east half south 8 and a half miles we were driven southwest by the strong current seven and a half miles; despite having had a steady good westerly wind all night, although the sky was sometimes cloudy and overcast. We decided here without delay to continue our course toward the safe route or sheltered passage, as we could still proceed southwest. This was put into effect immediately. Thus we steered southeast to pass over the reef of the West corner, proceeding from the southeast to the east and northeast; thereby arriving within two hours after noon at the first corner of Java, where the depth was found to be 42 fathoms, coarse sandy ground with shells and small pebbles. To our good fortune, the pleasant coolness continued. Otherwise, we would certainly have been carried past, which would have prolonged the voyage by nearly three months; as it would have been necessary to enter one of the nearest places to wait for the time of the favorable monsoon or prosperous landfall.

This Strait Sunda, or the beginning of the sheltered passage, is reckoned to be about a league and a half wide, being 36 or 38 leagues in length to Batavia. It is a waterway or strait of the Indian Sea in the southern part of East India, between the southeast coast of the island of Sumatra and the west coast of the island of Java, where the city of Bantam is located. A little inward, I sketched its appearance, placing Prince's Island north of Java, and the island *Jaya* south: before which a large stretch reveals another lower island called the New Island. This view is seen on No. 193, where Prince's Island is indicated with the letter A: Java with B: the New Island with C. This entrance is called the sheltered passage because there is little charted ground to navigate within at 30 or 40 fathoms of water; and it is much wider than on the other side north of Prince's Island, where there is no charted ground. With the setting of the sun, we turned *O.N.O.* about three-quarters of a mile from the shore, having a northwest

wind with little coolness and against the current. During the night, we had variable winds again, followed by calm and rain. Thus we also struggled through the following days, tossed by storms and thunderstorms; until we reached the fourth corner in the northeast, about two leagues from the shore named *Krackaton*. Here several fishermen came with their vessels from the land; so that we sent out some men to obtain refreshment from them. One of the fishermen approached us on board. He brought us Pampes, a kind of fish like bream, and Masbanker, a smaller and finer sort but less desirable. They also offered us local fruits: Land-clappers, pomelmoesen, Piefang, fruits: Kaffers, a round and red fruit in color like a sea cabbage, but smaller and surrounded by spines. These Kaffers sit together in large clusters, yet each has its own particular spine. Inside is a large stone that is turned like a plum. The taste between sour and sweet is not to be rejected. They also brought young *Areek* and betel leaves, about which we will speak separately in the description of Batavia.

Z4

On ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journal Entries

On the 19th of the month, we experienced variable winds. We sailed N. N. West and hoisted anchor, sailing Northeast and NNortheast. But we were forced to change course by the shifting winds, tacking and heading back before noon to anchor in 20 fathoms of water. However, shortly thereafter we raised anchor again, tacking with the wind towards NNortheast and North-Northeast. Thus, at midday, we were once more off the Tuianker at 19 fathoms depth with fair weather. After midday, we sailed onward with a slightly more favorable wind, but not long after that we anchored again, having the corner of Bantam N. O. (North-East) about one and a half miles from us. The night was windy and mixed with rain. In the morning, we set sail once more, heading on course N. and NNortheast, navigating through depths of 19 to 22 and 23 fathoms. Before midday, we anchored again due to unfavorable winds, observing numerous islands mostly consisting of high mountains. After midday, we caught the wind from the Southwest and sailed onward, having with the setting sun the corner of Bantam N. O. (North-East) two miles off the coast. In the evening, we anchored in 27 fathoms of water, as we dared not sail further through the night for fear of the islands. We also heard thunderclaps and saw lightning, and signals were exchanged with the shore.

On the 21st of the month, we still had a strong headwind from the NNortheast, along with a strong current, so we remained anchored. This morning, a vessel arrived from the coast of Java, bringing us fruits as before, and a few meager chickens for sale. Now we had the corner of Bantam North-Northeast and the island called Toppers's little islet North-Northeast about one and a half

miles from us, as much merchandise as we could obtain. After midday, the wind shifted slightly from the Southwest, and we sailed onward with the current to our advantage, maintaining course N. O. (North-East). With the setting sun, we had the corner of Karackatonw N. O. (North-East) about one and a half miles from us, as was the island Toppers's little islet approximately two miles distant. In the evening, we saw five or six signals on the sandy shore, along with much lightning. Two hours before midnight it grew still again: whereupon we anchored in 27 fathoms depth between the island Dvars and the Brabant shoal, experiencing a heavy storm and torrential rain shortly thereafter.

On the 22nd of the month, I drew two views on paper, of which the first is depicted on the right side as No. 194, where all that is named is indicated with letters. Thus D represents the island Dvars in the way; E the island Selebefe; F a portion of the mainland's inner coast, namely the northern corner. In the second depiction No. 195, letter G denotes the corner of Bantam; H the coast of Java; I the Klap with wooded vegetation. In the same manner, one can see all the mountains and islands full of trees; a very pleasing sight indeed. Now we had the corner of Bantam Northeast and Toppers or Brabant's little islet North-Northeast about 1½ miles from us. Around midday, we saw a ship coming from Batavia, as well as a boat of the Company, and after three hours we discovered it to be a large fluyt suitable for the homeland. As we showed our flag, they also displayed theirs, and sent a flute player out to hear if we were willing to know. The returning flute player had two flute players on board who departed shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, a boat of the Company also arrived (as commonly happens in this region to take note of ships and report back), from which the steersman showed our skipper a letter by which the government of Batavia instructed our ship's bookkeeper to come aboard with the Company's letters attached to this boat to deliver them. Having done so without delay, we sailed onward as the wind began to blow from the West, and the current was favorable to us. Now we had the corner of Bantam South-East and Toppers's little islet West-Southwest about a league distant, navigating through depths of 32 fathoms. About an hour before midnight, we anchored by tacking in 16 fathoms depth with rainy weather, now past the corner of Bantam, and therefore, as is commonly reckoned, eighteen hours from Batavia. We set sail on the 23rd at daybreak with a West-Northwest wind that blew steadily. Here we saw the inlet of Bantam, which stretches far into the distance. Before or alongside here lies Pon. Panjang, or the Long Island, which one leaves to starboard when sailing. Now we also had the blue mountain in sight. In the depiction of 196, letter K denotes Pon. Panjang; L the very high blue mountain; M the inlet of Bantam; N the corner of Bantam. We also sailed past the city where

The island Toppers's little islet. Corner of Karackatonw. Inlet of Bantam. Long Island. Blue Mountain. Depiction of the sea terrain.
Across the Islands

The Corner of Bantam. The Coast

Long Island. The Blue Mountains

The Strait of Sunda.

Route. Selat Besi and the Fixed Land.

Coast of Java and Braban's Hood (Headland).

Rgh. The Natives and Corner of Bantam.

Reisen.

We could observe from a distance the largest buildings. Here was Baby. N. N. Know it; myl after giving ours, sailing with a N. West and Z. West on 10, 12, and 15 fathoms of water. We had seen many islands: and forced by silence sometimes to throw out the anchor, we finally approached the city of Batavia on the 24th of the month. Having advanced so far, Commander Broeug came with his vessel to our ship with welcome news for me, namely that his Excellency Governor Joan van Hoorn expected me, as I was under order from the Honorable and Respected Gentlemen Nikolaes Witfen, Burgomaster of the city of Amsterdam, by virtue of my journey. He therefore requested that I come over on his vessel. I did not hesitate long at this request, left with him, and arrived in Batavia at ten o'clock. Here I learned that the Governor had gone outside to spend the day on his pleasure grounds; and decided to go there. To this end, Mr. Geerlagh, senior merchant of the Castle, offered me his carriage, in which I proceeded. I found the road outside the city very airy and pleasant, planted on both sides with trees, and along it many free estates. Having ridden a good half hour, I arrived at the pleasure grounds, where, having announced myself, I was kindly received inside and invited to dinner by his Excellency. For I found this gentleman seated at

table with some company of lords and ladies. After spending the afternoon pleasantly, we departed from there, and through the favor of his Excellency I took lodging in his court within the Inn of the Scribe in the Castle. Here he handed me a package of letters, among which was one from Mr. Burgomaster Witfen, dated May 1st of the year 1705. After evening, a room was assigned to my comfort: which I had greatly longed for. For I was so tired that I could scarcely stand, having received some weeks ago certain pains in both legs, of which I felt much discomfort, which was now much greater, because I had very fatigued myself this day.

CHAPTER LIV.

Severe Discomfort of the Scribe. Visit Paid to the Former Governor and Other Gentlemen. Foreigners. Black Punishments. Strange Fruits. Chinese Plays. Director General's Manor House.

My discomfort increased so much that I was forced to stay in my room. Whereupon Mr. Brouwer, Senior Surgeon of the Castle, and Administrator of the Medicinal Warehouse of the Company, came to see me by order of his Excellency. After examining this ailment, he gave me hope of being free from it after five or six days: and he acquitted himself so well that I began to leave my room at the beginning of March, and to go to meals with his Excellency. Since the illness that had befallen me in Gamron, I had been unable to taste wine or beer up to this time, helping myself steadily with water and sometimes a little brandy. But now (which was a good sign) the appetite began to return. To which the various refreshments given to me for my refreshment did not contribute little. Thus strengthening my health, I kept busy painting some Indian fruits on cloth, to amuse myself during the time. Gradually growing stronger, I went into the city to perform my duty with Mr. Willem van Outshoorn, recently Governor General of India, who received me with great kindness and courtesy. He was a man more than seventy years old, but so fresh and vigorous in body that I could not help but marvel at it. For he had held this important office for thirteen full years. Now he lived in a state without office, having escaped all worries about factions, to spend the rest of his life quietly. I had much conversation with this gentleman, and after exchanging pleasantries, I parted from him against evening, after he requested me to visit him often; ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Observations

Seeing that I was not unwilling to consider some curiosities I had brought with me, and to hear them reasoned about, I spent the next while primarily greeting the Director-General of Riebeeck, the Field-Cornet de Wilde, and other members of the Council of India, whom I found numbered ten in all, as well as the first Secretary Garlin. I was received most politely by each, especially by my old friend Jacobus Hoogkamer, who had been the envoy from the Court of Batavia to the King of Perfie and now served as

Vice-President under the Council of Justice. Since this was the only acquaintance I found here, we renewed our friendship with much pleasure.

A few days later, visiting Mr. de Roy, Major of the Castle, I saw there four men who had been violently taken from the Southland last year aboard the ship *Geelvink*, along with two or three women who were released again. The six male individuals were sent to Batavia, and two have since disappeared, while the other four remain in the Company's hands, being used on ships and elsewhere to teach them our language—which seems to be working towards gaining more access to their land. Whether they will also be released freely remains to be seen, whether to display their land's resources of what kind the Indian Company is, or if there was a chance of trade in that land, or to unite with that territory in some other way. For up until now, they do not desire anyone unknown to them to come onto their soil. Nor has any ship been to that coast except for the aforementioned one. To depict their strange appearance, I painted one of them with a bow and arrows as they are accustomed to use it, as seen in figure 197. It shows how these people go completely naked, save only a white or grey cloth covering their shame, fastened around the body with a thin band. In their hair, they insert a small bone comb. Beneath one leg, they have a band of ivory or bone that runs only partially around it, serving merely as adornment. I took along one of their bows with various types of arrows to send along with other curiosities. Their arrows are made of reed, the thicker ones having several barbs, making them very dangerous to be struck by. But because they are so light, they cannot reach far; therefore, they must load many arrows.

While I was occupied with these oddities, a severe punishment was carried out on three individuals—one a Gingham Maleier and the others Chinese. For they were punished with glowing tongs and then branded.

After this, the former Governor visited me, sending his *karos* to have me come to his secluded courtyard outside the city, where he had requested I spend some hours the day before: General, to hold a midday meal there—to spend a few hours on that occasion viewing my depictions of the Perfian Empire. The day was spent to great pleasure. Upon evening, I rode back to Batavia. From there, the *Galjoot Hazenoot* set sail for the homeland on the 30th of the month, solely to deliver the Company's letters. On that occasion, I also sent letters to my friends.

Meanwhile, I had continued with depicting various kinds of fruit trees, two specimens of which, along with their fruits, are shown here. In the first of these, the following are indicated by letters. A depicts a *Kafri* fruit, with its large leaves. This fruit is beautifully red, covered all around with small scales, like a sea garment, and similar in size to it. It is sweet and almost tart in taste. B shows

the *Mangustangus*, commonly called *Manguf* by the Malaysians—*Mangees*. This is an agreeable and sweet fruit as large as a Chinese apple, white inside and brown on the outside like a sea garment. Those depicted here alongside it have their natural leaves attached to the stem. It is considered a healthy fruit.

C depicts two ripe *Gojaves*, one of which is open here. These are red inside and shaped like watermelons. One sees unripe ones placed beside them, still small and green with the leaves. These fruits are sweet. The ripe ones measure about two inches in diameter, but there are also smaller ones. D shows the likeness of a King's *klap-per*, containing water that is drunk for enjoyment. Various kinds are depicted here. The Malaysians call this fruit *Klapperiaia*, known by our name as *Kokufnoot*. They are generally as large as a melon, white inside—with whiteness attached to the heart and base—and eaten. E depicts *Froete Rottan*, commonly so called, but in Malay *Boeafalak*. This fruit, tart in taste, is highly valued. It is bluish-purple and full ## The Rise of the Dutch East India Company

The **Dutch East India Company**, or *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), stands as a pivotal institution in global history, fundamentally reshaping trade routes and colonial power dynamics during the 17th and 18th centuries. Established in **1602**, it was not merely a trading enterprise but a powerful entity granted extraordinary privileges by the Dutch state, including the right to wage war, conclude treaties, and establish colonies.

Initially formed through the amalgamation of several smaller Dutch trading companies vying for dominance in the lucrative spice trade of Southeast Asia, the VOC quickly surpassed its competitors. Its primary focus was on acquiring valuable commodities like pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and later tea and coffee from regions such as the **Spice Islands** (modern-day Maluku Islands), Java, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

The company's success stemmed from a combination of factors. A sophisticated financial structure allowed for efficient capital accumulation and risk management. The VOC pioneered innovations in maritime technology, including larger and faster ships designed to withstand the long voyages across the Indian Ocean. Crucially, it developed a ruthless yet effective system of control over production and trade within its territories. Local populations were often coerced into cultivating specific crops under strict contracts, ensuring a steady supply for European markets while suppressing competition from other traders.

The **VOC's** impact extended far beyond economics. Its presence led to significant cultural exchange, albeit frequently marked by exploitation and conflict. Dutch influence permeated the societies of its colonies, leaving a lasting legacy in language, architecture,

and legal systems. The company's actions also contributed to escalating tensions between European powers vying for control of global trade routes, notably with England and Portugal.

“The VOC was an instrument of both commerce and conquest, demonstrating the intertwined nature of economic expansion and imperial ambition during this era.”

By the **18th century**, however, the VOC faced increasing challenges. Corruption within its ranks, rising competition from other European companies, and costly wars gradually eroded its profitability. The company's monopoly was increasingly strained, and its administrative inefficiencies became glaringly apparent. In **1799**, burdened by debt and facing political instability in the Netherlands, the Dutch government formally dissolved the VOC, transferring its assets and territories to the state.

- **Key Commodities:** Pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, tea, coffee
 - **Geographic Focus:** Spice Islands (Maluku Islands), Java, Ceylon (Sri Lanka)
 - **Significant Dates:** **1602** (Establishment), **1799** (Dissolution)
- ## Strange Fruits

Zeltsame Vruchten. ## Travels

vol brown small spots. F shows us Piepjenje (a Dutch spelling of *Peijin*, likely referring to a type of pepper), an Orange Piepjenje, or large cucumber with flower and leaves, called Bon-ting in Malay. G is a red and white Jamboes (likely Jambos/Jambolan fruit). Jamboes with the leaves: which fruit has a slight scent of Perifik (possibly referring to a type of spice or fragrance). Two smaller ones are seen on the same stem.

By the number 199, A shows the Tamati (a Dutch spelling of *Tomate*, meaning tomato), or pulp fruit, so named because it is ribbed like a shell. From outside it is beautifully high red in color, from inside like a cucumber. It is full of grains and is prepared for *Sambal* to be used with rice, as the Atfia (likely referring to a local dish) is by people of standing, since one does not find a great abundance of them. It is also eaten raw, and is mild in flavor. Unripe it is used as a remedy for hemorrhoids, but ripe and fully matured it is cooked in chicken broth, and this broth is drunk. B is the Anmona (likely referring to an *Annona* fruit), which unripe and green in color and knobbly. When ripe, it is red and purplish, and somewhat larger than apples. The leaves are final and about a finger long. The taste is very sweet and agreeable. C is a large lemon, which is pleasant in flavor, full of juice, and thin-skinned. D two Pomeloos (a type of citrus fruit), one whole and the other cut open. This fruit is red on the inside. But there are also other kinds that are white and have few seeds. The scent resembles apples, the taste somewhat as well. However, many bad ones are found, especially among the white ones. One finds in it, in its center, a

small separated whole. The shape here is like a large melon. E is the Piefang (likely referring to a type of fruit). Piefang, a fruit that is sweet and agreeable in flavor. One peels off the shell, as one does with fresh figs. These fruits are on the half-round of the stem, which is quite heavy, with many sections, each of 6 or 7 at a time. Unripe they are green, ripe yellowish. They measure 5 inches in length, although some are somewhat shorter. They have at the outer ends a flower that is purple and red, and falls off when the fruit ripens. This can be seen on the outer section, which is ripe. At the end of the stem sits a large flower, which is one foot and an inch in length, and five inches in its diameter. It is purple, bluish-gray, and red in color. When one opens the petals thereof, the inner sides are beautifully high red. Tufts between itself and the flower shoot out many long flowers, some yellow, others light blue, also red in color, which gives a pleasant sight. The leaves of these trees are about two fathoms long, and one wide. The trees are about three fathoms high, and fairly thick. The bark is water-like, from which one can often scoop out the inside as coal.

Shortly nearby I observed the plays of the Chinese. Their stages floated on the public street against their homes, that is, in front of the residences of those who arrange such plays, or the assistants who help carry them: commonly the prominent ones among them. In the front house of one of these, I found a high large table or bench, decorated with many kinds of cold dishes arranged beautifully on plates: in some were beautiful cooked chickens, in others large fish, in another the head of a pig split down the middle, yet still whole, and in others various refinements of sugar baked goods, pastries, and other sweets. Here was a multitude of round flat breads stacked upon each other. Somewhat higher elevated (for all the tableware was made altar-wise) one saw many fruits and flowers for greater splendor nearby. The place was full of lights. In front of the table stood one in priestly clothing, having before him a strangely figured raised book. Several times he threw copper coins on the ground, seeing them again in the book. Occasionally one of the players came alongside him, making a movement of a ceremony, from which I concluded that something spiritual was mixed in, as in the play itself some history of their pagan worship seemed to be displayed. But since they had not yet begun playing, I went on to see another play. This was of a similar nature, but not so grand. Here appeared eight or ten people elegantly dressed, among whom were two in women's clothing, now speaking then singing. At times each said their role in particular, at other times all at once with various movements and rotations of the body, becoming this play concluded with a round dance, through which they all in good order danced around each other, and thus one after another entered under the playing on various instruments. For there was played upon bowls, which were also played upon two against one, as I have recounted such plays in Persia. There was also a small trumpet, alongside a kind of sweet flute, adorned with many beautiful Chinese lanterns, and

with other lights and carvings around it. From here and there I returned to the place where I had been before, to rest. ##
Cornelis de Bruins

I found that the game had now begun, and a greater number of people and a larger stage, with women on one side and two men on the other, who sat on the ground for some time in the same way I had seen the previous players. This game is played in many places throughout the city and lasts all night long, although some stages begin earlier and others later. These games are typically started at the beginning of March and end in April. Learning that these plays contained old stories and provided material for tragedies and comedies, as with us, I was told that all the people who appear in the plays were young maidens, raised and educated from childhood here, and that they concealed their faces behind masks. I have seen these plays many times in India, but I believe they are better performed in the land of the Chinese. My displeasure arose from the gestures and movements of the body being somewhat clumsy, as if having seen better examples of this in Europe, which this nation cannot replicate.

I enjoyed myself here when I was summoned by the Director-General of Riebeeck, who requested that I ride with him outside the city on the following day after noon to view his estate. We rode there in his Excellency's carriages and, after an hour's riding, dismounted to contend with the inconvenience of the road. The location was a half-hour south. Everything around me, as I sat on horseback, revealed that the place resembled Batavia, where all the land consisted of changes in red earth and full of dips and rises, like some hills within which offered a pleasant view of the plains. All the land, including that of the aforementioned Lord, is covered with rice; to harvest which, a small sharpened iron tool set into wood is used, with which plants are cut down one by one. A portion was still being planted in the earth; other sections were half-grown; others were almost ripe. On the same land, I saw all kinds of fruit and other trees, although it had not yet been brought to full maturity, to which daily labor was devoted. For even though the house was completed, the fall and kitchen still needed to be finished. Over a hundred buffaloes were used for plowing this land and other work. In addition to this house, there was an artificial waterway coming from the mountains higher up in the south, flowing through the land towards the city. We rode back along the same route we had come, as dusk fell, riding toward the side of the city as we do in our homeland alongside canals. Upon returning to Batavia, I found myself very tired, because I was still weak and the growing heat began to bother me, and my night fever threatened to return, also concerning the Red Wood. It is afflicted with small, square pustules, a common plague here, but considered healthy—something I have come to believe through experience. For it made me better each day. But the discomfort one suffers from it is extremely great due to the lack of rest. One must consider oneself fortunate if one can rest

for two or three hours at a time. There are remedies to drive away these ailments, but they are rarely used because they often cause inflammation, which frequently leads to illness. I therefore suffered considerable discomfort from the heat. Also, the cloudiness of my vision persisted, so that I could do nothing unless by means of spectacles. Throughout it all, I did not fail to think that even years bring with them many obstacles, besides other inconveniences.

Director-General's Location Rice Writer's Weakness ## Chapters. Locations Outside Batavia. Virtues of the Balinese People. A Pleasant Estate. Pepper Cultivation. A Troop of Monkeys. Dress of Balinese Women. Signs of Joy Over the Capture of Batavia.

ALTHOUGH I was afflicted with a fever again at the end of April, nevertheless, along with other companions to whom I had been assigned, we set out to inspect the estate of the Lord Castellan. Arriving outside Batavia south of the city before the place called Wellevrei, located slightly above the small fortress named Noorwijk, we found the Lord Castellan and his riding equipment with two horses ready to depart, while the rest of the retinue along with the cattle had already been sent ahead to the watch of the estate. Mr. Kornelis was dispatched to that location to meet us. We proceeded without delay and arrived there after three-quarters of an hour. I found the building constructed of wood, entirely surrounded by palisades in the manner of a quadrangular rampart, having a raised guardhouse at each corner, which provides a view over the plain. Here typically resides a lieutenant or ensign with 30 or 40 European soldiers in garrison. We did not linger here but proceeded onward, our company consisting of seven people, led by three servants, all Europeans, and among them the coachman. With us were five or six native riders and 18 Balinese on foot. The weapons these men carried are long pikes, of which I saw two adorned with gold. The wood of the sieved is very finely black-lacquered. Others were painted red and, according to their manner, adorned with silver. Each wore a *kris* on his belt, a weapon resembling a large Turkish goose-neck or poleaxe. This people are from an island located at the eastern end of Java, known for being the finest in these regions. Indeed, it is said that they would rather lose their lives than yield to their enemies. Therefore, one can set forty or fifty of them against two hundred Javanese. To this bravery is added loyalty and faithfulness to their lord, provided they are not treated shamefully or governed in an arbitrary manner. After proceeding for half an hour, we arrived at the sugar mills of the Chinese Tanfanko, located on the great river, known among the Javanese as the Tjulivan or Women's River, which here is 8, sometimes 10, and elsewhere two fathoms wide. At this place, where there is a fairly good building and pleasant garden, we had a substantial midday meal, remaining there until 3 o'clock. I found several varieties of beautiful birds here, to which I caught ten, for which I had taken a net and box with me. Meanwhile, the majority of the train had

ridden ahead to the estate of Tanjong, in order to be transported from the eastern side across the river to the western side by means of the ferry, to save time. We then followed from here with three carts, each drawn by a buffalo. But three times during the hour we had to exchange them for fresh ones. The road was also so bumpy and uneven that we could not help but constantly be lifted and shaken without laughing. Finally, after such an uncomfortable ride, we arrived at the river where we were transported across in *prauwen* or canoes, a type of long narrow vessel carved from a tree trunk. Now again with all the train proceeding, after a short time we arrived at the estate and homestead of Lufthuis, the Lord Castellan's estate, named Seringfing, belonging to the Lord Castellan. This *lufthuis* presents itself beautifully, lying slightly in the lowlands on an projecting corner, from whose two sides one sees the great river. This corner has the shape of an amphitheater or ancient Roman theater. The entire building is made of Kiatenwood, neatly and well-fitted together, standing on stone feet about three feet high from the ground to prevent rot and against damage from the white ants, which do great harm to woodwork when they come near. The dwelling had two floors above each other, of which the lower floor served as living quarters for the household servants, slaves, and for storage of all supplies: so that the upper part is actually the Lord's residence, comprising a beautiful front room with two small chambers in each corner. Adjoining this was a large spacious chamber overlooking the forecourt and the

Balinese people.

Their bravery and loyalty. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Estate

The gatehouse also has two stories; below, on either side, there are benches for the guards. Above is a circular room approximately half a *verg* in height that is open to the sky. The lower portion is protected by latticework. This is where the *gompeler* musicians gather, slaves from Bali—a topic I will discuss further below. This square courtyard is surrounded by a sturdy, beautifully painted green fence. On either side of it stands a separate building. One houses the kitchen with two rooms for the slaves; the other, opposite, serves as a pantry or rice storehouse. Both have small slave quarters on the sides, each occupied by a housekeeper. Behind the latter is a spacious chicken coop and animal enclosure. Beyond the main gate lies an even larger courtyard where, approaching from the south or right side, one finds a large covered pavilion used as a resting place for locals and a stable for carriages and smaller vehicles. Directly opposite, on the north side, are the carriage house and stables, both under a single roof. This forecourt is bordered by a wide, beautiful hedge of *carinda*, with an elegant gate to be constructed at its front.

The garden lies on the west side of the house, descending from a height of approximately 36 feet above all sides down towards the river. On the south side is a secluded retreat in the water. To reach it, one descends 36 steps divided into three sections. The upper section has 14 steps and features a resting area with benches on either side. The second section also has 14 steps and a similar resting area. The third has 10 steps leading to a small bridge over a spacious secluded or private space. Along these stairs, there is a railing from top to bottom on both sides; everything is so elegantly and beautifully crafted that I have never seen such an exquisite walkway to a private retreat elsewhere. On the north side of the house is also a descent to the river, consisting of steps for crossing the river. Next to this stands a well-crafted playhouse, but on the west side, where the garden ends, there's a larger one where meals are commonly held due to the lovely views. Again, in the river, another playhouse sits on stilts and is attached to the previously mentioned structure by a bridge; both feature neat railings and a staircase leading down to the river. I have rendered this place on paper as it appears from the front, as shown by figure 200.

Above the gate, players can be seen sitting atop the *Spelers* (players), who are heard in groups of ten, twelve, or fourteen at once, playing on various basins and drums, and playing flutes made of reeds assembled in the manner of the old masters. They also have a sort of *citer*, with a large drum (*debas* or upper voice) placed underneath it, which is only occasionally sounded—and as far as my memory serves, with a flat note that is not unpleasant to hear.

Having been welcomed and entertained by the sights of this airy place, we continued our journey southwards on horseback towards his estates, named Mampang and Depok. Initially, while riding ahead, we saw pleasant fields planted with *fui* (a type of plant) and small shrubs called *Seringtingh* on both sides of the road—a name that suggests a grassy field, as if one were to say “Grofbesgras” in our language. Subsequently, we came upon a young forest, the path generally clear and beautiful with short grass. After riding for an hour, we encountered a deep pit on the side of the road where the source of a small river originated, springing forth with other streams from the highlands and shaded by large trees—where passersby commonly rest and refresh themselves. Riding another half-hour, we arrived at Depok, located in a valley on the bank of the great river. Here I saw two pepper plants, led as cuttings—a sort of planted green *flotk*-plant; know or tree (*Dapdap*)—wounded not unlike how one is accustomed to handling beans in our homeland, but much denser and heavier. These stems are approximately 18 feet high after cutting, planted in rows 6 feet apart: between which it was exceptionally pleasing to walk, as one could go or sit there without any discomfort from the sun even at its hottest. The pepper grows on shoots, just like *ael-bezien*. First, the berries are

green and become orange when ripe. This color is caused by a thin membrane that can be rubbed off with your hand, revealing the pure white pepper. I took a sprig of it with me to depict it on paper upon my return in its actual size, as shown in figure 201. Having held our midday meal at the airy place...

The location is sketched. ## The Rise of the Serian Dynasty

The emergence of the Serian dynasty marked a pivotal moment in the history of *Xylos*, ushering in an era defined by unprecedented technological advancement and complex social stratification. Initially, the ruling elite—known as the **Luminians**—held sway over a relatively small territory, relying on sophisticated energy manipulation techniques to maintain control.

“The luminescence is our birthright,” declared High Luminary Theron at the dynasty’s founding ceremony.
“Through it, we shall shape *Xylos* into a beacon of progress.”

Early Serian society was rigidly hierarchical. The **Artificers**, skilled engineers and technicians, formed the backbone of the dynasty’s power, responsible for constructing intricate energy conduits and maintaining the colossal **Aetherium Generators** that powered their cities. Below them were the **Cultivators**, who managed vast hydroponic farms providing sustenance to the population, and at the very bottom, the *Silenti*, a caste of laborers relegated to menial tasks.

The dynasty’s expansion was fueled by the discovery of *Aetherium*, a rare crystalline substance capable of amplifying energy fields. Control over Aetherium mines became a source of intense competition, leading to protracted conflicts with neighboring clans—the **Veridian Tribes**—who fiercely guarded their ancestral lands. These clashes resulted in significant technological innovation, particularly in the development of defensive shields and long-range weaponry.

By the reign of Emperor Valerius III, the Serian dynasty had consolidated its control over nearly half of *Xylos*, establishing a vast network of interconnected cities powered by Aetherium energy. However, this prosperity came at a cost. The widening gap between the Luminians and the lower castes fostered resentment and unrest, laying the groundwork for future rebellions.

- **Luminians:** The ruling elite, possessing innate abilities to manipulate energy.
- **Artificers:** Skilled engineers responsible for maintaining Serian technology.
- **Cultivators:** Agricultural workers who provided food for the population.
- *Silenti:* A marginalized caste of laborers.
- *Aetherium:* A rare crystalline substance used as an energy amplifier.

- **Veridian Tribes:** Neighboring clans resisting Serian expansion. ## Balinese Slavery

For centuries, slavery was an integral part of Balinese society, deeply interwoven with its social hierarchy and economic structure. Unlike chattel slavery prevalent in the Americas, *paik* (the term for enslaved individuals in Bali) were often bound to service rather than ownership, though their status remained precarious and exploitative. The system evolved over time, influenced by Hindu legal codes (*agama*) and local customs (*adat*), resulting in a complex web of obligations and restrictions.

The origins of Balinese slavery are obscure, but it likely predates the Majapahit Empire (1293–1527). Initially, enslavement primarily resulted from warfare – captives taken during conflicts became *paik*. However, debt bondage also played a significant role; individuals unable to repay loans could be forced into servitude. Criminal offenses, such as theft or adultery, could similarly lead to enslavement. Furthermore, children born to enslaved mothers inherited their mother's status, perpetuating the cycle of bondage across generations.

The lives of *paik* varied considerably depending on their skills and the nature of their masters' holdings. Some worked in agriculture, tending rice paddies or plantations; others served as domestic servants within noble households. Skilled artisans – blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers – were highly valued and often enjoyed a degree of autonomy, though still subject to their master's authority. Despite these variations, all *paik* faced limitations on their freedom and mobility. They could not own property, marry freely, or participate fully in religious ceremonies. Their movements were restricted, and they were subject to the arbitrary will of their masters.

The Dutch colonial period (1846–1949) brought significant changes to the institution of slavery in Bali. While initially reluctant to interfere with local customs, mounting international pressure – particularly from Britain – forced the Dutch East Indies government to take action. In **1873**, a decree was issued prohibiting the enslavement of new individuals and gradually restricting existing forms of servitude. However, enforcement proved challenging due to the decentralized nature of Balinese society and the resistance of powerful local elites who relied on *paik* labor.

The final abolition of slavery came in **1928** with a Dutch East Indies ordinance that formally outlawed all forms of forced labor. This legislation was met with mixed reactions; while many welcomed the end of bondage, others feared its economic consequences and the disruption to traditional social structures. Despite the legal prohibition, vestiges of the *paik* system persisted

for decades after independence in **1945**, as former enslaved individuals and their descendants continued to experience marginalization and limited opportunities.

“The Balinese concept of *jaga* – a reciprocal obligation between master and servant – often served to justify the continuation of slavery, even after its formal abolition.”

The legacy of Balinese slavery remains visible today in social inequalities and economic disparities within the island’s communities. While the system itself is gone, its impact on power dynamics and access to resources continues to shape contemporary Bali. Understanding this history is crucial for addressing ongoing challenges related to social justice and equitable development. ## The Balian Slave

1. **Travels.**

At this time I resolved not to venture further into India than I had done, quite contrary to my previous intention. For I had been of the opinion that I would visit the culture of Coromandel, in order to sketch some antiquities and observe Pagodas. But being weak in body, I feared that through the great heat and other discomforts of the journey I would suffer again, especially as I had experienced another bout of fever at Serang-fing. Moreover, I was particularly concerned about taking care of my health, because my strength was needed to continue my journey overland, which is not possible with a weak body. I also had other reasons, which I will relate later.

On the 30th of May, the day of the conquest of Batavia, in the year 1619 under the command of General Jan Pieterz Koen, a celebration was held here, as it is every year. The General gave a large feast for all the Councillors of India and Regents of this city, including those who had been elected Regents on this day. Two Justices of the Peace, the two Senior Merchants of the Castle, four Preachers, and several others, among whom I was also included, were invited. The festivities began at 5 o’clock in the afternoon on Sunday. A long table had been set up on the open space in the General’s residence, where cushions were placed for the General and Councillors of India, upon which they sat. Everyone arranged themselves according to their rank and position, although benches were also set along one side of the aforementioned area or courtyard. Here, toasts were made to the prosperity of Batavia and its Governors, amidst the booming of all the cannons within the castle, around the city, on the nearby forts, and islands, and other places. The ships lying in the harbor also let their cannons be heard. Meanwhile, some citizens appeared in the city armed with muskets, consisting currently only of 15 men from each company with their banners. For there are only 6 companies in total: namely two of the Penniften (penny merchants), two of the

Burgers (citizens), one of the Werfwerkers (wharf workers), and one of the district of Ambagtsluiden (guild members). Also, a troop of cavalry rode through the city with all its officers. After we were duly received amidst the playing of trumpeters and pipers, the company parted at nine o'clock in the evening.

Return to Batavia. We sailed down the river with a long, narrow canoe, which runs swiftly but very windingly over the cliffs and rocky outcrops. Proceeding thus, after two hours we landed again at Serang-fing, near Jant. We had passed several villages during our voyage, consisting of few houses. The bank on both sides of the river was very high and densely covered with trees, where we saw monkeys jumping from one side to another along the ground. Most were gray, some also black, as we had seen while riding through the woods.

Now I sketched two of the Balinese slave girls belonging to the Lord Castellan, dressed as they do in their own land, and also here. Their usual undergarment consists of several strips of cloth wrapped around the body, with the last end fastened at the waist. This hangs down to their feet. The upper garment is of another color, and each chooses that according to preference. It is thrown over the chest and then folded in a distinctive shape at the edge. It hangs down about halfway to the thighs. They commonly have a handkerchief in their hand, which they tie with a twist behind them, on which they often place a flower, and their arms, legs, and feet are bare. Further, they wear no other clothing on their bodies. This is depicted in No. 202. Another is shown as she sat with us on horseback, in No. 203, wearing a black upper garment. The undergarment is as described above. A loosely figured cloth is thrown around the head, and upon it a *Toedom* or Maleife hat made of fine rattan, usually red in color. She also has a handkerchief in her hand.

Having elaborated this, I decided that the time was pressing for me to leave here and abandon the company. I therefore prepared myself, thanking them richly for the hospitality received. He also gave me two of his slave girls with me, one on horseback and one on foot, as guides. As I departed, the entire company was ready to continue their journey, not returning to this place again for three days. Then they set me across the river in a canoe to have a better and more convenient path through the woods. Thus, I arrived back at Batavia, which is reckoned to be about 5 hours from Serang-fing. After my arrival, two such thunderstorms occurred on another day that severely damaged a house.

Aaa LVI. Apes. Balinese slave girls depicted. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

LVI. CHAPTER.

Opportunity of the Island Edam. Depiction of Rare Fish. Chinese Festival Book. Manner of Preparing Sugar. Indigo.

The month of June now arrived with unfailing and rainy weather, although not without warmth. I set out with a steersman in his vessel to survey near an island belonging to His Excellency, called Edam, located approximately five miles from Batavia. This had previously been owned by General Kamphuizen, and was made over to the present General at his request. Before we arrived there, we encountered the ship Munfter, coming from Ambon, carrying the former Governor Coyett. The steersman who transported me was as much of an authority on the Island Edam, where ships often linger for a closer look or remain at 'the Unruß' island. Therefore, when he called to the skipper, he merely needed to continue sailing towards the roadstead of Batavia, and also considered it part of his work.

As far as this island is concerned, its circumference takes about half an hour to walk around, with nothing but stone and coral in its surroundings. The island is planted with many fruit-bearing and other trees. Upon arrival, one finds a brave headland that stretches somewhat widely into the sea. Next to this is another not far from the same. The deceased General had built there a large and substantial house of stone, decorated with particularly spacious rooms. It is assembled in the same way on the front and back, having a staircase that ascends on both sides. This place was inhabited by Mr. Kamphuizen for some time, drawing his pleasure from gathering many fine trophies there. The same desire drove me there as well, hoping to find a rare fish along the way. Fortune served me also, so I stayed there for a few days, spending each day painting them meticulously, bringing with me paints and canvas, along with a large bottle of Spirits to preserve them in. I also received a particularly large crab, beautifully shaped and colored, whose underside I had never seen anywhere else. Such a crab also came into my hands, whose body was brownish-blue and generally marked white. The two largest claws were cleanly light in color like lacquer, full of white patches, and sharp spurs. The other legs were completely blue, and the insides of those were full of red spurs that ran along them: as if on the body there were white spurs above. I will show some of these in two separate prints. Number 204 comprises five fish of life-size. Letter A refers to one called *Ikam-peti* in Malay, which means as much as Kiftvich. Because *Ikam* means fish, just like *Peti* means a chest. It is square in shape, top, bottom, and on both sides flat, and as hard as wood. It is yellow in color, generally covered with small black patches. Beneath the head are fins on both sides, similar to those behind at the upper body near the tail. What is indicated by B is blue and lacquer-like, having a ring around the eye like gold, also across the body in thickness. The mouth is full

of long white teeth. The eyes are large and black. The tail is purple, yellow, and white. You can clearly see the fins. This fish is called *Ikam-batoe* or Stonefish in Malay, as it is mostly found among stones.

The small fish that is very beautifully red in color with three broad blue stripes, which are black on the edges, over its body, is shown by C. It was only two common inches long. The finlet at the side is black at the ends, like the tail-fin, which is beautiful to see. The fishermen sent out to catch this well brought me three of them, one of which was particularly small. One commonly sees only three swimming together. I myself have experienced and seen this in the water, here as clear as crystal, so that one can see to the bottom. This species is not known by any name. D depicts a flat, elongated fish that is light bluish on the belly and upper side, and dark brown for the rest. It has a black ring around its head, in the middle of which are the eyes. The mouth is above ## Zeltsame Visschen

A

B

C

Zeltsame Visschen.

I

H

G

E

F

B

C

A ## Travels.

...and also black. Between the latter and the ring it is beautifully yellow, like a tail. Along the back runs a black fin, also one from the tail to the belly. On both sides of the body there are also fins, and two are underneath the belly. This little fish has no name either. The letter E shows *Ikam-kajoe*, or woodfish, in Malay, because this fish is always found near poles or other woodwork. In shape it is like *Voren*, light blueish in color, yellow along the back.

Four dark brown stripes run across the body to the belly. There is a long sharp fin on the back and another between the latter and the tail. Two fins are still underneath and above the belly.

In print 205, the letter Klipvich. A shows a roundish fish called *Ikam-batoe*, or Klipvish, being like one of the previous ones. Its body is reddish blue, running with 7 or 8 small blue stripes over the body, which is black underneath. The tail is short and white, having the shape of a chisel, and a continuous red stripe at the end. On both sides of the head there is a yellow and partly blue fin. The head is brownish blue: the shape of the fish is like that of a *Botje*. It is good in taste but thick with scales. B shows *Ikam-tamar*, or Carpvish. This one is mostly red and white bluish, having a head that is largely beautifully red. Underneath the beak are two sharp, thin points, which are the length of two inches. Underneath the belly are two red fins, and another fin between the latter and the tail. On the back there are two with sharp points, and on both sides of the head one, which is red and white, like the tail, which separates at the end and runs out pointedly. The belly is generally bluish-white. It has a length of one foot and four inches, from which the size of the others can be measured. Because they are all brought onto paper in miniature.

C shows *Ikam-Kakap*, or a red Stonebraeflem, having the head above and on both sides strikingly beautiful red, underneath and bluish-white. The body is blue with broad perfect stripes from the back halfway down. The fins are beautifully red. D depicts *Ikam-Gargasje*, or Sawvish. Its upper body is light blue, the belly white. Dark brown or black stripes run along the body. The beak is yellow. So are the fins: in particular, the one that runs along the back is beautifully yellow and generally with black patches. The points above are sharp like a saw. The tail is dark yellow with black patches. Through E is shown *Ikam-boeron* or Birdvish. It has the shape of a Schol, and the color white, with two broad black stripes over the body: between which both on the upper body something like a white pennon comes out, which gradually fades towards the end, having the length of one foot eleven inches. The rear body of the body with the tail is yellow: as are also the small fins on either side that come from the black stripe. The head is small, the beak pointed. This species of fish is rarely seen.

F depicts an *Ikam-maes* or Goutvish, which is bluish-white. It has red stripes along the body, generally with beautiful yellow, as if it were gold, marked. The fins and tail are red, yellow, and white. Above on the head it is beautifully red.

Through G is indicated a fish called *Ikam-kakatoua* after a bird that bears this name, and which has such a blue color. The body of this fish is greenish-blue, having a shimmering sheen. It is rosily marked, just like a net, over the entire body. On the side of the head there is a rough yellow spot. The head is green and red marked, the fin along the back is beautifully green-blue and

yellow. The two side fins are green-blue and lacquer-colored, as is the tail. The lower fin is blue and lacquer-colored. I have to say that the entire body of the Crab, about which we spoke, is green, but previously it was red like fruit: just as were the two large protruding fruit claws up to 4 inches, being three thirds of an inch wide: from which then still the sharp spines come out like horns which are black. These have a length of 1 foot 7 inches. Between these two there are also two narrower horns coming out, one of which is white and the other mostly black. These are only about half as long as the previously mentioned ones, and in front as curled.

This fish is speckled and striped throughout its body with white and black, also over the tail. In the middle on both sides of the body there are two broad yellow and white stripes. The feet are small and long, generally striped green, black, yellow and white in color. The body has a length of one foot and 5 inches. There were also other smaller ones caught, some of which I cooked and found to be good tasting. I painted everything off in its actual size on canvas to be able to show it in the homeland, also doing all... ##
Cornelis de Bruijn's Observations on Fish and Other Natural History

To preserve the fish, I placed them in spirits, allowing viewers to appreciate these curiosities. The crab, known as *Oedang* in Malay, is indicated by the letter H; the captain's term for it is *Kapitein* by I.

I also acquired some flying insects, sea moths, and other varieties, but few of significant interest.

To locate these seafoods - as I may call them - I ventured out myself on a calm day, finding the water so clear that everything on the bottom and among the rocks was distinctly visible. This allowed me to gather several kinds of coral with beautiful branches. However, this proved to be short-lived. Some corals resembled the leaves of cauliflower, curling upwards. I dressed in French fashion to venture deeper into the sea, where I managed to break off some specimens with my own hands. While doing so, I observed that this coral originates from a fatty or slimy quality of water, which solidifies as a kind of essential crust on the rocks and gradually grows into that shape and firmness. When still soft, it appears remarkably beautiful in the water; it is particularly yellow, white, and reddish-brown in color. Out of curiosity, I broke off some fragments already quite firm and united with the rocks, hoping they would retain their color when dried in the sun or air. However, my hopes were dashed as the fragments turned completely brown and unsightly. There was no drying at all; therefore, I had to discard everything.

Seeing that there was little more to retrieve here, I returned to the ship and sailed close by the island of Alkmaar, where it lay at anchor. The island of Enkhuizen is somewhat further south. The island of Leiden is reckoned to be half a league away. There were no inhabitants on this island. The island of Hoorn, opposite Hoorn, was inhabited by some *Makaffaren* and other fishermen; the Smit island being located further south. With favorable winds, I returned to Batavia in short order.

Subsequently, I rode with the General through the city to view his new and rebuilt houses. During this time, I observed the Chinese houses, which were still adorned with green branches, as this was the last day of their festival called Phe-lonaphie.

Earlier, I had proudly described the ships of this people, filled with Chinese goods, sailing into the harbor amidst much fanfare.

It should be noted that the Chinese hold someone who has done something useful or memorable for the homeland in high esteem and honor them after death as if they were still alive. They say that among them was a man named Phelo, who is said to have invented salt for the first time. This discovery was neglected and disregarded, with the inventor never heard from again. Later, however, the usefulness and necessity of salt were recognized, causing such regret and shame that they set out to find Phelo in order to express their gratitude and honor. Unable to locate him, they instituted this festival of Phelo-naphie in his memory, which they observe with great religious fervor, traveling by boat and wandering as if still seeking the holy man today.

Shortly thereafter, Captain Kaftlein invited me to his estate, called Hofflede Wel te vrede. Upon arriving, I observed on the estate of this gentleman how sugar is produced.

To this end, a mill was erected, which two buffaloes turned. A man sat in front of the opening of the mill where the sugarcane was inserted; it was initially only crushed, being ejected through an opening on the other side. The juice flowing from there fell into a pit and then into a gutter that led underground to a nearby location where it was collected. Here are the sugar pots and furnaces. For the second time, more juice is extracted from the same cane, and for the third time, all that remains. Then, after being cooked in the furnaces, it is placed in earthen pots with a hole through which the thickest part drains off. These pots are then sealed with fresh clay on top. This is the first and best grade. Following this comes a second grade from the drained liquid, and then a third grade as well. I found the sugarcane here growing in the same way that I had seen it previously in Egypt; typically reaching a height of 7 or 8 feet, with a circumference of 3 or 4 inches.

The Chinese festival Phe-lonaphie. ## Indigo, Coffee Beans, and Wild Forest Leaves

A

B

C

M. Pool Scul. ## Unusual Citrus Varieties

1. Chinese Lemon

2. *Jaka* or Sour Sack ## The Nam-Nam Boom

The initial surge of the *nam-nam boom* was characterized by a frenetic energy, fueled by speculative investment and an almost palpable sense of limitless possibility. Early adopters, often drawn from the burgeoning middle class, eagerly embraced the new technology, viewing it as both a pathway to personal enrichment and a symbol of modernity.

The Blim-Bing Boom: A Shift in Momentum

The subsequent *blim-bing boom* represented a significant shift in momentum. While still driven by innovation, this phase was marked by greater institutional involvement and a more cautious approach to risk. Government regulations, initially minimal, began to tighten as concerns about market stability grew. The focus shifted from rapid expansion to sustainable development, with an emphasis on practical applications rather than purely speculative ventures.

- **Early Speculation:** Characterized by high volatility and significant gains for initial investors.
- **Institutional Investment:** Marked the entry of larger corporations and financial institutions into the market.
- **Regulatory Scrutiny:** Increased government oversight aimed at preventing market manipulation and protecting consumers.

“The *blim-bing boom* isn’t about getting rich quick; it’s about building something that lasts,” remarked **Dr. Anya Sharma**, a leading economist specializing in emerging technologies.

This transition wasn’t without its challenges. Some early investors, accustomed to the rapid returns of the *nam-nam boom*, struggled to adapt to the slower pace and increased scrutiny of

the *blim-bing* era. However, overall, the shift proved beneficial, laying a foundation for long-term growth and stability within the sector. ## Areek-vrucht and Betel Leaf

D

A

B

C

E

FILANDER. ## Reisen: Flora of Java

Indigo. Here I also found the Indigo, which grows on small trees as plants, with several branches attached. They are typically about a foot and a half tall. The leaves are small, from which the Indigo is extracted. The seed pods waft out in long clusters, as shown by figure 206, indicated by the letter A.

Coffee Beans. Here I also depict a branch of *Kawwa* or coffee beans, shown by B. These are unripe green in color, half-ripe yellow, and fully ripe purple red. The flower is like a small Jasmine. It is yellow in the middle and has six petals in a circle. The leaves are long and pointed. These beans were brought from Arabia years ago and cultivated here. However, at the beginning of the year 1697, when Batavia was severely shaken by an earthquake that caused immeasurable damage and devastation, many unusual plants, acquired by enthusiasts in their private gardens, were lost or perished. So the General told me he did not know if he had any more in his court. But other experts noticed some emerging fruitlets and found them to be these plants. Therefore, efforts were renewed to obtain and cultivate them, so that there is now already a large number propagated, from which a great abundance is expected within a few years. They therefore deluded those who believed that this fruit was only found among the Arabs: just as they were deceived by those who thought that these beans could not be cultivated in any other countries than theirs, as if those plants had been so poisoned by them that they would not be able to shoot roots anywhere else but with them.

Wild Bofchbladt (a type of shrub). Next to this is a wild bofchbladt with the letter C. Some of these leaves are green, others white, and have a red blossom. These three varieties are slightly smaller than the actual shape suggests.

Kakauw (Cacao). There is also the Kakauw, from which chocolate is primarily made. This fruit appears particularly pleasing to the tree, being red and yellow in color. You see them hanging 4, 5, or

6 near each other, typically about 6 inches long. The leaves are large and elongated. Some have yellow, others red patches. The shape is shown by figure 207.

Chinese Citrons. I also obtained a beautiful crop of a Cedar or Chinese citron with many sprouting points. It was about the same shape as I had obtained in my first journey to Rama van Gafa; although much smaller. This fruit is without seeds and beautifully yellow in color. It has been brought here and cultivated. You see the depiction at 208.

I was also shown the crop called *Jaka* by the Portuguese, *Nanka* by the Malays, and *Soor-facke* by the Dutch. It is exceptionally large, resembling a sackpipe, green and slightly reddish in color, but when fully ripe it turns yellow gray. Inside it has many large white fruits that are yellow, with white seeds. Many people find great taste in them. Because they are very sweet. They consider them healthy. Two of these hanging on the tree are depicted at figure 209.

Now follows the *Nem-nam*, so named by the Portuguese. The Malays call it *Poekie-ansjing*. It is a fruit very pleasant to eat, raw or cooked. It is tart and sweet in flavor, grayish yellow in color. Some are somewhat curved in shape like a pear. The flower is red, yellow, and white in combination. You see the leaves beside it and the whole appearance at No. 210.

No. 211 shows us the tree with the fruit, called *Blim-bing*. It is large and elongated. The blossom is reddish lacquered in color. The taste is like that of our currants, which they also retain when dried. If one has made their mouth or another sourness raw, there is no better remedy than to use this fruit raw. You see it hanging on the tree depicted.

There is also the *Areek*, a fruit that wafts on tall thin trees, with clusters in large numbers. The leaves of these are long, like those of the Palm trees. This fruit is generally used without distinction by men and women throughout India, without any nation being excluded. When young it is green in color, having the shape of a plum. At the crown it has something like an acre cap, where the stem attaches, about the size as at No. 212 with the letter A indicated. When old it is red and yellow in color, as shown by the letter B. C shows a portion of the other half without the stalk. The inner pulp, when partially dried, is divided into 7 or 8 flukes: but young they are commonly in four. Then each fluke is rolled in a Betel leaf that has previously been moistened with Siamfe red or white chalk. They take this in their mouth and chew it until their saliva becomes blood-red from the chalk. One wants ## Cornelis de Bruins

He asserts that this is a good method for cleansing the mouth and throat. However, I have never wished to try it myself, because I had enough reason to find it distasteful and unpleasant. Moreover,

those who are not accustomed to using it react poorly, so they sometimes fall over, as I myself have seen. But those who happen to do this resort to a remedy that is not good. Thus, I can say that the best remedy cannot appeal to me. The aforementioned betel leaf resembles Turkish beans. I have indicated one with the letter D. It is dark grey in color; but there are leaves that are light green and these are mostly used by people of standing. The manner of rolling these leaves into this medicine is shown on letter E.

My eyes, illuminated by these fruits, now fell upon animals called Filanders, some of which the General had on his pleasure grounds. These beasts roamed freely with the rabbits; where a mound had been constructed in which they had their burrows. This was enclosed by a fence. I felt compelled to sketch one of these creatures. Their hind legs are long and their front legs short. In size and color, they resemble a good hare. The head has much of a fox. The tail is flat. Beneath the belly, which is whitish in color, they have an opening like a sack, through which the young, even when quite large, go in and out. These youngsters also often sit there so that their heads and partially their necks stick out, as I have frequently seen. When the mother walks, they mostly draw their heads in, because, as has been said, their front legs are short and their hind legs long. The depiction is at No. 213.

A few days later, a company of Buginese appeared within the castle walls in full regalia to show themselves to the General, who accompanied by the Field Officer de Wilde displayed himself on the forward terrace of the palace for this purpose. I joined others to witness this spectacle. Here one saw how the officers, before his Excellency, each individually, after paying their respects, stuck their hellebaert or pike into the ground near their baggage and drew out their kris, a flat weapon that they tuck under their belt, as mentioned above. With this, they performed small displays of bravado, boasting of all that they would do to break the necks of their enemies and more in such playful antics. Here they made strange leaps to display their agility, which was far from being impressive. All their gestures resembled those of a jester or market clown rather than the signs of a valiant warrior. Their courage was doubled by the fact that they, otherwise accustomed to running barefoot, now flaunted shoes and stockings; thereby walking so stiffly as to imitate the dignity of a military commander, and not conceding anything to our military superiors, so that one could scarcely restrain oneself from laughter. Thus, the Field Officer de Wilde said to me: "We spend money in our homeland to see plays or comic performances; but this display deserves better protection." It was also the case because it was not a play, but seriousness.

These soldiers differ greatly in clothing. Some wore tall turbans, a light skirt and short trousers; furthermore, their legs and feet were bare. Others wore broad-brimmed hats, called *Tode-dongs*

by them, made of bamboo, being a sort of brush that sprouts out. One could see the shoots sprouting from it. Others had tall upright turbans, while others merely had a cloth thrown over their heads. Three or four of these people, who appeared comical to me, had something like long gilded horns on both sides of their heads. Some were adorned with a painted harness. Their weapons are four-barrelled, patterned after muskets and rifles, as well as pikes, but longer than those of the officers, who tuck a pistol under their belt along with the aforementioned weapon.

While these were engaged in performing their ceremonies, some other companies passed by to fetch their weapons, because they had leave letters to board ships, intending to march again this year to Samaran, a royal territory on the eastern coast of Java, located about 60 miles from Batavia, standing under King Pangeran Poega. The King, Pan: geran Poega whom the Company has helped in that kingdom. For he was at war with his brother's son, named Ade-patti, who had already seized the kingdom. He was therefore expelled with the help of the Company, which continues to plot to bring him back to his uncle and, now a fugitive, to seize him as soon as possible, so that the reigning King may have peace.

Shortly thereafter, his Excellency informed me that a *tschip* would arrive within ## Reisen.

On nigh days near Bantam we would sail, asking me if I was still intending to undertake this journey. And my decision, he judged, that I should seize this opportune moment of weather and ship. I prepared myself for the voyage, and on the evening before my departure received from his Excellency two letters of introduction: one to the Commander of Bantam, and another to the Merchant and Administrator of the Company.

LVII. CHAPTER.

Voyage to Bantam. Description of that Realm. Conversation of the Writer with the King.

On the eleventh day of July I took leave of the General and set off in a rowing boat from Commander Broegh's to the fluyt, named Munster, where Captain Jan Walburgh was aboard. It carried 26 cannons and 6 culverins, and was manned by 67 people, of whom 57 were Europeans and 10 natives. The ship was a good half hour from the city, and had already set sail. Upon arriving, I found the captain not yet on board, but it wasn't long before he came. So we proceeded, and around midday reached the island Hoorn, which lies opposite the island Onrust near us. But the wind began to increase so that we passed by the islands Amsterdam and Middelburgh south of us, and alongside a reef which was 5 or 6 feet below water, where we could clearly mark its shoals. It wasn't

larger than a common ship. There was another such shoal on the starboard side. We maintained our course mostly west, setting it for the islands de kleine en groote Combuis, which we passed to the right with a southwest bearing. At 5 o'clock we had the island Mench-eeter on our starboard side, now about 4 hours' distance from Bantam. The dark night compelled us to drop anchor. But at first light of the morning, we set sail again with dark and damp weather, favored by a pleasant breeze. Thus it was around eight hours when we passed the outward corner of the mainland Pontang. Then we had the island Groot Poelemady close alongside us, lying on our starboard side. Here we were in six fathoms of water. Not far beyond lay Kleen Poelemady, where we found four and a half fathoms of water. Then appeared the two islands named Poele-doa by the Malays, which means the harbor of Ban-

tam.

There we rowed towards it at eleven o'clock and arrived midday. I immediately went to Commander Bitter van Rheede, to whom I delivered the letter from his Excellency. He received me politely and indicated a place in his house for my lodging. After midday, I also presented myself before the aforementioned Merchant, Mr. Wys, to whom I handed over another letter from his Excellency. I enjoyed the same courtesy there, so that I remained with him until evening.

The following day I went to describe this place, partly from without and partly from within. First, I passed through the water gate which stands at the outer guardpost; it is a small gate in the old wall, which bears no name, standing not far outside the point Speelwyk, which lies north. From there, I went east along the road by the sea. This road is often flooded with high tide. Because it is difficult to enter, I went alongside it towards the landside. There it is covered with gardens of cloves and other trees. One finds this side also occupied with poor houses, no better than huts, built from bamboo and covered with Adabs leaves. The people who reside here are all fishermen, living in large numbers, bringing their catch of fish to Batavia to sell there. The first thing one encounters here is the point Caranganto, which is made of stone and rises about a quarter-

The six most prominent, which are quite large, face towards the sea. One stands east, and three small ones west. From here one crosses a large small bridge, which is raised, lying over the river, that runs through Landri-

vier.

It takes its source in the mountains and ends here at the sea. Here is the end of the city, where it lies on the seaside, extending for about a quarter of an hour's walk. Subsequently one finds oneself on the great Ba- ## Cornelis de Bruyns's Account

He is occupied with Chinese shops, where fruits and other foodstuffs are for sale. Adjacent to this is a large Chinese building, which is the residence of the Captain or Overseer of the Chinese. Proceeding further along the seaside, one finds dwellings of fishermen all along the entire coast. Behind these are many salt pans by the sea, where salt is prepared. Nearby is the place where the Dutch landed on April 7th of the year **1682**. Returning along the same path, one finds between the aforementioned point and the Paggar or fortress Speelwyk a broad short route that extends directly to the King's square. At the beginning of this square lies a large stone bridge; called the Ketenburg, over the previously mentioned river which flows into the sea with another arm flowing through it. Across this bridge and on the square, named the Paffebaen, the King amuses himself communally with the greatest of the realm on the last day of the week with the *steekspel* (a game). Passing over this bridge, one finds to the right side the most important Temple or Church, which they, like the Perfans, call Mit-zid.

Returning to my lodging at eleven o'clock, I found that the money for the pepper intended as cargo for the ship had been handed over, weighed and recounted correctly; so that at four o'clock after midday, the *Rijksbestierder* (Imperial Administrator) came to the Commander to receive the ready money concerning the pepper which the ship Munster was to take to Perficin. This opportunity prompted me to request an audience with the King. His Majesty had also been informed by the Commander, who had expressly asked of his Excellency to arrange this for me. I added my request that I would gladly and preferably be granted access here, in order to continue the profits I made from my journey back with the first ships to Perficin. The *Rijksbestierder* promised me he would bring it up to the King that very day, and then set a certain time for me. I waited for this appointment at hand, and in house. This official was named Pangeran or Prince Pour-ba-nagara. He was attended by eight or ten royal scribes and overseers of the pepper trade, sitting alongside the Commander and the first Overseer of the Tree on a stool, while the others sat below on the ground in the Eastern fashion. His retinue outside the aforementioned company consisted of fifteen or twenty people, all having come to a Speelwyk (play area) with carriages. The Commander welcomed them with various delicacies, with fruits, with cheese and bread, with tea and tobacco, which they smoked from Dutch pipes, just as we do. Afterwards, they went upstairs to receive the money, which was counted and divided into bags, each containing a thousand Spanish *Makaffaarsche* or Spanish Reales (silver coins). Then the Commander took the *Rijksbestierder* by the right hand and led him outside the gate towards the water. The following day at nine o'clock, the first Royal Overseer of the Tree came to inform me that I should appear before His Majesty at two o'clock after midday, who had ridden out of the city to a *Lufthuis* (open-air pavilion), half an hour south of Bantam. Here he asked if I was willing to ride on

horseback or would prefer to go on foot. Thanking him for his offer, I chose the latter. The appointed time having arrived, I was escorted from the house of the Commander by him. At the same time, permission was granted to Mr. Kaef, who had previously been residing in Bantam before it came into the hands of the *Mactchappe* (company), and who was now sent for ten or twelve weeks concerning some affairs of the company. The Secretary, who understands the Malay and Javanese languages, was also given to us. Having passed outside the gate, we found four horses ready, which we let be led alongside us, and proceeded on foot. Continuing forward, we found the *Rijksbestierder* ready at the King's castle, where one must pass by, to proceed with us: as happened without anyone using horses. We took our way along a stone water conduit, two or three feet high above the ground, built up and lined inside with a lead pipe, extending from the *Lufthuis* into the royal palace. This water conduit was made three years ago. The water comes from the mountains, which are two hours away, flowing into it with a river through the land. It took three hours until we arrived at this *Lufthuis*. After a short stay at the front gate, as our arrival had been announced, one of the women of the court came to instruct us to approach inside. We saw here under an elevated pavilion three carriages of the King, of which the carriage drivers were Dutch and dressed in red in our fashion. Then we stepped over a long wooden bridge, partly paved with narrow planks and fitted with railings. Subsequently, we approached through a small gate into the courtyard.

The Scribe requests an audience with the King.

Arrives at the King's *Lufthuis*. ## Reisen.

The rooms of the building, where the King sat on one side on an armchair, with four or five other common chairs nearby. He welcomed us kindly with a handshake and invited us to sit down. But before I would do so, I requested the Secretary to tell the King that I was pleased to see him prosperous, whose health I had heartily greeted with his Excellency on the occasion of my departure before leaving. Upon this, the King thanked me with a handshake and a friendly look, ordering me to sit beside him. He sat at the high end of a long table, and we all on either side. Meanwhile, preserves, pastries, fruits, and other refreshments were brought forward. Tea was also served, as were two silver decanters with pipes and tobacco ready, along with two burning candle flames to light the tobacco. Whereupon the King himself repeatedly invited us. But before that came to pass, other dishes were brought forward, filled with hot food, such as rice or pilau with its accompaniments, various kinds of chopped chicken meat, in the manner of our meatballs, and long skewers on which was skewered roasted or grilled meat, boiled heart, and radishes cut into long pieces. Each was provided with a spoon or hand towel, as well as a bowl filled with similar food. It happened to me that there was a large dish full of pieces like *flyffel*, even as slices of

pears, but flat, very good in taste, both salty and sweet. The drink was nothing but water, which stood ready around the table in a pot, like a teapot, with a spout, serving also for washing the hands, to which a small kettle was placed.

Nothing surprised me so much as that no men were seen in this room besides the King and us, being served by women both him and us. The Heir Apparent sat below on the ground in front of the lower end of the table with his legs tucked under his body, in the Eastern manner, without consuming any food. His true wife also served the table, standing beside me on the right side, not near the King's side, so that I had the honor of being served by her. The Lord Kaef was placed to the right hand of the King, with three or four young ladies constantly ready for his service on his right side, apparently of the first rank. Behind his chair

sat on the ground three or four women, one of whom had a four-stringed lute in her arms; leaning against which she held up her chest and the drum high. Another had a short spear or lance. Another again the King's walking stick that was varnished black and adorned with a silver handle. At times they also stood around. But I will speak about this in particular, and then accurately name all that is always brought to the King's attention.

Behind these were seated five or six youngest sons of the King, aged two, three, four, five, or even six years. He never had children with his first wife. His second was his uncle's daughter, also the true wife of his deceased brother. This present Queen did not win any children with her first husband, brother of this King; but this current King has eight children with her, both sons and daughters: of whom the eldest princess has reached the age of thirteen years. They are all beautiful in color, not brown. With his third (for he has three wives) he has several children. He also took a fourth as his true wife: but she does not bear the title of Queen. His other concubines are reckoned to be about forty in number. Here with them are still 850 women who serve daily in his *Kaftel*; so that there is a throng of women.

Behind the mentioned young Princes were fifteen or twenty ladies, subsequently on this forecourt three or four other troops; also at the end towards the wall several outside those who constantly walked around to serve and be found in the house. All which we reckon taken together amounted to a number of two hundred. They were all naked to the chest on their upper bodies, as well as their arms and legs: having only a cloth wrapped around their lower body, which was fastened with ends around the waist; along with another that was also made in the same way up to the chest. Their hair was twisted behind, just like a *loff*e spout.

For the present time the King was thus dressed. He had on his head a five-inch high flyf-made cap. The upper and lower edges were one finger wide white, the rest purple. He wore a Turkish

skirt of kaftan-brown color, adorned with silver buttons. His waist was wrapped with a common purple belt, from which the ends hung down in front. On his left side he had stuck the *kris*, where
Cornelis de Bruyns' Account

From the sheath, which was trimmed with gold, his legs were bare, displaying common red Dutch stockings on his feet.

After a meal taken after a long hour, he offered us tobacco, then asked if I smoked it. I replied that I did, but that such a thing was indifferent to me, so that I could act as I pleased. He praised this. When I inquired whether the King himself used tobacco, he confirmed that he did, but sparingly. He then asked, while lighting a pipe, if I would follow suit. To which I replied with respect that I would conform to his Majesty's wishes. Then, on behalf of the King, it was again asked whether I had brought any tobacco with me, as it might be slightly better. At this point, my young man, who had the box with him, was summoned. I took the box from him and drew out a pipe, which I gave to the King, who having smoked half of it, handed it to the Secretary, who hadn't yet lit a pipe. Because our conversations were so varied and numerous, only one pipe was used for each topic. The King certainly showed himself particularly eloquent and inquisitive: he asked me many things about how the situation was in this country and that, how large they were, and what was remarkable about them; who the most prominent kings of the earth were, how far their territories extended, and what customs different peoples had. On all these points, he also inquired which the greatest and most famous rivers in the world were. To this, I informed him of the characteristics of the Nile in Egypt, the Volga in Russia, of which I had measured the beginning and end, as well as the nature of other rivers known to me.

Speaking generally about the whole world, he asked how long it had existed according to Christian reckoning. On this point, I told him what the scholars in Christendom believed, along with the judgment that some fields would be when the world were to end. However, I explained that I could explain this just as well without seeing my papers, which I did not have with me at the time. The King took such pleasure in my answer that I omitted more than is necessary to express here, that he ordered me to send him in writing from Batavia what I had said and further noted in my papers. To this, I replied respectfully, undertaking to present my memoirs to his Highness so that they could be adapted to his Majesty.

The King was therefore very pleased with my answers and instructions, and in turn recounted how in previous times this land had been heathen. However, through the efforts of one of his ancestors, named Soefoeboenan Abol Machafin, who was held sacred by them, they had adopted the Mohammedan religion and placed themselves under his higher authority. Thus, he said, they

had remained loyal subjects ever since; that it was five three hundred years ago. He also spoke of Turkey and the holy land of Jerusalem. And it seemed as if a Turkish merchant, born in Bethlehem, who was currently present within this palace, had lost all his goods at sea. The King summoned this man to give some account of these matters.

Thus we had many conversations, in which the King took so many turns that he gave me his hand several times out of joy as a sign of his satisfaction. He also wanted me to resume my visit. To which I expressed with due respect how pleased I was at such good fortune, and said that at the King's command I would set aside time and place for it, he then instructed me to appear before him in his pavilion next morning at nine o'clock, and to bring with me a description of my first journey. For I understand, he said, that your book rests here under the merchant Wys. Furthermore, he turned to Lord Caef, saying that he need not return, as the letters he had to take to Batavia were ready, which he could obtain the next day and depart. Then the King led me to examine this house from top to bottom. It had three floors, each with several rooms. Everywhere he stopped for a while, speaking with me about many things that concerned the governance of princes. He particularly revealed his feelings about the waiting on the Greats and Councils of Princes, and how he believed they were meant as punishment and reward. For virtue and loyalty, he showed great esteem, judging that princes could not sufficiently reward their faithful servants nor repay their services. He added that a prince, even if, as human nature often brings it about, had committed a fault, should always... ## Reisen

While remembering their previous merits, they needed to erase this blemish; not feeling that one should use fire, but rather using water, which would be suitable for cooling. For with fire he meant the heat and anger that things cause a person to experience, of which they later regret. He also said that he was not unaware of what malice often works in courts. I stated my opinion on this matter and brought forth examples from the ancients to support my words.

As far as this house is concerned, one had in the upper part particularly pleasant views over the land and the sea. Around the house ran a beautiful wide pond, which was paved with stone.

While the King led me and entertained me, he always had the following of the aforementioned State Ladies with their guards by him. Evening began to fall: so we came down and received our *affiche*.

When we crossed the aforementioned bridge, there stood three carriages ready: in one of which His Majesty desired that we proceed. We obeyed. Upon which the King himself mounted a horse, and simultaneously, three or four of the young Princes

followed him. The ladies of the court entered the other carriages, among whom was said to be the Queen *Ratoe-anoem*, who had been occupied with fishing and other amusements by the water in a place outside the house with her State Ladies. The other common women walked barefoot. Some of them were laden with their own packages, which they carried on their backs. This caused quite a commotion and bustle. For here were also two hundred and fifty guards of the King armed with pikes.

Those who went behind him were called *Kajorans*: the others *Sourana-garas*, who followed behind the first. The subjects of this King are all Javanese: the other foreign nations that one finds in his territory are Malays, Macassars, and Balinese. These all must step aside if they are not in his service, as he comes with his women, according to the custom of the Eastern lands. We therefore arrived with the evening at the *kafeel*, where, stepping out from our *affiche* by His Majesty's order, we were brought to our lodging by a courtier with two large lanterns.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The writer had audience with the King again. Agreeable dancers. Departure of the King. Appearance of the King. Court praise. Speech of the Javanese. Their religion. Origin and physique of the Kings of Bantam.

I then went on the appointed day with Secretary Gobius first to the *Ryxbestierder* (Regent), to be led from there with one of the ladies of the court into the *kafeel* by His Majesty. After having settled down a little with this lord, I let my eyes wander over his dwelling, which I found particularly remarkable for such a small personage. Occasionally one of the ladies came along, with whom we walked to the *kafeel*.

Here I saw on his wall above the main gate the King constantly observing a large carriage, recently sent as a gift by Batavia with the bombardier galleon, which had arrived the day before. It was being put in order, and the horses were harnessed to ride around the place for the *kafeel*. The King, noticing us, beckoned us to come up: while a European Lieutenant who lived within the *kafeel* offered me wine and beer. I accepted the drink and drained a glass to His Majesty's health. The King was surrounded by many ladies: and six sunshades, two of common and four of white color, were held behind him by men. Having inspected this place, we went down. Here we entered through the gate into an anteroom; the hearing place being on the right side of the dwelling. This was full of ladies. Among them were three dancers, *Danfsterin*-ready to dance as the King would order. The foremost one was particularly fine, proud, and dressed and adorned in a foreign way. In this Hear- ## Second Audience with the King

The hall was prepared with a long table, just as it had been the day before. His Majesty took his seat at the end of the table, commanding me to sit on the right side, and alongside me the Secretary, leaving the rest of the table occupied with chairs.

After a brief conversation while drinking tea, the Queen appeared, for whom the ladies-in-waiting made way so she could approach the table more closely. She joined her husband's left side at the same end of the table. As she approached, I and the Secretary rose and offered our respects; however, the King ordered us to return to our seats. Meanwhile, various cooked dishes, fruits, and other delicacies were brought forward, including a platter of fine Dutch cheese. The Queen presented this dish to me, as if wishing to indicate that it would please her from my homeland. I made a gesture of gratitude and took a small portion, tasting everything offered to me; which the King, seeing me sample everything, ordered all sorts of dishes to be served to me and asked how these delicacies tasted, prepared in this way. Since most were quite palatable, I had reason to answer that I found the foods delicious, and could give no stronger proof than that I partook of my share. The King laughed at me for this, expressing his pleasure at seeing me. Meanwhile, the dancers began to display their talents. The Queen, being His Majesty's second wife and foremost, named Ratoe-anoem (we have already spoken of her), was still young, well-made, not ugly, but beautiful, neither brown nor unpleasant in color, possessing a grace and dignity in her bearing and manners. She was dressed according to the custom of the land, as is said of the State ladies. After sitting at the table for an hour, she rose and departed. When the table was cleared, the King examined my travel account for a while, bringing it to that end; about which I explained the depictions as best I could on occasion, as seemed appropriate to me. Meanwhile, one of the women was seated directly across from me at the table by order of His Majesty. She was large and stout in body, but fair and blond in complexion. Her face was very swollen, her eyes half-closed. Sitting thus, she asked me from what land I thought she was. I replied that I did not know, but if I were to guess, I would believe her to be a Ruffian slave, since I had seen one like her in Constantinople, where there are many such. However, this was mistaken. For this woman was from the mountains located near the southeastern islands of Ternate, whose inhabitants are called Kackerlacken. This Kacker-folk see better at night than by day; they are *Kackerlacken*. They also cannot tolerate the sun well. Their eyes remain half-closed and they spend much time in dark corners during the day. This woman was so fat that one could scarcely perceive her face. After a short while, she went to sit with the other women on the ground. Then the King had six of his most prominent children brought to the table, two at a time, since they were small, on each *floe*. These children were those of the aforementioned Queen. They were beautiful and well-behaved, as beautiful and fair in complexion as some of ours in Batavia, who become much browner. Two of them were Princes, and the other

four Princesses. The eldest might be about nine years old, not particularly impressive in appearance, but fair and well-made. Finally, the King asked me how I found the audience to be. As I expressed my respect for my enjoyment, he then spoke: *The favor* that I show you in this my Audience, no one of the Indies or the Commander has ever enjoyed. And I favor you here because you are a foreigner in whom I have taken a liking. And I say it with my own mouth so that you may be assured of it. I showed myself delighted by the unusual honor bestowed upon me and thanked the King with all humility. Upon this, he extended his hand to me as further proof of his affection. Beforehand, when the King had arrived, the Secretary had told me that he had never heard or seen such a display of favor. For the Commander and his wife, having been received in a special room above or within another chamber with the Queen, were always received separately; but the Queen had never appeared publicly before foreigners. Meanwhile, we smoked tobacco: and the foremost dancer began now to perform her work properly. She was, as we had begun to say, proudly yet strangely adorned. For on her head she wore a large golden crown, full of hanging ornaments made of flowers, and reaching down to the middle of her body. Above her head were other adornments visible. Her clothing consisted of a proud upper garment and an underskirt. Her arms were bare to the shoulders, where large gold bracelets served as decoration both above and below the wrists. A golden

Image of the Queen.

The King decorates the Writer's Travel Book.

Women of the King.

Children of the King.

Proof of favor to the Writer.

Detail of a dancer- ## Reisen: An Account of Travel and Courtly Life

A golden belt encircled her waist, her feet bare. Her face and forehead were marked with several green patches. Her eyebrows matched this color. All the dancing consisted of movements of the body, with arms and legs extended slowly. She kept her head and upper torso perpetually bent forward. This seemed unfavorable to me, as I could find no beauty in it whatsoever. However, among this people, it must be considered pleasing. Furthermore, she took two bare breasts, placing one with its tip on her bare neck while continuing her dance. She made similar movements repeatedly but displayed great modesty throughout. The other two had their faces entirely covered in black patches, as if they had been sprinkled with peppercorns. They were dressed in common attire, consisting of an overskirt and long trousers worn over a shirt. They served as comic actresses, in which they were exceptionally

skilled. One portrayed a man, resembling someone from our nation. The woman mimicked our speech, complaining about him as if he brought other women, something to which she felt entitled. Here, she made many gestures and expressions of countenance and body, mingled with bizarre contortions, and all this with such weakness and flexibility of limbs and body that she seemed made for it. This was the essence of the comedy, which deserved to be seen and over which much laughter arose. Following this came two dwarfs of the King who stepped forward to imitate the dancing. The most charming was the smallest, whom the King had purchased from a lady of the court, who, being present then, pointed him out to me as belonging to the King. Meanwhile, the foremost dancer arrived with a silver bowl filled with *Piefang*, a fruit which, as is said, is chewed in this land. She offered it to me and the Secretary, and we gave some money in its place, according to the instruction that the Secretary had given me beforehand. During the meal, more hot food was brought forth in the shape of large meatballs, each rolled in a green leaf. The King gave one to the most amusing actress, who then broke it into pieces with great indecency, throwing the fragments into her mouth, which became overloaded (though she still spoke) and emitted woeful and unbearable words. While she threw one piece into her mouth, another flew out. In this manner, as if trying to speak like us, she approached closer, twisting her darkly stained face into a hundred strange postures, giving the appearance of a demon. This continued until two hours after midday, when the dancing and playing came to an end. Then, the money we had placed in the scale was returned to us. Refusing to accept it, I asked her to keep it for herself, adding that this was also a custom among Christians. Then the King led me to view the palace from top to bottom, after he himself had removed his slippers and we had taken off our shoes as well, since this place was considered sacred. I then surveyed all the upper dwellings, even those of the queens. There were very many rooms, but most were small. As I sat here and there and spoke with the King about various matters, he finally dismissed me with instructions to greet his Highness heartily. I thanked His Majesty for the great honor done to me, wishing him long health and a prosperous reign, and prayed that the descendants of the King might follow him and their ancestors in fame of name. The King wished me well on his part as well, and a fortunate return to my homeland. Then he led me from there along a wooden gallery to another building, always accompanied by his two eldest daughters, who remained upstairs. The King went with us down below, where we had left our slippers and mules. Here I took my final leave of the good Prince, who dismissed me with a handshake. Thus, I returned to my lodging.

Regarding the appearance of this King: he is brownish in color, glowing like copper, and pleasant in demeanor. He has brown eyes and nearly black eyebrows, and a beard whose tufts are small and fine, extending down to the ends of his mouth. We have described

his clothing. And I have nothing further to add except that the cap or bonnet was now purple in color. He is approximately thirty-three years old and also has no less than thirty-three children.

I have wanted to include here a description of the access and audience, this last journey enjoyed with this Prince, as something foreign. Why I made a small sketch there on the spot without anyone knowing, because they thought I was noting something: although I had told the King that it was my good fortune to be in his presence.

Farewell from the King.

Appearance of the Kings. ## Cornelis de Bruijn

Herein are depictions of memories that would command the respect of posterity. The women seemed pleased by this. I arranged it and offer you an image of No. 214.

I add here the regalia and emblems belonging to the state of this King, as he always keeps them with him. Ten noble women carry a *praetkris* or *Tfjelor*; a golden rooster, or *Sawoeniggaling*; a gilded wooden bird, or *Ardawelika*, upon which the King's clothing is carried; a *Siry-pienangdoos*, being a type of clapper that falls on the Maldivian islands and is called *Podjenagu* here; furthermore, a *lante* or state mat, a *Souaffe* kuspidoor, a hand-wringing device, or perhaps a stick from a certain tree root with flags; two pistols; two carbines; a water jug named 't *Sjaratan*, with a *Souaffe* bowl. These are the customary state regalia that the King changes, increases, or decreases according to his inclination and the circumstances of the time, after he deems one or another necessary or unnecessary for his comfort.

Regarding the speech of the Javanese, I have nothing to report beyond the depiction of the twenty letters that make up their A, B, C (so to speak). You see them expressed here alongside:

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. Ha. na. tsja. ra. ka. da. ta. fa wa. la.

L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. pa. da. dja. ija. nija. ma. ga. ba. ta. nga.

Regarding their religion, Islam has gained momentum throughout Java, having been adopted by this nation over three hundred years ago, as I already mentioned from the King's account.

Nevertheless, the Javanese on the eastern side of Java are far less devout than those on the western side; these latter having also adopted the Arabic name of Sultan from the Chirebomefen, a title not yet adopted but rejected by the *Soefoebonang* or King of the Javanese East Coast. It is said that more than one-third of Java remains ignorant of the Islamic religion. The image worship occurs through *gaens*, following the example of the ancient Javanese, now still practiced on the island of Bali.

The aforementioned King Machdoem or *Soefoebonang* Guenoeng Diati was, according to notes from old Bantammers, a son's son of King Bam Israel, who held his court in Arabia and then sailed around the world, passing over China to the great island of Java, where he arrived at a place named Dammak. Having been there for some time, he subsequently departed for Chirebon, where he gained many followers. He finally died there and was buried. It is said that his grave can still be seen today and held in honor as a remembrance of him being the first to introduce Islam to Java. This grave is surrounded by royal gravesites, many buildings, and walls, and has a magnificent appearance, being held so sacred that many nobles and dignitaries from both the Islamic side of Bantam and elsewhere come annually with their offerings and pilgrimages in the name of their rulers. Now I will add here the lineage of the Kings of Bantam and their origins, as far as it has come to my knowledge.

The Lineage of the Kings of Bantam Lineage of the Ko-ningen van Ban-tam. is from Arabia. The first was Bani Israel, from whom descended King Choet, who had a son named Machdoem or *Soefoebonang* Guenoeng Djaity, buried in Cirrebon. He was the one who introduced Islam to the island of Java. He left his homeland and came to the Javanese regions on Sirrebon, where he married the daughter of Kiay Gendheng Babadan. This marriage did not produce any children; but having married another woman, who was the daughter of Raton Ayoe, he had a son whom he named Paneumbaham Sirrebon. He then took another daughter of Raton Ayoe Padjajaran, the youngest, as his wife and produced two children from her, a daughter and a son. The eldest daughter was named Raton Winaon. The youngest was a son whom he named Afanodin, otherwise Pang: Di-pati ## The Rise of the Dutch East India Company

The establishment of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), or Dutch East India Company, in **1602**, marked a pivotal moment in global trade and colonial history. Driven by ambitions for profit and spurred by the burgeoning demand for spices in Europe, the VOC rapidly ascended to become one of the most powerful commercial enterprises the world had ever seen.

Initially formed as a merger of several smaller Dutch trading companies, the VOC was granted extraordinary powers by the **States-General**, including the right to wage war, negotiate treaties, and establish colonies - essentially functioning as a state within a state. This unique structure allowed it to operate with unparalleled efficiency and ruthlessness in its pursuit of dominance over lucrative trade routes in Asia.

The company's primary focus was on the spice islands—modern-day **Indonesia**—where cloves, nutmeg, mace, and other valuable commodities commanded exorbitant prices back home. Through a

combination of military force, shrewd diplomacy, and exploitative labor practices, the VOC secured exclusive control over these resources, often at great human cost to the local populations.

“The Dutch East India Company was not merely a trading company; it was an empire in its own right.” – *Jonathan Spence*

The VOC's influence extended far beyond the spice trade. It established trading posts and forts across Asia, from **India** to **Japan**, engaging in diverse commercial activities including textiles, tea, sugar, and slaves. The vast wealth generated by these ventures fueled economic growth in the Netherlands, transforming Amsterdam into a major financial center.

However, the VOC's success was built on a foundation of exploitation and violence. Indigenous populations were subjected to oppressive taxation, forced labor, and brutal suppression of resistance. The company's pursuit of profit often led to devastating ecological consequences as well, with forests cleared for plantations and natural resources depleted at an unsustainable rate.

By the **18th century**, the VOC had become increasingly corrupt and inefficient. Rampant mismanagement, bureaucratic bloat, and competition from other European powers gradually eroded its profitability. In **1799**, facing mounting debts and political instability, the company was dissolved by the Batavian Republic, marking the end of an era that profoundly shaped the course of global history.

- **Key Commodities:** Cloves, nutmeg, mace, tea, sugar, textiles
 - **Major Territories:** Indonesia (the Spice Islands), India, Japan
 - **Significant Dates:** 1602 (establishment), 1799 (dissolution)
- ## The Midwives by the King

Within the ancient halls of Egypt, where power held sway and life was dictated by royal command, two midwives stood as silent observers to a destiny unfolding. They were more than mere attendants; they were women of wisdom, their hands having guided countless births into existence—yet now they found themselves entangled in a scheme orchestrated by the king's decree.

The scene unfolds with gravity: the king, seated upon his throne, issues an order for all newborn boys to be slain. However, the midwives are not oblivious to the weight of this edict. They hear the infants' cries—innocent and unwavering—and discern a higher law within their own hearts.

They formulate a plan: to allow the children to live, shielding them from the king's wrath. Their strategy is both clever and straightforward—they delay the births of the boys until nightfall, when darkness conceals all sight and sound. They then report that the infants were stillborn, thus negating any need for their care.

The king, though he receives their report, offers no scrutiny. He simply nods in approval, unaware of the quiet defiance unfolding before him. The midwives' actions are not acts of rebellion but rather expressions of mercy—a silent resistance against tyranny that preserves life where death had been decreed.

And so, they continue to serve as midwives, their hands now marked by both loss and resilience. They bring children into this world—boys and girls alike—and in doing so, defy the king's decree without uttering a single word of dissent.

The image encapsulates this moment: the king seated above, his gaze burdened with authority; the midwives kneeling before him, their faces composed yet determined; and the infants, some still wrapped in swaddling clothes, others already crying out into existence—all emblems of life's enduring strength against death's decree. ## Reisen

Patty Socráfowan declared him for the King. And after his death, he remained known as Soefochoenan or Prince Seda Kingking. The King Hafanoedin left Sirrebon and styled himself King of Bantam under the name of Pangeran. His father had given him in marriage a daughter of the King of Demack, whose father was named Aria Tranganoë. The father of this woman was called Aria Soemangfang, and Soemangfang's father was Copo to Mocchoel; the aforementioned King of Demack had three children, named Pangeran Ratoe (who was married to the daughter, with whom Saba Kingking wed), Ratoe Japara, and Pangeran Ratoe, from whom the King Hafanoedin produced several sons and daughters, namely Ratoe Pambajoen, Joefoeph (who also became king under the name of Pangeran Paffareean), Pangeran Japara, Pangeran Soenina Raras, Pangeran Padjadjaran, Pangeran Pringalaya, Ratoe Ayoeasfaneemga, and Ratoe Ayoe Koemodaragi.

The children of the King Hafanoedin, by his concubines, were Pangeran Padjadjaran, Pangeran Sabrangenlor, Ratoe Toemeungoen, Ratoe Kenbeum, Ratoe Tirpatra, Ratoe Wetan, and Ratoe Biroe. Hafanoedin also married a daughter of Radja Indrapoera, who brought with her the *Sillabarefen*, a people from Banca Honlon or the island of Pollawbang. By this woman he gained a son named Pangeran Sabrangenlor. Afterwards, Ratoe Pambayoën married the great Lord or Priest of Angke. From this marriage she produced Djaja Karta and Ratoe Ajoefokawanna. The Pangeran Djaja Karta married the daughter of Pangeran

Padjadjaran, whom he named Ratoe Ajo Pambayoen, but did not beget any children from her. Through his concubines, he gained Ratoe Marta Koesoema and Pangeran Aria Andikara.

The King Hafanoedin died at the age of one hundred and twenty years, and Joefoeph was chosen to succeed him as King of Bantam. He married the daughter of Ratoe Winaon, named Chatidja, by whom he gained a son whom he named Machomed, that is, Pangeran Seedangrana, who was the third King of Bantam; also Pangeran Aria Onpapati, Pangeran Aria Adikara, Pangeran Aria Mandalika, Pangeran Aria Ranamangala, Pangeran Aria Mandoevaradia, Pangeran Aria Seminingrat, Ratoe Toemeungoen, Ratoe Patsjadangrana, Ratoe Panga, Ratoe Manis, Ratoe Wijooos, and Ratoe Balingbing.

The King Machomet also married in Sirrebon, taking as his wife the daughter of the Paneumbaban of Sirrebon, named Ratoe Radjadewi. With her he gained Pangeran Seedangrana; also Pangeran Aria Onpapati, Pangeran Aria Adikara, Pangeran Aria Mandalika, Pangeran Aria Ranamangala, Pangeran Aria Mandoevaradia, Pangeran Aria Seminingrat, Ratoe Toemeungoen, Ratoe Patsjadangrana, Ratoe Panga, Ratoe Manis, Ratoe Wijooos, and Ratoe Balingbing. Furthermore, the King Machomet married another daughter of Keay-maas Aria Djambi, whom he named Ratoe Ajoingalengkab; after which, the King Moechamad took as his wife the daughter of Keay-maas Patimangkoebomi, who was called Ratoe Srenganawati, and also the daughter of Pangeran Aria Kilen.

From one of his concubines he gained Aboema Vachir Abdul Kadir, who became the fourth King of Bantam and first bore the title of Sultan. This man married the daughter of Pangeran Aria Ranga Singa Sari, named Ratoe Adje, by whom he gained five children. The eldest was Aboel Maali, who was the fifth King and bore the name of Sultan Aboel Maali. The others were Ratoe Dewi, Ratoe Ayoe; Pangeran Aria Bantam, Ratoe Mira, Pangaria Soebamangala, Ratoe Balingingh, Ratoe Gedong, Ratoe Dalem, Pangeran Aria Mandoeraradia, Pangeran Aria Rana Mangala, Ratoe Elor, Pangeran Aria Smiringrat, Ratoe Kidoul, Pangeran Aria Soeta Mangala, Pangeran Aria Wiramaca, Pangerang Aria Danoewangsa, Pangeran Ariaprabangsa, Pangeran Aria Wira Seta, Ratoe Pandan, Pangeran Aria Wira Smara, Pangeran Ariadjaya nigrat, Ratoe Sendi, Ratoe Tsjitra, Pangeran Aria Diwangsa, Pangeran Soeta Koesoema, Pangeran Aria Djayafantica, Ratoe Alpha, Ratoe Patsjar, Ratoe Bangfal, Ratoe Gendong, Ratoe Poeljoek, Ratoe Salama, Ratoe Ratuala, Ratoe Gasanna, Ratoe Hoefena, Ratoe Konlampok, Ratoe Djoung-out, and Ratoe Wourachil.

The King Aboema-aliachmad married the daughter of the Pangeran Djayakarta, who was first named Ratoe Marta Koesoema, after her marriage being consummated she was

renamed Ratoe Koelon. Besides this marriage he also married a daughter of Kimas Demang Afstrang Paty, gained by his wife Ratoe Mira, who, after having borne him a daughter named Bayoen, became Ratomvetan. He also married another daughter of Ratoe Bagus Sariyasing-andaron, named Ratoe Elor; and then also the daughter of Pangeran Aria Wangsapaty, named Ratoe Kidoul.

The King Aboema-aliachinad gained from Ratoe Koelon, Ratoe Pambayoen, Ratoe Poetra, the King Aboel Phatachi Abdool phata, Pangeran Aria Koelon, Pangeran Aria Elor, and Pangeran Aria Ayawardia. From Ratoe Wetan he gained Pangeran Aria Wetan, Pangeran Aria Kidoul, Ratoe Intem, Ratoe Tinoempoeck, Ratoe Neumgeuck, Ratoe-Wiyos, Ratoe Nenng-a, Ratoe Poespita, Pangeran Ariadipa Nagara, Pangeran Abdool Moechdsena Boelober, and Abdolphatachi. This one who became the seventh King of Bantam married and ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

and won Abdoel Kahar Aboenasfar, who succeeded him in the realm, Pangeran Ingajodia, Pangeran Poerobaya, Ratoe Radjami, Ratoe Marta, Ratoe Ora, mou, Ratoe Madjida, Ratoe Phatima, Ratoe Afikach, Ratoe Oemoemoe, Raden Aria Mandaraka, Raden Roem, Raden Menfir, Raden Mochamad, Atiph; Ratoe Bagus: Radja Soetra, Ratoe Bagus, Radjafoeta, Ratoe Bagus Mouhsin, Ratoe Bagus Wetan, Ratoe Bagus Abdul, Ratoe Bagus Oeseen, Ratoe A joe, Ratoe Bagus Moechamad, Ratoe Kidoel, Ratoe A joe Koemuedaragi, Pangeran Aria Kalib, Pangeran Aria Ingawangsa, Ratoe Bagoes Soeliman. The King in Abdoel kahar Aboenasfar married the daughter of

Ratoe Ajoe Inga Leungka, and later also Rocatma, and Ratoe Sultan Sepoe. From this union he had many children, such as Moechamed Jachein, who became the eighth king, and Aboe Machasin Moechamad, designated abidin, who is the ninth king and still reigns. The other children were Ratoe Rachima, Sultan Aboe Falal, Ratoe Oem bad, Pangeran Caffatrian, Ratoe Amid, Ratoe Bagus Moechamad, Ratoe Bagus Oeseen, Ratoe Bagus Ab oetahier. He also married Ratoe Panembahan, with whom he had Ratoe Safija and the Panembahan. He also married Ratoe Sanya, and from her had a single son, whom he named Pangeran Moechamad.

CHAPTER LIX.

Occasion at Bantam. Noble woman of high standing. Departure from Bantam and return to Batavia.

AFTER I had collected these particulars, I felt the urge to depict the city of Bantam on paper. To this end, the Commander provided me with a bark to allow me to make my drawing on paper in the

roadstead before the city. I lay off the north side of the same, as shown by this view here alongside. All that is recognizable is indicated by numbers. 1 Depict the Commander's house, which is entirely white, although all the roofs are tiled with red tiles. 2 The guard on the point Speelwyk. 3 The corner house on the playing point, being a playhouse, where the King, when he comes to the Commander, usually finds himself. ## Reisen.

Previously, this was made of wood, but now it has been constructed of stone. A wooden fence with red slats runs around the top, offering a pleasant view. 4 the wall. 6 the gate of the Outer Watch. 5 the wall. 6 the gate of the Outer Watch. 7 Pepper Hill. 8 the high land of Seringa. 9 Penang Hill. 10 the harbor, where small vessels come in, extending a distance into the sea or bay, where it is sheltered. This harbor runs through the entire city and behind and alongside the Royal Fort. The few small houses that stand there are insignificant. The rest of the city, nor the Fort, can be seen due to the numerous trees along the waterfront; as was noted, a large crocodile appeared not far from me, emerging several times partially above the water, which is also indicated here.

Regarding the fort itself, it is a long square building enclosed by a reasonably high wall. It has four points and two half-moons in the middle, covering approximately a quarter of an hour in circumference. It is well adorned with cannons. The garrison stationed there consists entirely of our nation. They number about four hundred men strong.

The city itself lies along the coast and extends far in length and width. I estimate it covers two hours in its expanse. The dwellings that are there are mostly simple and belong to poor people, although most are flagged with bamboo and covered with *Adab* leaves. Outside the city one finds many more houses, as outbuildings, both along the river and elsewhere. There is a great abundance of people, and among them particularly many children, so it appears quite suitable for continued growth.

Among the foodstuffs, there was especially good eel, of which I purchased a portion and placed in five large pots filled with water to take to Batavia, and distribute to my friends there.

Trade. All the trade that takes place here consists of pepper. The city's harbor is exceptionally large, so that ships can lie safely at anchor. I have certainly never seen such a large harbor. When one enters, the length is about the same as the width, covering approximately three hours in distance. This kingdom is located in the southern part of East India on the northern coast west of Java, close to the Sunda Strait, as I already mentioned, and about 24 or 25 hours west of the city of Batavia.

On this afternoon, I took a small vessel from the land, called *You-con* by the Javanese, and known by our nation as a Canoe. This craft is narrow and long, pointed at both ends, hewn from a *Bayer-fouriam*, sometimes also from *Satiboomen*, which are several three, four, or five feet thick. Ropes are used for some of them, paddles for others. Among these trees one finds some that are unbelievably thick.

For this water journey I took as my companion the Overseer David Hein, born in Marienburgh in Prussia, a man knowledgeable about the land and language through long experience. We went to visit a place called Catanie, situated among plantations, located approximately an hour west of Bantam, alongside the large river that comes from the mountains. These plantations are all the houses of the Kings of Bantam. I found the most important building very dilapidated, and all others quite common with covered plates, where many bodies lay without tombstones, only what was raised above the ground, and assembled with a few small stones in a tombstone-like fashion, final and low. All these graves were enclosed by a common stone wall.

Returning from there, we entertained ourselves by swimming in the river; or rather, to wash ourselves before a garden where the King enjoys himself in that manner.

Having now come somewhat below the city, we landed to go see an old noblewoman, about whom the King had spoken to me. For he had asked me how many years the oldest person he had ever seen might have lived, and upon my answer told me that one of his noblewomen had reached the age of one hundred and thirty years. She resided at the King's *Outmoeje*, who has oversight over all the dancers, and instructs them. I had requested permission from her to visit her on the King's behalf, and he graciously granted it. After we were admitted into the women's quarters, they assumed that I had come to see dancing, which would have been performed for me if I desired, as my arrival was announced in the King's name. I was brought before the King's *Outmoeje*, whom I explained the reason for my visit to, and at the same time thanked her for the courtesy she showed me from the Ccc

Great Age of a Noblewoman. ## Cornelis de Bruyns

The young ladies, when they saw me, respectfully declined to dance with me, having already seen me at the King's court. Some young women, who seemed curious to see me, and an old woman whom I had come to visit, escorted me. I found her sitting in a small, humble room on a slightly raised platform like a table, quite high up. Her body was wrapped in a gray linen cloth. She was still clear-skinned and strong in complexion, but so weak in the legs—which she showed me—that she could no longer stand. The flesh had also wasted away to such an extent that little remained except her bones. The day was already beginning to decline. I requested

a candle to be able to see everything better. I took the candle in one hand and held the other before her, asking if she could see the light well. "Bend your hands forward," she said, and then very sprightly raised both her hands high. However, she could not acknowledge the nature of human beings. I also wanted to test her memory, so I asked her where she was born. "I was born in Jafaktra," she said (formerly known as Batavia for 97 years before it came into the possession of the Company), and in my youth I came to live in Bantam, where I knew seven kings. She also named them all by their names. She still partook of her usual food, as she always had. Sometimes one noticed that she was a little childish; at such times she did not see anything. But those morsels were then given to her without questions by those who were accustomed to taking care of her. Her eyes stood very deep in her head, so that they appeared bare according to the manner of the country. Little hair remained on her, but it was all gray. The passage of time had drawn out all her fingers except for the inside of her hand. Having enjoyed this sight and thanked the Honorable One of the King, I departed.

The following day, I made preparations to depart before nightfall, as the ship by which I had come had sailed from here the previous day. I had it towed, because I did not deem it suitable to return with it, since such ships are often delayed for a long time in this season of the year due to contrary winds and can proceed slowly. Upon my arrival, I requested Lord Wys to hire a bark from the land for me, as they commonly sail across in one go with those vessels. This lord then offered me his own boat, which was more convenient and spacious than any other on the land. I accepted the offer, and the aforementioned Mr. Kaef took a pledge to depart with me, which would happen at seven o'clock that evening; at which time the Commander and Lord Wys handed me the letters in reply to His Excellency. I thanked them for all the kindness and friendship received, and the Commander himself escorted me beyond the gate to this designated dwelling place, where Lord Wys, the Secretary, and the Master of Ceremonies stood waiting to take leave and wish each other much health and well-being.

The harbor, where one comes here, is not wide and mostly shallow, but long; so that there must be booms set out to get out, which proceeds slowly. When we were outside, we let it go at anchor to await the land wind, which we obtained after a short time, when we sailed under sail with very pleasant weather and clear skies. In the morning, we proceeded so quickly that we soon overtook our mentioned ship, which was sailing against the wind. Thus, we arrived back in Batavia before being far from the land and sailing through the islands at three o'clock in the afternoon. I came unexpectedly to His Excellency, to whom I delivered the greetings of the King and the two letters entrusted to me. I gave a brief account of my experiences, which His Excellency received

with pleasure, and greeted his Honorable One before departure, who was also pleased that I had found everything so much to my liking.

From Bantam, I brought along some native birds, of which I set up a few specimens, and preserved the rest in spirits. Most were green; the parrots were not unlike in color, by which name they are also known here on land. The most beautiful one had a perfect flat spot on its head. The breast was beautifully red, like the plumage. The rest was green above and below. Others were somewhat smaller but also green. The underside and plumage were red. Others had gray undersides and plumage.

The Harbor.

Return to Batavia.

Preparations for Departure.

1. **The Strange and Unknown Fruit**

The discovery of the Americas in **1492** by **Christopher Columbus** initiated a period of intense exploration, trade, and cultural exchange between Europe and the New World. This era, often referred to as the Age of Exploration, brought Europeans into contact with countless new plants, animals, and peoples, fundamentally altering both continents. Among these novelties were numerous fruits previously unknown to European palates.

The accounts of early explorers and settlers are filled with descriptions of exotic produce – vibrant colors, unfamiliar shapes, and tantalizing aromas. While some fruits quickly gained popularity and became staples in European diets, others remained obscure or were met with suspicion due to their unusual appearance or taste. The *pomme de terre*, now a ubiquitous food source, initially faced similar skepticism before its culinary potential was fully realized.

One such fruit that garnered considerable attention, yet ultimately failed to achieve widespread acceptance in Europe, was the *kandeke*. This name, derived from an indigenous Caribbean language, referred to a large, round fruit with a thick, leathery rind and sweet, juicy flesh. Early accounts describe it as being roughly the size of a melon, possessing a flavor reminiscent of both watermelon and cantaloupe.

Columbus himself documented the *kandeke* in his journals, noting its abundance on Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti and Dominican Republic). He observed that indigenous populations

consumed it readily, often using it to quench their thirst during arduous labor. The fruit's ability to provide both hydration and sustenance made it a valuable resource for the native inhabitants.

“We found many *kandekes*, which are like melons, but more juicy; they are very good.” – Christopher Columbus, Journal Entry, 1493

European colonists initially embraced the *kandek* as a potential source of food and profit. Seeds were sent back to Europe, and attempts were made to cultivate the fruit in various climates. However, these efforts largely proved unsuccessful. The *kandek* proved difficult to propagate outside its native tropical environment, and even when it did manage to take root, the resulting fruits often lacked the sweetness and flavor of their Caribbean counterparts.

Furthermore, the *kandek*'s thick rind presented a significant obstacle to widespread consumption. Unlike many other fruits that could be easily peeled or segmented, the *kandek* required considerable effort to prepare, deterring potential consumers. The fruit also had a relatively short shelf life, making it challenging to transport and store effectively.

Over time, interest in the *kandek* waned as European settlers focused on cultivating more familiar crops like citrus fruits, grapes, and apples. The fruit gradually faded from historical records, becoming little more than a footnote in accounts of early colonial encounters. Today, the *kandek* remains largely unknown outside of the Caribbean region, a testament to the challenges of introducing new foods into established culinary traditions.

Despite its ultimate failure to gain widespread acceptance in Europe, the story of the *kandek* serves as a fascinating reminder of the vast diversity of the natural world and the complex interplay between culture, trade, and food preferences. It highlights how even seemingly desirable commodities can fail to thrive when confronted with unfamiliar environments and cultural barriers. ## The Peak of Piekboom

Froete Mieri. And Tjackou. ## LX. CHAPTER.

The Manner of Receiving the King of Bantam's Letters at Batavia.
Wild Forest Fruits. Gifts and Letters from the Emperor of Java.
The Arrival of the Famous Seafarer Dampier.

It was on the nineteenth of July when a letter from the King of Bantam, sent with Mr. Kaef, was brought into Batavia; that is how it transpired. It was an hour before noon when the *Sabandhaer* or Master of Ceremonies, who is used for all nations, both indigenous and European, along with six or eight prominent servants of the Company, some merchants, and others, were instructed to go fetch this letter from the roadstead. The letter

(for it was no package) having been fetched, it was carried by a halberdier on a large silver dish, covered with a yellow damask cloth, held by a respectful bearer. Upon arriving at the Castle, they passed through the garrison of the Castle, arranged in order in double rows from the land gate to the residence of His Excellency, with flying banners and flag drums, under the sound of trumpets and shawms; and after receiving the letter, the aforementioned military personnel fired three times with muskets while cannons were discharged. Furthermore, they were received at a banquet in the Hall of the Council of India, seated in that setting was the General, and the Field Overseer of India, along with the Secretary nearby, and around them the halberdiers of His Excellency.

On the twenty-third of the same month, thirty-three horses were brought to Batavia as a gift to the Company, sent by Soefoenang Pakocboana, or the Emperor of Java: followed on the 26th by his letters, fetched in the same manner. Along with this gift were fifteen or seventeen slaves, mostly small boys who looked sickly. This is the same emperor who was placed on the throne by the Company last year, being the son of his brother Adepatte, who had already brought the Matarmfe Kingdom under his rule, driving him out. This kingdom, called Sematarm, is from the Ooftkuft Java, located about seventy miles from Batavia.

It has now been three years that this war has lasted. For the expelled ruler is not willing to relinquish the crown. Time will learn the outcome of this matter.

During these days, some wild fruits, the fruits from the forests, were brought to me, marked as such. Of which I bring forward the following six varieties onto paper, and first the *Atap*, *Piek* or *Piekboom*, whose inner flesh is eaten, just like that of the *Klappers*, with which it has a similar taste. This fruit sits with particularly large clusters on one, about one foot and five inches in diameter. This gives great weight to such a tender stem, which I found to be seven or eight feet high. The leaves are long and slender, as shown by the number of 215. Here is also the *Froete Mieri*, a fruit with large white seeds, so poisonous that one would die from eating it. It has about the size of a *Klapper* fruit. Look inside with one of the seeds and leaves beside it, showing the number of 216, indicated by letter A, and *Froete Tjackson* with B; the inner flesh of this fruit is eaten, and tastes like *Kojaves*. It is green in color. The plant sprouts with eight leaves or shoots. I show two here in their essential size. There's a long fruit, called *Kandeke*, in shape like coffee. No seeds come from the flower. It is propagated with cuttings. The leaves are large and beautiful, as shown by the image of 217 with letter C, but about half the size in appearance than they are. Letter D shows a fruit whose name I could not be mentioned. It is green when unripe, and beautifully red when ripe. The long and slender leaves hang closely together. The last fruit is called *Baple-kammie*. Half of these seeds, which

are quite large, are eaten, and also planted, as being the seed of the fruit, soft and without any hardness inside. The leaves are like those of Ivy, depicted in their essential size. ## The Strange Bloom

The phenomenon, initially dismissed as a localized anomaly, has now been definitively linked to fluctuations in the *Zeltsame* field—a previously theoretical energy matrix permeating all known dimensions. Early reports described instances of spontaneous floral emergence within otherwise barren environments; roses blooming on asphalt, orchids sprouting from concrete, entire fields of lilies erupting overnight where only dust had settled before.

These events were initially attributed to unusual weather patterns or localized geological disturbances. However, the sheer scale and consistency of these occurrences quickly ruled out such explanations. Dr. Anya Sharma's team at the Institute for Dimensional Studies was tasked with investigating the matter, and their findings have been startling.

"We observed a direct correlation between spikes in *Zeltsame* activity and the appearance of these anomalous blooms," Dr. Sharma stated during a recent press conference. "It appears that the energy field is somehow stimulating rapid cellular growth within dormant plant seeds, effectively bypassing the usual germination process."

The flowers themselves exhibit unusual properties. Their petals possess an iridescent sheen, shifting colors depending on the angle of light. Pollen samples reveal a complex molecular structure unlike anything previously documented in terrestrial botany. Furthermore, analysis indicates that these blooms emit a low-frequency hum—in audible to human ears but detectable by specialized equipment—that seems to resonate with the surrounding *Zeltsame* field.

The implications of this discovery are profound. If the link between *Zeltsame* energy and plant life can be fully understood, it could revolutionize agriculture, allowing for rapid crop growth in even the most inhospitable environments. Conversely, uncontrolled fluctuations in the *Zeltsame* field could lead to unpredictable and potentially devastating ecological consequences.

- **The Zeltsame Field:** A newly discovered energy matrix influencing dimensional stability.
- **Anomalous Blooms:** Rapidly growing flowers appearing spontaneously in unexpected locations.
- **Iridescent Petals:** Displaying shifting colors due to unique molecular structure.

- **Low-Frequency Hum:** An undetectable resonance linked to the *Zeltsame* field.

The Institute is currently focusing on developing methods for monitoring and stabilizing the *Zeltsame* field, while simultaneously exploring its potential applications in sustainable agriculture. The strange bloom, once a curiosity, has become a symbol of both immense opportunity and considerable risk. ##
Cornelis de Bruijn

Size No. 218. I painted here a striking red flower with its color, being like a dense rose collected, yet consisting of small, separate blossoms, as number 219 indicates.

Mountain Substances

Among other notable things that can captivate the sensibilities of knowledgeable people, I include some mountain substances from the gold mines of Cillebaer on the West Coast of Sumatra, consisting of Gold, Silver, Antimony, Crystal, and Flower of Gold. Among these was also a seaweed found in Amboina, consisting of long branches in the manner of vines; I brought one such branch with me from there to serve as a vine. It is black in color. The Malays call it *Akkaer-babaer*, where the first part of the word is a root and the last means sea, as they say Seaweed. The Arabs give it the name of *Kal-babaer*, where the first syllable is a heart and the next the sea, thus coming to be joined into a heart of the sea, or seaheart.

Earthy Seaweed

It is considered a very powerful medicine for stopping bleeding, when rubbed in water and a small teacupful is taken. It also relieves the severe labor pains of women, when rubbed in this way, as one mixes a third part with two-thirds of *Denty de bada*, and *Adas* and *Poelefary*; and drinks three times a moderate teacupful of this mixture.

Medicine

I also think it not inappropriate to mention here the self-taming trees called *Gabbe-gabbe*. Their branches are like those of the Climbing Trees, but lower and thicker. The Malays call them *Roembia*. Entire groves of these trees are found in Amboina and Ternate. The natives use them as food instead of rice in this way. They split the tree and take out the innermost part that is soft like a sponge, and prepare it like rice. When the tree has come to its maturity, or become seven or eight years old, it is felled and cut into small pieces. From these pieces, purified in water, the Sago is prepared with much effort. This is what the Amboinese and other

Eastern peoples use for bread. They also make biscuits or crackers from it that can remain good for many years, as I have found out, and have evidence of in my hands.

Sago

It pleases me to mention here the misfortune and encounter of some people on this coast. To wit, in the year 1691, it happened that the ship *Waveren* burned at sea due to a similar unfortunate accident: so that seventy people, both Dutchmen and slaves (there was also a Dutch lady aboard) escaped from the fire and fled with the boat and float. They swam for 19 days on the sea and finally arrived at the aforementioned coast of Sumatra, and ten days later in Achin, in a very miserable state, having suffered such a lack of food at sea that they had already decided to kill one of the boys to use his flesh as food. But by God's goodness it did not come to that, because they took refuge on land. Whereupon they stepped onto the earth, crying out with joy. The Queen, understanding their arrival with kindness, came herself, and seeing the distress in which they were, kindly extended her hand to them, giving each of the officers two pieces of *lywaet*, one blue and one white, and to the common people each one to clothe themselves. She comforted the miserable ones with kind words, expressing how she rejoiced at their release from the dangers of the sea and their arrival in her land, where they could expect further help from her. She also had food and other necessities brought to them, treating and receiving them with as kindly a reception as one could expect from a noble and well-bred woman. She continued to prove this kindness—

Opportunity of Sumatra

Regarding the aforementioned island of Sumatra, it is long, located opposite Malacca. It is believed that it is the region of *Ophir*, where those of Tyre hauled such remarkable treasures, just as the court servants of King Solomon (a), as I noted in my first (a) 1 Reg. Travel Description. For 9. V. 28. even now a small island lies off *Malacca*, which the natives call *Ophir*, and is known to sailors and mapmakers by the name of the Red Island. Gold is still found on Sumatra, both on the East and West sides, of which I have seen particularly fine pieces, with not the slightest trace of mixing: pieces, I mean, almost round, and about the size of a devil's egg, besides also elongated lumps.

On the Northwest corner of Sumatra lies the city of Atchem or Achim, within which the Queen has her residence. For this region, as I have been informed, is governed only by women, who draw their principal incomes or wealth from some mines. Previously, the Dutch Company had an office here, which has ceased for some time. ## Reisen

His Highness, until they had the opportunity to sail from there to Malacca with a free ship, from where they happily arrived at Batavia with a ship of the Company.

Arrival of Captain Dampier's Shipwrecked Crew. During the latter part of these same months, Captain Willem Dampier, renowned seafarer, along with 28 men of his crew, arrived in Batavia with a ship of the Company named *The Unicorn*, from Ternate. He had been sailing from England with two ships since September of the year 1703, via Madeira, St. Jago, Ilka, Granida, and onward along the coast of Brazil at 60 degrees South latitude, passing Cape Horn. On February 10th of the year 1704, upon arriving at Ilka de Fernando in the Southern Sea, he encountered a French ship, which he abandoned after a sharp fight. They proceeded to discover two other ships off the coasts of Chile and Peru. Subsequently, having reached as far as 8 degrees North latitude, they landed with unfortunate consequences on the river of St. Maria. Here they were rejected; whereupon the smaller of the two ships, named *The Cinque Ports*, Dampier abandoned at Panama without anyone ever hearing where it remained. Shortly thereafter, around mid-May, the flierman Jan Clifton and 20 men left him aboard a Spanish captured bark in the bay of Nicaja as well. He thus found himself alone, encountering a large Manilla ship against which he fought every day, but was unable to capture it. Meanwhile, there arose disagreements between him and Factor Eduard Morgan, along with flierman Jan Ballafch, and the members of the common crew, which escalated so far that

the two previously mentioned men abandoned their Captain with 32 men, and in January of the year 1705 embarked on a Spanish bark heading for India, perishing on May 28th in an unfortunate fight in Amboyna. From there (after having sold their vessel *The St. Jan*, which was no longer suitable) they were transported to Batavia with the Company's ships and subsequently departed for Europe. They had before separating from Dampier managed to capture approximately 12 or fourteen small vessels, such as Spanish barks occasionally taken in the Southern Sea, without finding any particularly valuable booty. Weakened by this latest abandonment, Dampier persevered for some time with only 28 or 29 men, and managed to acquire four prizes; until he found his ship *The St. George* so badly damaged that he could no longer keep it afloat, and was forced to abandon it and transfer to one of the captured barks, which he renamed *The St. George*. Hereupon he decided to seek out India; while after some time wandering, they finally landed together in the Eastern provinces and near the North East Indies Company on the island of Bathan in an unfortunate plight, selling their vessel, which was completely lost, and thus, as already mentioned, arrived from Ternate. Dampier also shortly thereafter departed with some men aboard the

English ship *Feterfan*, heading for England. The others, greatly hoping to find their Captain, followed him with the Dutch ships that had to return home.

1. CHAPTER.

Description of Batavia. The Castle. Pleasant Outskirts. Foreign Nations. Large Number of Chinese. Wild Animals. Abundant Fish and Vegetables.

Description of Batavia. NOW I come to the description of Batavia, formerly called Jacatra, before it was seized in 1619 by Governor-General Jan Pieterzoon Coen and brought under the authority of the United Netherlands. At his and his Council's behest, it was decided to build a town and castle here, as this would be the place where all lands and cities belonging to the Netherlands in these regions would henceforth be governed. From that time on, the old name has been changed by Company law to BATAVIA.

This kingdom is located in Asia, in the Southern part of East India on the North coast, west of the island of Java. It has a good roadstead and harbor for ships. The town itself lies on the C c c 3 ## Reisen.

Standing on the stairs. To his right are handsome rooms along the courtyard. Through the entrance hall one comes to a spacious and beautiful long gallery, which on its right side has large sash windows overlooking a large open space. On the other side are several rooms facing the courtyard. The end of this gallery serves as the dining room for His Excellency and as a room for speaking with those arriving and departing daily. Above this gallery is another similar one with rooms, topped by an attractive turret from which one has pleasant views. On the other side of the open space are the rooms of the most important residents. There is also the kitchen, beyond which lies a covered portal with a fence. At the end of the area there are several more rooms. In the entrance hall is a small garden, through which one proceeds to the place of assembly, which is quite large and built high up. Here hang portraits of previous Generals, each made to the waist size of life, except for the most recently departed and the current ruler: I brought these two onto canvas as much as I could, however weak my eyesight was. Nevertheless, I could not bring anything else to the portrait of the old General than his bust, partly due to the unpretentiousness of this Lord, partly due to the emergence of other obstacles.

My desire here is to list a series of Generals of all the Governors-General appointed by the Seventeen.

The first was **Pieter Both**, appointed by the Chamber of Seventeen in 1609, having held this office until 1615. In that same year, on January second, he sailed from Bantam homeward with four ships. However, when he lay at *Cilant Mauritius* to replenish

supplies, two of these ships were caught by a hurricane and driven out to sea, and then, with the changing winds, ran aground on shore with about half of their crew; where this General thus ended his life unluckily.

In his place, **Geraert Reinst** was appointed in 1613, who sailed from Jakarta on July second to die on the seventh of December of that year at the Red Loop.

Then, on June 19th of the year 1616, **Laurens Reael** was appointed by the Council in Ternate, who was recalled home on October 25th of the following year; coming into his place **Jan Pietersz Koen**, who departed from here in 1618. This man was the one who took Jakarta on May thirtieth in the year 1619, which then on August 28, 1621 changed its name to Batavia. He departed on February second of the year 1622 towards his homeland with the ship *Mauritius*, having appointed **Pieter de Carpentier** as his successor in advance before departing, who sailed towards the homeland on November 12, 1627 with the ship named *Frederick Henrik*.

On September 25, 1627, **Jan Pietersz Koen** returned to India with the ship *Galeas*, being General for the second time. But he died on September 20, 1629 late at night.

In that year, on September 25th, **Jakob Spelx** was appointed as General, who departed towards his homeland with the ship *Prins Willem* on December fourth, 1632.

Then, the day before, **Henrik Brouwer** was chosen as General, who returned to his homeland on December 31, 1635 with the ship *Nieu Amsterdam*.

Before his departure, **Antoni van Diemen** became General, who died on April 9, 1645 and was buried on the 22nd of the same month.

In this same year, on the 19th of the same month, this position was entrusted to **Cornelis van der Lyn**, who departed with the ship *Westfriesland* for the Chamber of Hoorn on January 11, 1650.

In his place, **Karel Reintersz** was appointed the day before, who died in the world on May 18th of the year 1653 and was buried on the twentieth; being provisionally appointed **Joan Maetsuiker** on that same day and confirmed in his office on June seventeenth. He died on January 4, 1678 in the evening, and was buried on the seventh of that day.

On the seventh of this same month in the same year, **Ryklof van Goens** was appointed in this dignity, who returned to his homeland at his own request on November 25, 1681, and left **Cornelis Speelman** in his place, who died on January 11, 1684 and was buried in the morning of the fifteenth of the same month.

Then, on January 11th of the year 1684, **Joannes Kamphuizen** was appointed provisionally, and on August 7th of the year 1685 confirmed in his office. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Account of Batavia

The location is 6 degrees, 10 minutes north latitude and 127 degrees, 15 minutes east longitude.

The city's coat of arms features a shield of Azure (blue) on an orange field, with the point facing upwards piercing a laurel wreath of brown-green. The city's boundaries extend to the eastern side of the kingdom of **Serebon** to the west, to **Bantam** to the south across the entire land to the South Sea, and northwards over the sea and all the islands adjacent thereto.

Within these boundaries, no religion other than the Reformed faith—preached in the public churches of the Netherlands—is practiced, taught, or propagated, whether secretly or openly. Such strict order is maintained that anyone found violating this rule, regardless of their nationality, is punished by forfeiture of all their possessions, chaining, banishment from the land, or even corporal punishment according to the circumstances. On Sundays and holy days, everything customary in the unified Netherlands regarding religious observance is also done here.

Regarding the city's setting, it is one of the most delightful places I have ever seen in the world, and has been greatly improved in five or six years, both with fine buildings within and beautiful estates outside, as well as gardens and pleasant residences. One travels through it along roads lined with trees on either side, or along charming rivers. But above all, the land itself stands out. Everywhere is green, covered with many kinds of trees and vegetation, so that nothing more airy could be presented to the eye.

The city's circumference is approximately one and a half hours' walk. The moat surrounding it is twelve to fifteen rods wide, bordered by an earth and stone embankment one and a half rods (21 feet) high, faced with stones on the outside. It has five gates: one at the square, called the Water Gate, facing north. Of the four along the boundary, the first is called the *Utrechte* gate, to the west; the second, the *Dijf* gate, located to the south, as is also the New Gate. The fourth on the eastern side is called the Rotterdam Gate.

The castle has two gates. The one on the boundary side is to the south and is called the Land Gate; the one to the north is the Water Gate. It takes a quarter of an hour to walk around its

perimeter, with four bastions: the Lion, the Diamond, the Pearl, and the Sapphire, all equipped with metal cannons. It has a fine high stone wall and is well-provisioned within with sturdy magazines for military needs, supplies, and trade goods. Passing through the Land Gate, one reaches a spacious area leading to the residence of His Excellency the Governor General, lined along this square with houses but not facing the courtyard. The Director General resides nearby. Beyond his residence and the courtyard is the church of the castle, which, though not large, is well-built and rounded, covered by a moderately high dome. In front it has a spacious approach from which one can see both sides of the area, as they are built against the houses. The General exits his residence through a small door into the church, where he has a separate seat next to the pulpit; beside which is another bench for the Director General, the Field Marshal, and other members of the East India Company Council. Others have their seats according to rank and dignity. Women sit on chairs in front of the pulpit, but only two or three of the most prominent who reside within the castle attend church here. Along the square, as mentioned, live the Director General, Field Marshal de Wilde, and two or three other members of the East India Company Council. Coming straight across the square from the aforementioned gate, one passes a few magazines, each with a gate and residences above it. Opposite the last is the Water Gate, where there is also a square, on one side occupied by fine houses where the two upper merchants and other servants of the company reside. On the side of the gate are magazines, as well as the secretary's or writing place for the clerks. Through a back door from the palace of His Excellency, one can also reach this place. This constitutes the main features of the castle. In addition to the Land Gate within the castle, one climbs many steps to the residence of the Major, where the artillery and garrison are stationed. From the height of the same, one has many pleasant views both of the ships in the harbor and of the countryside.

Regarding the General's Court, The General's Court has a significant ascending staircase on either side with fastened stone railings. The building has a stately high and wide facade in the Italian style. The entrance and forecourt are impressive. Here, the halberdiers stand guard; and there is always a flag with its bonnet and pike displayed.

Situation of Batavia.

Coat of Arms of Batavia. ## Reisen

Regarding the ships in the harbor, Scheperik found that upon my arrival there were approximately thirty lying at anchor, and just as many when I departed again to set sail—not to mention the numerous inland vessels.

If one were to consider the main features of the city, the canals would certainly rank highly, as they are lined with many stately houses. Both sides of the canals are also adorned with beautiful trees, primarily **tiger** willows, **jonker** maples, **caiman** palms, **rhinoceros** figs, and the great river. The others are smaller and less impressive. The main streets are the Prince's Street, the Herenstraat (Gentlemen's Street), and the Nieuwpoortstraat (New Gate Street). There are three churches: the Dutch church, where sermons are preached in German; the Portuguese church; and the Malay church, where services are held in these languages. Five preachers preach in Dutch. The Portuguese have four, and the Malays two. In addition to these eleven pastors, there are others who are sent to various outposts.

One finds a multitude of foreign nations here, many of whom wear very fine clothing. Some walk half-naked, while others are almost entirely bare. The Chinese constitute the largest group. They dress in white shirts over long trousers that taper down to their feet. Many have wide sleeves on their shirts; others keep them close to their arms. They wear *mules* on their bare feet. Their hair is styled as a tuft behind their heads, similar to how women wear it. They pierce a long nail through it and otherwise always go barefoot, typically holding a fan in their hand. The women are dressed in the common style of these natives. One also finds many *Moors*, people descended from whites and blacks or half-blacks. The *Caftiens* (Cape Malays) resemble the whites more closely.

There is also a third group called *Poftiens*, who are even closer to the whites, and a fourth group called *Criftiens*, who differ little in color from ourselves. They are all dressed in a similar manner, namely as described when speaking of the island of Ceylon. They claim that their native language is Portuguese, but it has been greatly altered. Most also speak Dutch or at least understand it. Some speak Malay. The other foreigners one finds here include *Macaffars*, *Bongies*, *Balers*, Malays, Moors, Amboinese people, Ternaters, and the like.

One can be transported by boat along the coast to Tanjongpriok, where there is a delightful estate with gardens and ponds belonging to the late Captain Roberti's heir. It also offers a beautiful view of the sea. Further along the coast one arrives at the small and large Maronde, where the rebel Captain Jonker previously had his land and dwelling by the sea. This place is three good hours from Batavia, and most of the firewood used in Batavia comes from here. The road is further blocked by many wild groves.

From the Thieves' Gate, a quarter of an hour eastward, the road turns towards the Weften (a district), and one arrives at Vijfhoek (Five Corners) half an hour from the city. Half an hour further on is Zevenhoek, also called Ankee. Subsequently, after a fourth of an hour, one reaches the Moorkervaart (Moor's Canal), which

originates in Tangerang; this canal was dug through the land by Lant Moock, to whom the large sum paid for its construction belongs. However, it is entirely unusable, so that the money spent on it must be considered wasted. Otherwise, it would have been very beneficial to Batavia, as the landowner provides a multitude of firewood. One can pass through this canal to Tangerang, which is five hours from Batavia. There is also the branch leading to Bantam.

The same road can also be taken from the Utrecht Gate on the north side to the Fluit (a type of ship). This area is guarded by fifteen soldiers, along with a Sergeant and two Corporals. It lies at the corner of the sea beach, beyond which one cannot proceed.

Outside all the aforementioned gates, there are delightful gardens and fruit-bearing trees everywhere. The city is very populous, as are its outer districts or suburbs, some of which extend quite far, alongside pleasant waterways.

Chinese. Throughout the entire city, the Chinese are spread in great numbers—a people who are extremely industrious and adept at imitating what they have seen, whatever it may be. They cultivate most of the land and also control all the windmills as well as the *arak* (rice wine) distilleries. Here one finds all kinds of shops and food stalls where sailors flock in droves, just as they do to their drinking houses, where strong liquor or corn brandy can be obtained for a mere penny—a beverage from which drunkenness is easily acquired. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

confirmed. He laid down his duties on November 24th of the year 1691 and died on July 18th, 1695, being buried on the 20th.

On September 24th of the year 1691, Mr. **WILLEM VAN OUTSHOORN** was elevated to General, who left his office on August 15th of the year 1704, which was taken up on the same day by **JOAN VAN HOORN**, who relinquished his duties on October 29th of the year 1709, appointing **ABRAHAM VAN RIEBEECK** in his place on the same day; Van Hoorn then departed on the same day with the ship *Zandenburghe* to his homeland as head of a fleet of twenty ships.

This hall, where portraits of the Generals are displayed, has been demolished due to its age and is currently being renovated. Consequently, the outer hall facing the river now serves as the meeting place. One enters this area through two separate doors at the end. This hall is long and spacious; its foundations stand in the water. At the end is a playhouse, from which one has a pleasant view of the water along the quay and beyond. The hall is fitted with large glazed windows on both sides, which are enclosed by wood. Along the wall of the quay runs a narrow garden alongside the entrance to this hall, where various fruit trees and vineyards are situated on raised platforms on one side. A low wall faces the waterfront or river, over which one can conveniently look when

ascending one or two steps. Between this wall and the garden is a beautifully paved stone path from one end to the other, with an exit on the right-hand side for access to land and water as desired, being adjacent to the outside of the water gate.

Now I will guide my reader from the quay through the Land Gate to the city, where one first crosses a long stone bridge spanning the canal of the quay; subsequently along a large open space on a wide road that is planted on both sides. At the end of this road stands a guardhouse by a running river, over which one must pass via a drawbridge. On the other side, opposite the guardhouse, are the stables of the General and the residence of the stablemaster. Nearby, for the location of the court, there is a scaffold that always remains standing for the benefit of the Justices of the quay; the city's legal proceedings take place before the town hall. Once this bridge

has been crossed, one finds oneself in the *Prinseftaet*, which is very wide and broad, at the end of which stands the town hall building on a large square area, that is wide, fairly high, and adorned with a substantial facade. However, it is so old that it will be demolished to be rebuilt. If one leaves it in good order, one goes through the New Street and then subsequently through the New Gate into the South Suburb. Having proceeded approximately one hundred rods, one arrives at the waterfronts. This water flows from the mountains through several drains. It is collected in vessels and brought within the city as it is very good for drinking. One leaves this, along with five gunpowder mills and many beautiful gardens on the right side, and numerous lime kilns and brickworks on the left, which have the river called *Molenvliet* on the right and the river *Corrot* on the left. Proceeding another hour further brings one to the outer guard of **Ryswyk**; half an hour further south is on the aforementioned land of Director General **Van Riebeeck**, named **Tanna-aban**, which means red earth in Malacca, because that's where the change in soil began. Approximately four hours further on is **Sering-fing**, the land of Mr. **Kaftelein**, about which we have spoken. From here, it takes approximately twenty hours to reach the Blue Mountain.

Leaving the aforementioned gate, one leaves the great river on the right and proceeds along a particularly beautiful road that is very wide, planted with trees on both sides, and adorned with lovely courtyards, all the way to **Jakatra**, where one passes by the Chinese tombs or cemeteries, which are considered sacred there. When then ascending the Great South Road, one arrives at the garden of his Excellency. Having gone a little further past Northwyk on the right, one reaches the place named **Northwyk** belonging to Mr. **Kaftelein**. Not far from here lies the land of the General, called **Struistwyk**, where his stables are located. Half an hour higher up is the guard, named Mr. **Cornelis**, who often

receives fifty soldiers, being an outer or border guard. Higher up also lies the road to Sering-fing, where one sees many trap mills along the great river.

Having proceeded a small hour from the Rotterdam Gate eastward, one arrives at the point of *Ansjœel*, an inlet from the sea that is occupied by thirty European dwellings. On this spot there is a beautiful oyster bank. From here one allows oneself to be- ##
CORNELIS de BRUINS

Regarding foodstuffs, there isn't much to boast about concerning meat. The oxen are generally thin and scrawny. Sheep are not available, or must be brought in from elsewhere. Even the beef found there yields so little milk that it's surprising. There is plenty of small game in the woods. However, it's used sparingly, even though it's sold, as chickens are the daily luxury food. These are brought here along with waterfowl and geese. Hearts and eland also arrive. There are quite enough wild pigs in the woods around here, where tigers, rhinoceroses, monkeys, and other cattle are also found.

Conversely, there is a great abundance of fish, the best being considered the finest. These include the Kakap or Kaelkop, Jacob Evertsen, the Steenbraeffem (stone breaker), the Goufse Kabeljaeu (Gouda cod), the Koningsvis (kingfish), and carp. Among the smaller varieties, there is good spiering (a type of herring), tongues, a variety of small bones, and also large and small leathery fish, which are among the best, not unlike the bone. The Letivisb looks like whiting. The other varieties are paler and less flavorful, although they are attractively colored. One can also find good crabs, lobsters, shrimp, oysters, and eels. There is also a type of large crab that is exceptionally delicious when properly prepared. They are called Beurskrabben (stock exchange crabs).

There is every kind of spice available, including white beans, green peas, Roman beans, carrots, yellow beets, large and small radishes, which are used in meat dishes and otherwise, just as we use turnips. But here there is an even more suitable fruit called potatoes. This one is dry and firm, and almost the size of walnuts. This fruit is itself used to make some bread.

Meanwhile, I have managed to depict the appearance of Batavia on paper, as I sketched it from one of the vessels of the Company that lies closer to the city than the ships do; and that on the north side, so that the city is seen facing south. What is recognizable is indicated with numbers, such as No. 220 can be seen. 1 represents the house of the ward where the clock hangs. 2 the outer guard directly below the aforementioned. 3 the Olipakhuis (Olyph House). 4 the Wood Yard. 5 the Rice Warehouses. 6 the Castle. 7 the Water Gate. 8 a fence on the wall of the Castle. 9 the Smith's shop. 10 the Dockyard. 11 a warehouse for spices, nails and other goods. 12 the Free Harbor. 13 the East Head. 14 the

West Head. 15 the River. 16 the Duc d'Alven stretching out showing signs of shallows in front of the river. The appearance is such that nothing of the city can be seen from its low elevation when one is on the water, except for the waterfront and the side of the castle with the mountains, where everything is full of trees.

LXII. CHAPTER.

Departure of the General of India. The Importance of His Office. His Status and That of Those Accompanying Him. Decision to Return Overland. Honors Paid to the Writer. Dismissal of the Director-General.

Now I must speak of the first impressions of the vast expanse of the Company's holdings, to be seen in its Stadtholder, who governs all of India on its behalf. This gentleman is accustomed to taking two rides a week for his amusement, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, to his pleasure grounds, to bathe in the nearby river and take some other exercise. In such cases, his retinue is arranged as follows. First, his Quartermaster rides ahead with seventeen cavalymen. Then comes the trumpeter of His Excellency in full armor, sounding the march. After him come two halberdiers also on horseback. Then follows His Excellency in a karos, which is light and made in the Spanish style, and drawn by two horses. On his right side rides the Stablemaster alongside the karos, followed by six halberdiers two abreast also on horseback. Here join two carriages with the friends who accompany the General. Then comes the rest of the Company, consisting of forty-eight cavalymen along with a Rittmeister (cavalry captain), three Quartermasters and a Trumpeter. As ## The Rise of Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Challenges

Artificial intelligence (AI) is rapidly transforming our world, impacting everything from healthcare and transportation to entertainment and finance. While AI offers tremendous potential for progress and innovation, it also presents significant challenges that must be addressed thoughtfully.

The development of sophisticated algorithms and machine learning techniques has enabled computers to perform tasks previously thought to be exclusively within the realm of human intelligence. This includes recognizing patterns, making predictions, and even generating creative content. In healthcare, AI is being used to diagnose diseases more accurately and develop personalized treatment plans. Self-driving cars promise to revolutionize transportation, increasing safety and efficiency. Businesses are leveraging AI to automate processes, improve customer service, and gain a competitive edge.

However, the widespread adoption of AI also raises concerns about job displacement. As machines become capable of performing tasks currently done by humans, there is a risk that many jobs will be lost or significantly altered. Addressing this challenge requires proactive measures such as retraining programs and investments in new industries to create alternative employment opportunities.

Ethical considerations are paramount. Algorithmic bias, where AI systems perpetuate existing societal inequalities, poses a serious threat. Ensuring fairness and transparency in AI decision-making is crucial to prevent discrimination and maintain public trust. The potential for misuse of AI technologies, such as autonomous weapons systems, also demands careful regulation and international cooperation.

Furthermore, the increasing reliance on AI raises questions about data privacy and security. Protecting sensitive information from unauthorized access and ensuring responsible data handling practices are essential to safeguard individual rights and prevent malicious activities.

Despite these challenges, the future of AI is bright. By embracing a proactive and ethical approach, we can harness the power of AI to solve some of the world's most pressing problems and create a more prosperous and equitable society for all.

- **Machine Learning:** A core technology enabling AI systems to learn from data without explicit programming.
- **Algorithmic Bias:** Occurs when AI systems reflect and amplify existing societal biases present in training data.
- **Data Privacy:** Protecting personal information from unauthorized access or misuse is a critical concern with the increasing use of AI. ## A Glimpse of Colonial-Era Batam Island

An engraving offers a view of Batam Island, depicting a coastal settlement characterized by traditional buildings and a fortified structure situated close to the shoreline. In the foreground, a sailing vessel with multiple masts and flags sails through the waters, while distant hills rise in the background beneath a cloudy sky. The scene encapsulates Batam's maritime nature and architectural landscape during its colonial period.

Note: This is an artistic representation based on historical records and may not reflect exact contemporary details. ## Reisen.

When riding within the city, it proceeds in much the same manner, except that foot soldiers follow instead of cavalry. The Stable Master and helbardiers, however, ride, unless a wedding or funeral occurs, when only the Stable Master rides alongside the carriages, while the helbardiers are armed on foot.

On Sundays after the sermon, His Excellency has the Parade performed within the Castle before the Palace, being drawn twice around in the following manner. First comes a state horse with richly ornamented tack, led by a European. After that, the Company of Horsemen with their cuirasses. Then follows a Company of Grenadiers, and finally the battalion, consisting of Fusiliers, Pikemen, and Musketeers, all having a marlion on their heads. The Horsemen have their Trumpeter. The battalion has six Shawm players. All this proceeds in good order, as the people are quite well regulated.

These festivities serve to provide some relief from the burdens of the office that this lord holds, which in seriousness far exceeds my expectations; for this State Servant never ceases his labor, unlike what happens in our Fatherland, where officials are favored at certain times of the year with vacations or riding days. The day is certainly risen early when one sees the General laden with packages and letters, applying his ingenuity to considering all that needs to be done. These worries and concerns fall frequently upon him due to the opinions of those who are under the jurisdiction of the Company and others who trade there. And this pertains only to the matters that affect affairs on land; for I have not yet spoken of the trouble caused by the shipwrights, who arrive annually from the Fatherland and depart again. The sun is scarcely risen when one sees various servants of the Company appear, particularly the two Senior Merchants of the Castle, the Commander, the Major of the Armed Forces, the building master of the Quarter, and the Constable Major, to come to report on the work done and receive new orders. At half-eleven, the Sabandar informs the General what vessels, goods, people, and from what place have arrived, and where they wish to go; to which end His Excellency signs the safe conducts: not to mention some Chinese and other individuals who arrive early in the morning to pursue something at court.

With these and similar concerns, the forenoon passes. Then one goes to mealtime, which lasts only a large half-hour, and is rarely done without discussing matters of importance; time being also spent with those who are departing or newly arrived. Then the midday bell rings for an hour; after which the work is resumed until the time of supper. Surely he who indulges in outward appearances does not see that this man, who carries such a protracted territory, is no master but rather a servant, so overwhelmed by worries and concerns that there is no time left for him to indulge in any amusement, and he has no freedom to sleep outside the Castle even one night.

The work of the General also includes describing the entire coast of Java, and what belongs under it, and containing the whole state of Batavia in a general letter and sending it to the Fatherland, so

that the Company always has proper knowledge of affairs; each Council must perform this themselves concerning the particular office they have to describe.

Two times a week there are customary gatherings, sometimes beyond ordinary reductions.

Foreign Ambassadors may not come ashore without permission from the envoys. They are obliged to wait until they are fetched and brought before His Excellency in the Assembly Hall to be heard.

Such pressure and turmoil of concerns that played daily before my eyes made me recall my stay in Moscow, where I sometimes asked my friends when the cheerful gatherings and feasts would end. They answered me that these amusements commonly began with the eve of January and ended on the last day of December. What I observed under this aspect in the manner of life among those who were esteemed for some standing or dignity! so that comparing my situation here, I could well consider myself fortunate to have freedom to do what I desired and to go where and when it pleased me; a great reason to be content in my lowliness without fostering resentment towards the Great ones, who seem to lament these burdens more than envy them.

After His Excellency follows the Director General, whose service is particularly... ## Cornelis de Bruins Account

The weight of his office is considerable, as he must oversee the entire purchase and sale of goods, regardless of their nature or destination, in addition to numerous other necessary arrangements that also depend on him. For he is obligated to manage all trade, attending daily to all Senior Merchants, Traders, Junior Merchants, and those engaged in any business, requiring them to come before him to report matters and retrieve the keys to their warehouses, which are kept by the Director. Furthermore, he orders or drafts all cargo manifests for the ships.

Account of the Company's Affairs.

While I was there, the third person was Mr. Herman de Wilde, Field Marshall and Councilor of India, esteemed for his merits and generous gifts. I have already mentioned the number of other Councilors of India. I have little to write about these or others of lower rank, nor to stir anything up among our countrymen, as this is well known enough. Perhaps I might inadvertently give offense through some misunderstanding. Others have also extended themselves so widely on this subject that I would only need to repeat what they have recorded. I will add here only that I judge that in no region of the world is more written than in these regions under the Company's authority. Therefore, many fine writers are also found there.

A Community of Writers.

Having considered and examined the affairs of India so far, I found my health sufficiently recovered that I decided not to venture further into these lands but to return via Perfie. This was partly because four French warships were off the coast of India and had already seized the ship *Vogel Phoenix* from Bengal, along with two English ships at the beginning of last year; and also because there was discord between the Great Mogul and the Company, causing the Company's ships to have twice returned fruitlessly on that route. Moreover, trade with the Company was denied on the coast of Coromandel, which lies under the jurisdiction of the Mogul. Seeing therefore that there was virtually no certainty here, I judged it best as possible to return home across land. Although this was difficult for me and returning with the homeward-bound ships was strongly advised, to which I was not inclined for many reasons. His Excellency then, seeing that my

resolution stood firm, informed me that two ships destined for Perfie would be ready to sail within eight or ten days, an opportunity of which I could avail myself. To this end, I requested an ordinance from the Director General, in order to be allowed to depart with them. He readily granted my request with courtesy, adding that he was sorry not to see me off without having visited his estate, which lay higher than where I had been with him. But the brevity of my stay and the constant engagements with which His Excellency himself was burdened excused this.

One of the last excursions I took with his Excellency, Field Marshall de Wilde, and other company, was to Struiswyk. This pleasure ground of his Excellency consists of beautiful, unencumbered flowerbeds, avenues, and walkways, filled with all kinds of fruit trees, alongside a large river. For his Excellency's cows, a stately structure made of wood has been built. The house itself, also constructed of the same material, comprises a long hall and several inner rooms. Having been well received there with breakfast, we returned through this pleasant countryside to his Excellency's estate to spend the rest of the day, where several Councilors of India and other friends arrived before noon, who were welcomed with a delightful meal. His Excellency said to me that evening that the Director General would be departing for Cilant Onrufs on the eleventh of the month, an opportunity which I could avail myself of to see it. The Director himself also requested me two days prior to do so, which I accepted with gratitude. The same Director also handed me the requested ordinance, which read as follows:

The Officers of the ship *Prins Eugenius* take over with necessary baggage the Land Traveler **Cornelis de Bruin**, in order to sail as a passenger to Perfie, and during the voyage will be lodged and provided for in the cabin.

Batavia in the Cape on August 6th, 1706.

A. VAN RIEBEECK.

As soon as the appointed day arrived, I went to the house of the Di-rector,

The General's Retreat. ## The Trust of Teylant.

The Account of the Chinese.

"The Dutch East India Company, in its relentless pursuit of trade and dominion across the vast oceans, encountered a people unlike any they had previously known – the inhabitants of *Teylant*, an island shrouded in mystery and possessing customs both perplexing and alluring."

The year was **1638**. The *Batavia*, flagship of the Dutch East India Company's fleet bound for the Moluccas, found itself adrift in uncharted waters following a violent storm. Driven far off course, the ship stumbled upon an island unlike any depicted on existing maps – an emerald jewel rising from the turquoise expanse of the sea. This was *Teylant*.

The initial encounters were cautious, marked by mutual curiosity and apprehension. The Dutch sailors, hardened veterans of countless voyages, observed the inhabitants with a mixture of fascination and suspicion. These people, unlike the indigenous populations they had previously encountered in the Spice Islands, displayed an astonishing level of sophistication – their cities boasted intricate canals and towering pagodas; their artisans crafted exquisite porcelain and silk; and their scholars possessed a profound understanding of mathematics and astronomy.

The leader of *Teylant*, known as **Emperor Lin**, proved to be a shrewd negotiator. He welcomed the Dutch with hospitality, offering them provisions and shelter while demanding in return knowledge of the wider world. Through interpreters, a tentative dialogue began – a cautious exchange of information about distant lands, trade routes, and political landscapes.

"The Emperor's court was a spectacle of refined elegance. Servants moved with silent grace, bearing trays laden with delicacies unknown to European palates. Musicians played haunting melodies on instruments crafted from jade and bamboo. And at the heart of it all sat Emperor Lin, his face an impassive mask concealing a mind as sharp as any blade."

The Dutch traders quickly realized that *Teylant* was not merely a refuge; it was a potential source of immense wealth. The island's artisans produced goods of unparalleled quality – porcelain finer

than anything found in Europe, silk softer than the finest velvet, and spices more fragrant than those from the Moluccas. The Dutch East India Company saw an opportunity to establish a lucrative trade partnership, one that could rival their existing operations in the Spice Islands.

However, Emperor Lin was not easily swayed by promises of gold or power. He insisted on maintaining his island's autonomy and preserving its unique cultural identity. He allowed the Dutch to trade, but only under strict conditions – they were forbidden from establishing permanent settlements, proselytizing their religion, or interfering in *Teylant's* internal affairs.

“The Emperor made it clear: we could partake of his island's bounty, but only as guests, not masters. He valued knowledge and artistry above all else, and he would not sacrifice the integrity of his people for fleeting riches.”

Despite these limitations, the Dutch East India Company established a trading post on *Teylant*, which quickly became a bustling hub of commerce. Dutch merchants exchanged European goods – textiles, metalwork, and weaponry – for *Teylant's* exquisite crafts. The island's prosperity grew exponentially, fueled by this burgeoning trade.

Yet, beneath the veneer of amicable relations, tensions simmered. The Dutch traders chafed under Emperor Lin's restrictions, eager to expand their influence and exploit the island's resources more fully. Meanwhile, some within *Teylant* viewed the Dutch presence with suspicion, fearing that their insatiable appetite for trade would ultimately undermine their traditional way of life.

The story of *Teylant* is a testament to the complexities of intercultural exchange – a tale of mutual benefit and underlying conflict, of opportunity and constraint, of respect and exploitation. It remains a cautionary reminder that even the most lucrative partnerships can be fragile when built upon unequal foundations.

The Customs of the Chinese

The following observations, gathered over many years of study and experience, concern the customs of the Chinese people. They are presented here for the benefit of those seeking to understand this fascinating culture.

- **Greetings:** Bowing is a common form of greeting, with the depth of the bow indicating respect. The more senior person typically initiates the bow. Handshakes are becoming increasingly accepted, particularly in business settings.
- **Dining Etiquette:** Slurping noodles and making noise while eating are generally considered acceptable and even a sign of enjoyment. It is customary to leave some food on your plate as an indication that you have had enough. Offering food to others is a gesture of generosity and friendship.

- **Gift Giving:** Gifts are often exchanged during visits or celebrations, but it's important to present them with both hands as a sign of respect. Avoid giving clocks (symbolizing bad luck), white flowers (associated with funerals), or sharp objects (representing the severing of relationships).
- **Family Values:** Family is central to Chinese society. Respect for elders and ancestors is paramount, and filial piety – showing reverence and care for one's parents – is a core virtue.
- **Superstitions:** Many Chinese people hold traditional beliefs about luck, fortune, and the supernatural. Numbers play a significant role; for example, the number 8 is considered lucky, while the number 4 is associated with bad luck due to its phonetic similarity to the word "death."
- **Tea Ceremony:** The tea ceremony (*Cha Yi*) is an important ritual that demonstrates respect and hospitality. It involves carefully preparing and serving tea according to specific protocols.
- **Business Practices:** Building relationships (*guanxi*) is crucial in Chinese business culture. Trust and personal connections are often more important than formal contracts. Patience and persistence are essential when negotiating deals.

"The Chinese place great emphasis on harmony and maintaining face, both for themselves and others." ##
Reisen

Having found more companions, we numbered about twenty people in total. With several vessels, we sailed to the island of Onruft, located three small miles northwest of Batavia. This journey took place amidst the sound of trumpets and shawms, while the ships anchored along the quay displayed all their flags and pennants, creating a pleasing sight. We arrived there at eight o'clock and circumnavigated the island once, observing that it was initially built from wood and subsequently entirely of stone. It is well-equipped with shelters and capable personnel. Here, everything necessary for repairing damaged ships is done. There is considerable activity, no less accompanied by the hammering and sawing of smiths and carpenters, so the place has rightfully earned its name Onruft. It lies on a large dry shoal, making it quite shallow. No ship can approach it; only small vessels can navigate between the island itself and Kuiper Island, which lies close by. The bombardment galleon had remained there to allow us to return with it if the wind served. While occupied with this, I crossed over to Kuiper Island in a rowing boat, from where I sketched the aforementioned island. As I was engaged in this task, the Director and several councilors also arrived, taking an interest in the beginning of my work. As midday approached, a messenger summoned me to announce that dinner was ready. I then rowed back across; for I had enjoyed a pleasant breakfast contemplating the scene depicted in No. 221, which I had committed to memory.

The aforementioned bombardment galleon lay on the corner at the head. The three cranes there are positioned along the waterfront, alongside which several vessels can be seen.

Upon returning, I was shown some fine varieties of fish, among which the seabream stood out, as we have previously discussed. I found that there was still some time remaining before dinner; therefore, I settled down and brought the appearance of Kuiper Island onto paper, as depicted in No. 222. For I knew that after midday, no time would be available, since the day had been planned for merriment, as the Director's wife's birthday was being celebrated. The table was set in a spacious wooden loft used for church services. We were received very formally with fish and meat, the dishes generously watered with fine wine. In this company was also Field Marshal de Wilde, along with five Councillors of India. Amidst all this joy, three or four Dutchmen appeared, two of whom were dressed as women from Waterland, who played their role quite well in arranging snacks.

As the time for departure approached, we all boarded the bombardment galleon and did not forget to continue the festivities, emptying our glasses to the health of the Governor-General amidst the firing of cannons. Having arrived near Batavia, we transferred back to our vessels, where the water occasionally splashed forcefully due to the strong wind. It was seven o'clock in the evening when we parted ways, leaving our expressions of gratitude and birthday wishes with Mrs. van Riebeeck.

Setting about my departure for Persia, I began the following day to visit all the Councillors of India and express the great obligation I owed them. Field Marshal de Wilde kept me with him at dinner that afternoon, with whom I remembered our homeland friends with every blessing, as this would be the last gathering I would have with this esteemed gentleman. ## Reisen: A Record of Travels

The priest concluded his solemnity, reading some prayers or forms from a book. Beside him stood another man holding a silver dish filled with salt, which he scattered towards the assembled people, over the coffin, and onto the little boy whose mother was being buried at the other end of the grave. The boy was clad in a rough linen skirt covering his head as well. This was the custom in old times when mourning involved clothing oneself with sacks and throwing them onto the ground. This same child, about ten years old, performed this act several times, then returned to sit; as instructed by those around him, including his father, who was dressed entirely in white. Then the priest brought the boy closer and asked him to throw some earth onto the coffin over his mother's remains—no one else from the entire gathering did so. With this, the ceremony ended, prompting reflections in my mind

about the scattering of salt, which I could only interpret as a wish that those remaining might continue their lives with the same innocence as children.

While waiting for the lime or cement to arrive for the grave, everyone prepared for the meal with great commotion, as there were approximately five hundred people present, including many women dressed in white with an overcoat of the same color extending over the head and hanging halfway down the body. They remained there until evening, when kitchen utensils and other necessary items had already been brought by some women to set a table under the airy trees. This place is less than an hour from the city. Other graves, which one sees in abundance, are closer to Batavia. I made a sketch of this entire gathering, which appears as No. 224. The custom regarding these meals corresponds with what I previously mentioned about bringing food to the graves of the deceased. There were also some present to smoke tobacco and drink coffee, among other things. Some, while displaying their piety at the graves, did so as I often saw outside Zieraz in Persia. They also frequently spread carpets on the ground shortly after the burial and set out a lavish meal for the gathering. This practice is also gaining popularity among the Eastern Christians—Georgians, Armenians, and Greeks—who mourn the graves as I noted in my account of Siphahan. Indeed, the more grief displayed at such occasions, the greater the esteem for the deceased's soul. Therefore, women who specialize in this are hired. They create a powerful spectacle with wailing, sobbing on their chests, scratching their faces, and pulling out hair—signs of mourning that have been used since ancient times. For it is known that the prophet Jeremiah spoke of seeking out the most experienced mourners to lament the impending doom of Jerusalem.

Around midday, returning from the cemetery, I found the meal prepared, which His Excellency offered as a welcome to several departing lords and ship captains, and as a farewell to those heading home or elsewhere. These included Governor Coyet of Amboina, former Governor Rozelaer of Ternate, Senior Merchant Six of Surat, and Commander de Boer commanding the ship *Liefde*, along with the captains of the ships *Monster*, *Reigersdael*, *Vosmeer*, *Karel den Derden*, and *Ellemeet*. Those departing for Surat included Mr. Jan ten Grootenhuis, now appointed Director there, merchant Hurgronje, and five ship captains of the vessels suitably prepared—namely, *Leeu*, *Beieren*, *Nichtevecht*, and the aforementioned *Vosmeer* and *Reigersdael*. Among them were also the three ship captains destined to sail over Ceylon to their homeland: *Koning Karel de Derde*, *Poppenburgh*, and *Woerden*, along with four captains who could sail to Persia aboard the ships *Prins Eugenius*, *Monster*, *Waffen-aer*, and *Kasteel van Batavie*. I was also among this company, as were Director General, Field Marshal de Wilde, and seven members of the Council of India; Secretary of the Lords' Council J. Garfin, and several Justices.

There were also two senior merchants from the castle, Major, Sabandhaer, Commander, and others totaling around 55 people, with more than seventy invited in all. This meal was held in the aforementioned assembly hall. We were all received with dignity and presented with every choice beverage along with wishes for a prosperous journey to those departing. At five ## LXIII.
Hoofdstuk.

Grafstenen der Chinezen. Manier van het begraven hunner doden. Gaftleiding des Generaals aan de aangekomene en vertrekkende Heren en Schepen. Ongemeene gunstbetooning des Generaels aan den Schrijver.

Eer ik deze landstreek verlaat, vind ik mij verplicht mijn Lezer nog enig bericht te geven van de grafstenen der Chinezen, die ik twee dagen hier aan met den Stalmeester te paarde beschouwde, omz'ik op het papier af te tekenen, gelijk ik gedaan hebbe op N°. 223. Zij zijn alle op een en dezelfde manier uitgezet, zodat de ene groter en aanzienlijker is dan de andere. Van zodanig een begrafenis geven ze deze reden: zij zeggen namelijk dat de mens eer hij ter wereld komt, in zijn moeders lichaam zodanig befloten ligt dat hem niets kan hinderen, en dat hij daarom na zijn dood op dezelfde wijze moet bewaard worden. Zij graven dan vooreerst een lange kuil, dewijl hunne kisten langer dan de onze zijn, evenwel niet dieper. Het lijk wordt bij 't graf gebracht en daar overgoten met Chinees papier en met touwen omwonden. Eer zij den kist, die bijzonder dik en hecht van gelakt hout gemaakt is, nederzetten, werpen ze enig geld op de grond, veel of weinig, ieder naar zijn vermogen of rang. Hier zetten ze den kist op, die eenigen tijdt dus blijft staan, terwyl het pasta of het cement tot de toemetfeling bereid wordt, die van fijne stoffen als het wit van eieren en andere dingen tot zulk een hardigheid gemaakt wordt, dat er geen breken aan is. Het opperste van 't graf is enige voeten hoog boven den grond verheven, en rond van gedaante met twee omloopende fieraden als trappen boven elkaar. Aan de voorzijde maken ze tot fierade verschillende banken en vierkante voetstukken, waar op verscheidene beeltenissen of beelthekoppen leggen, als Leeuwen, Tijgers, en diergelijke, die mee al met een groene kleur verbeeld zijn, ook hier en daar wat roodt, alleen tot meerder fierade. Voraen het ronde des graf's in 't midden van den voortrap vertoont zich een verheven werk, hebbende de vorm van een altaartje, dat aan 't midden des voor-muurs een roodt geverfde lijst heeft. Binnen zijn enig vergulde Chinese karakters. De voorgegrond bestaat uit het zelfve metselwerk geheel wit in drie verschillende deelen, elk van het ander met een lage verhevenheid afgescheiden. Hier achter vertoont zich een heuvel: want de grafsteen wordt gemeenlijk tegen een heuvel of hoogte geplaatst. Ter rechterzijde op den voorgrond flaet een verhevenheid op de wijze van eenen altaar, trekkende mede tot

fierade. In 't midden deszelfs is een ingewerkt vakje. De bovenlijsten, twee achter elkaar, worden in drie deelen gescheiden, en spits op.

Deze grafstenen vallen zeer kostelijk, komende wel op twee, of drie, ja vierhonderd Rijxdalers te staan. Veel even-graven, wel zijn simpel gemaakt zonder enig fierade of bijwerk, doch het metselwerk en fatsoen van het graf is op dezelve wijze zoo gemaakt dat de doden in alle zekerheid rusten mogen.

Wanneer ik met aftekenen deze grafstenen bezigh was, wilde het geval juist dat er een graf naast mij voor een overledene bereid werd, komende middelerwijl een groote menigte van Chinezen aan met een grooten toefel van tenten, tafelen, keukengereedschap, banken, en andere noodlijkheden. Ik gaf acht op het lijkstaankomen der lijkstaatie, die ik bevond zeer flatteus te zijn, en te zwemmen naar een fierlijke processie, door den aangemen toefel van verscheidene vertoningen, en menigte der menschen, welker eenigen vaandels, zonnefermen, en hemels droegen, waar onder een hunner voornaame Heiligen gedragen werd, die onder den naam van Fooije bekend is. Men hoorde 't geluid enig klokjes. Als men ter plaats der begravinge gekomen was, was alles naar behooren haastig in orde gefelt. Wetende voor een der nevensstaande graven was een paviljoen, en verscheidene zonnefermen, waar onder een lange tafel vol allerhande spyzen stondt, die tot dit einde toe bereid en mede gevoerd waren. Hier onder was een geheel schoon gemaakt tamelijk grootvarken, doch ongekokt. Aan 't ander einde zag men een bok op dezelve wijze bereid tot offer aan den gemelden Heiligh, daer tegenwoordig. Ondertussen werd enig zilver geld in 't opgedolven graf op den grond geworpen, en de kist daar op inge- ## Travels.

The sun set behind the ship *Beverwyk*, which arrived from our homeland, and led it through a squall to anchor between the Great and Little Combuis in eleven fathoms of water. When dawn broke, we raised sail again and encountered the ship *Suikermolen*, also arriving from our homeland. In the evening, we anchored again in seventeen fathoms and joined us here with the ship *Berkel* from Palembang. The next day, having hoisted the anchor, we drifted with the current past the ship *Barfande*, also coming from our homeland. The captain came aboard to see us. In the afternoon, we sailed past the ships of **Lord Jan** and Wateringen, which were arriving from the coast. The following day, we sailed through the westerly wind back and forth, encountering a small canoe from the land with various fruits and other foodstuffs for sale, which we bought some of. In the evening, we anchored in 23 fathoms of water and raised sail again in the morning, setting our course with a S.S.W. wind towards W.Z. Weft. On this day, the captain of the ship *Monfter* came aboard to make an agreement with each other. At night, we anchored near the second corner of Java, and as soon as the sun rose in the morning, we raised sail again. Before noon, we anchored between the

second corner and the New Island in twenty-four fathoms of water. Here we found an English ship anchored between the New Island and the coast of Java; it had sailed from Batavia just a few days prior. After midday, we sent the boat to the corner of the mainland for water, which is very good there. Here I sketched the New Island as it appears at No. 225, as I lay north of it. The same is indicated by the number 1: the corner of the mainland Java, where one draws water; with 2: the entire land of Java, of which the outermost point can be seen on the right; with 3. I also sketched the *Prinfeneiland*, which lay opposite it, indicated by No. 226. The two outermost small cliffs of this island form the western corner.

The next day we hauled water again, then put the boat back aboard and set sail. The English ship remained there, apparently having all the pepper from that land and no water to draw. We had a S.S.W. wind and by evening passed the Behonde passage, with the west corner of Java S.Oaft two miles south of us. We sailed W.Z. Weft and half South, and within a short time lost sight of the land in a strong wind. The wind blew from the South at night, and it was fair weather again, as also during the two following days. On the third day thereafter we took our course straight Westward, maintaining mostly an O.S.Oaft wind, by which this month ended, without us having much rain or stormy weather. On September 1st, we signaled the captain of the ship *Monfter* aboard, who, after examining with our captain, found the average length to be previously 104 degrees and 45 minutes. It was decided to maintain a course of Westward to 89 degrees and 50 or 40 minutes longitude, and 9 degrees South latitude, then to take a northward course along the line to 10 degrees North latitude, and from there N.N. Weft towards Cabo Rafalgato, or to sight the Arabian coast. On the 4th of the month, the ship *Monfter* hoisted its flag of great size. We lowered our pennant against evening, as we had sailed for fourteen days to obtain goods. We tacked under the wind to let him have his turn in observing the mentioned time. This ship sailed so swiftly that we were constantly obliged to wait for it and therefore use little sail, which was a pity to us, because we could not take advantage of the desired wind, so we faced a long voyage ahead. On the 5th at night, we lost sight of the four from the ship *Monfter*, but kept it as before, straight Westward with small sail. On the 6th in the morning dawn it was so far to the S.W. of us that one could barely see it: therefore we tacked south by half a degree west, approaching within about two miles in the evening. On the 8th, the aforementioned ship made a turn to change course, which was taken W.N. Weft. On the 9th, the weather was unsettled with rain. On the 10th, the ship *Monfter* made a Pitchjaerfein. We tacked north and found ourselves 15 degrees Northwest in the evening. The next day we saw the ship *Monfter* to the Northwesterly two large miles from us, being at 6 degrees 42 minutes South latitude and 88 degrees and 30 minutes longitude. On the 12th of the month in the afternoon we were

north 25 miles to 5 degrees 2 minutes S. latitude, and tacked N. half West to approach the ship a little, which was still one mile west of us in the evening.

Until the fifteenth of the month, continued - Salt was found near the Line, approximately at the Line. ## Cornelis de Bruins

After five days, the company departed from His Excellency's presence with thanks for such a delightful reception. Thus concluded my final days spent in and around the city of Batavia. On that same occasion, His Excellency inquired whether I was now fully prepared to undertake the journey. To which I replied that my baggage was ready to be delivered to the deck of the ships bound for the homeland on their return voyage, and everything else was ready to be loaded onto the ship with which I intended to depart, leaving me nothing but to bid His Excellency a final farewell with all due respect and gratitude. At this point, this Lord kindly requested that I inform him if I had any further requests, stating that what I had asked for had already been done, and anything else I might desire would also be fulfilled, and that I could consider it before my departure. I expressed my utmost obligation and departed from His Excellency accordingly.

On the same day, I also bid farewell to his Most Noble Highness with thanks for all the kindness received, demonstrations of friendship, good advice, and knowledge of circumstances kindly imparted to me. On the following day, I also took leave of Director-General Riebeeck and Mr. Kaftlein, who had given me excellent support in many matters besides countless favors, as I have spoken of before. He even came by himself before my departure to satisfy his curiosity regarding what noteworthy items I had brought with me. I remember not only out of duty but also for amusement all these Lords, whose names I would not dream of concealing, because in such a case I would equate them with people to whom I have no obligation, which would be unreasonable. For a traveler does not encounter the favor and courtesy of prominent and wealthy individuals; then his journey through foreign lands would be sad for him: but through these demonstrations of kindness he forgets his past discomforts and looks forward to a bright future. After this, I also greeted my old friend, Mr. Jacobus Hoogkamer, formerly envoy of the Dutch East India Company to the court of Persia, and now retired President of the Courts of Justice; a man whose memory is dear and precious to me, whom I have known for more than twenty years. From him as well, having taken leave, I sent my belongings to the ship with which I intended to transfer to Persia.

On this occasion, I also bid farewell to His Excellency, remaining there for dinner with Commander Broegh, who subsequently continued to guide me. A toast was raised to my good journey: after which, for the last time, taking leave with gratitude and

sending the goods that I had to send to the homeland, I entrusted them to the care of the steward of his Excellency, Jeremias Pauli, a man of very good character.

After all this, I went with the Commander in his rowing boat to visit his house, Last farewell from Batavia. There were also Mr. Sabandhaer Heirmans and other friends present, along with the two captains who intended to undertake the journey to Persia. Having spent the evening merrily until late at night, I departed with Captain Jakob Helma, a native of Leeuwarden, towards the ship he commanded, named, as I have said, Prince Eugene, having forty cannons on board and eight guns, manned by one hundred and thirty people, being 145 feet long.

1. CHAPTER.

Departure from Batavia. Encounter with homeland ships. Opportunity of several Islands. Quality of water near the line. South coast of 't gelukkig Arabie (Happy Arabia). Sailing between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The Bay of Musketta. Arabian Coast. Arrival at Gamron.

Departure from Batavia. W E sailed on the fifteenth day of August, early in the morning, under sail, as did the ship *Monster*, following the two other ships, about which I have spoken; to follow us after a few weeks. Previously, we were instructed to remain together due to matters concerning the war. We sailed with the understanding that we would stay close together. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Voyage

It was not only palatable but also readily discernible; for as the ship approached the bow, a certain cloudiness appeared to float alongside it, gray, whitish, and like salty foam. Those who ventured closer were misled by this, believing it indicated shallow waters and casting out their leads, but finding no bottom recognized their error. On the 16th, we were off Giffing N., half West, 23 miles at approximately 14 minutes North latitude and 88 degrees 21 minutes longitude; thus, we had passed Giffen the Line. From Batavia to here it is calculated as 686 miles, and from the Line to Gamron about 480 miles. We had a West wind with a northerly direction and a West-by-north wind; at night, a West-by-south wind, and maintained our course with the wind. On the 18th, after careful sounding, we were found to be 13 degrees 4 minutes Northwesterly. At midday, we were N. by West 18 miles at approximately 2 degrees 31 minutes North latitude and 88 degrees longitude; thus, we had now passed the sun. Towards evening, the ship *Monster* hauled its flag in. On the 19th, we released our own sails and made a tack, reaching 3 degrees 44 minutes North latitude and 87 degrees 21 minutes longitude by midday. Now the ship *Monster* was approximately 3 miles behind, which is why we let it drift again. In the following days, we

observed many small red crabs near the ship. On the 23rd, we finished [a maneuver] and set our course N.N. West with a South-by-southwest wind, which, as in previous days, blew weakly. On the 24th, we adjusted our compasses from 15 to 10 degrees Northwesterly and on the 26th resumed our course N. by West; hence, we finished [a maneuver]. Here I saw some land birds and gray swallows, one of which we caught in the cabin but released again. I also saw a white or capelin fish.

On the 27th, the wind began to blow strongly with clear weather, making me hopeful, as I observed many crowns; among them, some small fish swam, along with various white horns that appeared like eggs, being so dried by the sun on the frant [deck] that they floated lightly on the water. Here a particularly large fish appeared, the likes of which none of us had ever seen. It had a head approximately a fathom wide, but it disappeared before one could properly note its shape.

This day we had aboard the ship's skipper and bookkeeper from the *Monster*, and instructed them to maintain a course of N. by West until they saw the Arab coast. In the evening, we twice sounded the lead without finding any bottom.

The ship *Monster* signaled at night that it sighted land, which appeared very high. We saw it from West-by-southwest to Northwest, having sailed 17 miles N. by West up to this point. Then we took our course N. by Northeast until morning, when with the daylight we began to recognize the western land, a high, steep, and cliff-like corner W. by Southwest, with an equally prominent stretch of high land towards Northwest, and in the north a round hill that seemed to be a small island, lying approximately three miles from us. We saw the land mostly East and Northeast; this being the southern coast of happy Arabia near Puntas Curia Muria, according to the charts. I sketched it at dawn. In the Northwest of us appeared something like an inlet in a half-moon shape, indeed a very high mountain range with an island in the middle of the inlet, as seen on No. 227. Further out follows the mountain range that we indicate with No. 228. Before this lies a large and high island, which, like the aforementioned inlet, is not found on the map. For there are only two or three points marked, giving no indication of islands. It was now sunny but still breezy weather, so one could not clearly recognize all the land. We sailed through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, maintaining a South-by-east and then Southeast-by-west course. The wind was Southwest with Northwest, blowing briskly. Half an hour before midday, we saw the last land N.N. West approximately four or five miles from us. Shortly before this our foretopmast broke, upon which two lifespines and three barkoenen were immediately laid, and secured against further breakage with turnings and wedges as best one could. We found at midday that we were at 17 degrees 12 minutes North latitude. Then we steered straight East, unable to see any land anymore. After two

hours, we steered again straight East-by-north throughout the entire night with a West-by-west wind. On the 30th of the month, the wind was Southwest with brisk coolness. We maintained our course N. by Northeast during the day. At midday, we found that this time we had sailed 25 miles North-by-northeast to approximately 18 degrees 8 minutes North latitude and 81 degrees 15 minutes improved longitude. Here still no land could be observed, or any - ## The Prince's Island: The South Coast of Happy Arabia

The Arabic Shore Near Cape Monsandon

The Island of Kismus ## The New Island

The South Coast of the Fortunate Arabia

The Bay of Musketta

The Island Lareke ## Voyages: A Chronicle

With little wind, we approached the reported ship and discovered it was the *Monster*. At noon, we were at 23 degrees 30 minutes North latitude, directly under the Tropic of Capricorn. As the sun set, we found the shore approximately six miles from us. During the night, we maintained a West by Northwest course with an East by Southeast wind. The following day, as the sun was setting, we sounded a small island or reef to the Southwest, about two and a half miles from us. We found no ground. We determined that the route from Cape Rafalagata to Musketta was shorter than indicated on the chart. This aforementioned island or reef lies off the bay of Musketta and is called the Grey Rock by some. I sketched it as much as my sight allowed, as shown in No. 229. On the seventh, we found ourselves at 24 degrees 26 minutes latitude in the evening, about eight miles outside the nearest land. Still no ground. The following day at noon, we had advanced seven miles, observing the Arabic *kult* of the South to Northwest and West. The next day, we were still experiencing calm conditions and unable to find any ground.

On the eleventh, we sounded the high land of Cape Jacques North by Northeast. At midday, we found ourselves at 25 degrees 25 minutes near Cape Jacques and sounded a reef off Cape Jacques Southeast by Northeast. Here we had ground at fifty-seven fathoms. We steered north and maintained a West course during the evening. During the night, we approached the islands that lie off Cape Monfandon. Here we found ground from sixty to forty fathoms. The course continued Northward with a Southwest wind and bracing sails in fair weather. The next day, at sunrise from the east side, I sketched the Arabic rocky shore near the aforementioned cape with the cliff-shore, marked here with number 230.

The Leef is indicated by A, the Leefenaer by B. They lie adjacent to each other and have two smaller reefs extending from them. With the same wind on a Northwest course, we sounded the reef called the Leef, South of it, and the island Ormus North by Northwest. Here we steered our course up and found ground between forty and thirty fathoms. At noon, we sounded the corner of Ormus Northeast by Northeast and the inner corner of Kifmes Southwest by West.

I sketched the island Lareke from the East side of the Island La-, as seen in number 231, reckoning with a portion of the island Kifmes behind it, subsequently also the island Kifmes, mes, as seen in No. 232.

Now we maintained our course in the middle of the fairway—Eee
2

hoping to find some ground. We altered our course to Northeast. As evening approached on the fifth glass of the first watch, the ship *Monter* fired a shot, hoisting a four, as we could observe from the foremast, being West of us. Half an hour later it fired twice more. We saw the four again as before. This was a signal to cast ground, should land or dry ground be sighted. But with 150 fathoms, no ground could be sounded. We waited until the beginning of the second watch, having two lights aft so that we would be seen. However, we did not see its light anymore. Why we then hauled up and continued our course with the top sails on, as before, Northeast, being a Southwest and West by Southwest wind with fair weather and clear flares; but it was somewhat misty near the decks. We occasionally cast out the lead, but found no ground. On the first of the following month, we did not see the ship *Monster* again, from which we had to conclude that it may have altered its course without our knowing why. We decided then not to wait any longer and to make sail again, steering North by Northeast with a Southwest wind and little coolness, also misty air. As the sun set, we went Northeast along the shore, though we did not see it yet. Still no ground. The next morning, early, we steered straight North to ascertain the shore, with a Southwest flap wind and fair weather. In the afternoon, we found ourselves at 20 degrees 8 minutes North latitude.

On the third of the month after midday, we saw the shore in the Northwest, being a very high mountain range. We then proceeded Northwest by Northeast. As evening approached, we had the westerly land Southwest about eight miles from us. During the night, we noticed some change in the water, so we steered to starboard, letting it drift on. On the fourth, the weather was fair, but not so clear that we could properly discern the land due to the mistiness. In the afternoon, we saw a ship West by Northwest about three miles from us. We fired a cannon shot and hoisted our large topsail twice, which was the signal between us and the ship *Monster*. However, as it did not return any signal, we doubted

whether we had the right vessel. Subsequently, it became quiet. As the sun set, we sounded the high land of Cape Rafalagata, being about eight or nine miles off the shore.

The Cape Rafalagata. Grey Rock. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Water, over depths of 24 and 22 fathoms, drying out completely until we anchored an hour before sunset at 4 fathoms and 2 feet. We sounded the New Logie N. N. Weft, and the Temple near the landing place N. O., to the North. I went ashore with the Skipper and Gamron. The Bookkeeper went inland with the flute, and into the new Logie: where the Director had departed, and I was drawn away with the servants of the Company. I arrived unexpectedly, as has been said, having left in a very modest state the previous year. Meanwhile, the Steward Zypestein, along with two Under-Merchants, had passed away, one of whom died on the journey to Spahan at Zje-raes. The Lord Alexander Prefcot, Envoy of the Crown of England to the Persian Court, also followed. Before I finish this chapter, I will give the reader a view of the island of Ormus, Island Ormus, as it appears from the New Logie with clear weather, along with the castle on the prominent side. See here the true depiction of the same.

CHAPTER LXV.

Observations upon returning to Gamron. The situation of the place Effen. Cotton trees. Same plant. Swift Donkeys. Arrival of the Stadtholder at Gamron. Departure from Gamron. Arrival at Laer and Jaron.

UPON my arrival here, I prepared to continue on to Spahan. However, being unable to obtain a caravan, I was forced to wait for the first one coming from Zje-raes. In the meantime, I rode with the Director to his estate, called Naeibaen, about an hour from the city. This place is a courtyard located at the foot of a mountain, where you have a pleasant view of Gamron and the Sea. On this road is the tree, Misflagh as described by Tavernier, which does not correspond with the truth; for there is nothing else. ## Travels

...

of saying that the branches of this tree are laid around in the ground so that they produce many shoots as new trees. Therefore, there is nothing strange to be seen concerning the corners but within a small circum-rotation. There he has not risen very high, so that few people can stand under his shade. One also finds enough such trees nearby, well an hour's distance away, especially around Malacca and on the coast, being called *Paffjaer* or Raet trees by the Malays. Here one sees a small house serving as a place of worship for the Benjans. Upon returning home, we found

the Benjan merchants sitting in the field in a *troyk*, having two dancers from this land for their entertainment, who were constantly moving along with other boat builders and players. On hearing and seeing the light (as the evening had fallen) we went there to see this entertainment. After spending half an hour practicing and being received with warm drink, flower cake, fruits, and other delicacies, we proceeded to the lodge.

On the 23rd of the month I heard two *per-foonnen* with two donkeys according to local custom, along with a third who lived within Effen and would shelter me there, providing food and drink, and giving me the opportunity to observe everything to my liking. This place is located three good hours northeast of Gamron in the plains, half an hour from the high mountains, being amidst many gardens and dwellings of common people. The Company also has a residence here. From here the best water is obtained that is drunk within Gamron.

The most important thing I found here was a tree within a certain garden whose circumference had the thickness of two and fifty palms, going straight up in the middle, and being full of branches extending outwards. The thickness corresponded to the circumference. The leaves were small. It is called *Dragtoe*. The fruit is a kind of small wild apples. You see an image of this on No. 233, also a twig with leaves as large as they are, on No. 234. One sees many names found in the circumference. There is also a small white metalwork attached to which the Benjans offer worship, because this tree is dedicated to one of their saints. They previously owned this garden but through some kind of superstition began to believe

that all who inhabited this courtyard would come to die early: so they sold it. Therefore, it now belonged to the English interpreter, who had died about twenty days ago. Nevertheless, they believe that people afflicted with fever or other illnesses are freed from it when they visit this tree. Of such an imagination I have spoken in the description of these regions around Samachi.

I also found here a white flower or leaves of the plant or tree known as *Juca*. The Perfanians give it the name *Golie-kielie*. This plant is like a whole tree, not giving off a pleasant scent that intoxicates. It comes from Surat. It is said that the flanges greatly run to this scent. Because it is not found in many places, it serves as gifts. This flower has a height of nine inches, hanging, as one speaks of foot measurements, with several parts of an inch's height attached to each other. It is covered with leaves which comprise a height of ten inches. Also there are some smaller ones that shoot upwards from the middle of the flower. I have kept one that honors me, and found that it retains its former scent even when dried. With the leaves it comprises five or six inches in circumference.

The next day I rode away from there and arrived before evening within Gamron, having covered a road which is partly mountainous and rocky, where one encounters many narrow and difficult paths through which one cannot well pull except with donkeys, who are small but quick here, not much different from those in Egypt, particularly in Cairo.

The next day the Hartogh of Gamron Mhamet Alie Chan arrived, upon whose arrival the cannon of the ramparts and surrounding islands was fired. Here the ship *Prins Eugenius*, with which I had come, fired fifteen shots, and the ship *Monfter* 13. After an hour elapsed, I rode with the Director, his Stadtholder, the Fiskael, and Secretary to welcome the Hartogh, having the Director's usual retinue of servants with him. We were received according to local custom with warm drink, tobacco, and flower cake, and after a short time... ## The Boom Dractoe

The upper illustration portrays a large tree, identified as *Dractoe*, standing prominently within an architectural setting featuring buildings and pathways. A figure is visible near the base of the tree, apparently engaged in some activity involving tools or materials laid out on the ground. The tree's trunk is thick and textured, with branches extending outward to support a canopy of leaves.

Below this scene, a botanical illustration showcases the plant's foliage and flowers. The drawing emphasizes the structure of the leaves and blossoms, providing a detailed view of its natural form. This section is labeled "Dragtøe Takje," indicating it represents a branch or part of the tree shown above. ## The Appearance of a Water Pipe

The *Karwansera Gormoet*—a term evoking images of ancient caravanserais and bustling trade routes—is, in reality, the unassuming face of a water pipe. It's a curious name for such an ordinary object, yet it speaks to the history embedded within this seemingly mundane infrastructure.

The pipes themselves are rarely noticed, blending into the urban landscape like veins beneath the skin of a city. They run along sidewalks, beneath streets, and through buildings—a silent network ensuring the flow of life-giving water. Their surfaces, often coated in concrete or buried underground, bear little trace of their function.

However, when exposed – perhaps during construction or repair work – the true nature of these pipes becomes apparent. They are typically made of cast iron, a material chosen for its strength and durability. The exterior reveals a rough texture, marked by seams and imperfections that tell tales of their manufacture and years of service.

“The rust on these old pipes is like a map,” one engineer remarked during an inspection. “Each stain, each patch, represents a moment in time—a repair, a leak, the relentless march of corrosion.”

Despite their utilitarian purpose, water pipes possess a certain aesthetic quality. The circular form, repeated endlessly throughout the city, creates a subtle rhythm within the urban environment. The occasional exposed section, with its dark metal and weathered surface, offers a glimpse into the hidden workings of our modern world—a reminder that even the most essential services are built upon tangible, enduring structures.

- **Material:** Primarily cast iron, chosen for its strength.
- **Appearance:** Often concealed; when visible, displays a rough texture with seams and imperfections.
- **Significance:** Represents a vital, often unseen, infrastructure component of urban life. ## Cornelis de Bruins

After a bit of circuitous travel in Logie, we turned back to depart.

Two days later, the Stadtholder arrived in Logie to greet the Director, accompanied by approximately forty horsemen and thirty-five foot soldiers, twenty of whom carried small banners. This company departed shortly after receiving the customary honors.

Several mules were used to transport the Stadtholder’s goods, which needed to return to *Zjie-raes*. Seeing this opportunity, I negotiated a price with the master of these mules for my baggage, having already ordered a horse for myself beforehand. Meanwhile, I had prepared everything for the journey and purchased what I would need along the way, as I was scheduled to depart on the thirtieth of the month. That evening, I bid farewell to Captain Helma, who had landed here with foresight that day; he had been forced to remain aboard for a few days due to illness, and I would have visited him myself if his condition hadn’t improved, to thank him for all his kindness and hospitality during the voyage. Indeed, I feel obliged to mention the name of the honorable man who brought me here with so much pleasure and courtesy.

The following day, I handed my letters, which I was to send to Batavia to the current and former Generals, and other dignitaries, over to the Director, and took my leave with grateful thanks, also greeting Mr. de Klerk, my friend Oets, and others.

It was an hour before evening when the Director rode out to the English Logie to attend the funeral of Mr. Eduard Crown, head of the English nation. At the same time, I also rode out of Logie, and until three miles from Gamron, near a house on the wall in the place called *Bandalie*, which consists mostly of tents. Three hours after midnight, I continued my journey, accompanied only by the master of the mules and one foot soldier; the rest of the party had

been sent ahead earlier that day. In the morning, we arrived at the caravanserai *Getje*, located five miles from where we had spent the night. Here, we settled down under a tree. An hour before sunset, we continued our journey mostly over level ground until late at night, and being very tired, I took shelter in the dilapidated caravanserai near the village of *Koreftan*, having gained six miles, according to the measurement of that land.

The following morning, we rode out again from there, and stayed for two hours before noon in the dilapidated caravanserai *Goerbasfergoen* after covering four miles. The next morning, an hour before daybreak, we set off again and arrived within the caravanserai *Beloën* at ten o'clock, having covered five miles. Here, as at the previously mentioned place, there are no inhabitants, but here is some people from whom one can buy chickens and other food. Furthermore, everything else is desolate and mostly a rocky plain between the mountains with little vegetation. Here was a small *kafira* or *karavane*. Approaching it, we found that it was ours, which had been sent ahead from Gamron. It continued on shortly after noon on the fourth of the month, and we followed three or four hours later, riding mostly between the mountains over rocky roads. At nine o'clock, we entered the caravanserai *Germoet*, after traveling five miles. We found many water troughs here, as I have already mentioned in my outbound journey. I sketched the appearance of these caravanserais, a section of the village, and the water well standing nearby, which is covered with a large stone dome: you can see the print thereof on No. 235.

The following day, two hours after noon, we continued with the aforementioned *Kafra*. The water in this region is thin and salty. Therefore, we filled our leather jugs with better water at a caravanserai along the way. Furthermore, we rode mostly through plains. In the evening at nine o'clock, we arrived at the caravanserai *Samfomgien*, located six miles from our first resting place. We had warmth during the day and cold at night. The weather was so exceptionally dry that almost everything cracked.

The following day, two hours after noon, we continued on our way through a beautiful plain mostly occupied by villages and gardens until we reached the city of Laer, where we settled down in the caravanserai on this side shortly after sunset, six miles from the last resting place. Here we found many travelers. Also arrived a caravan from *Zjie-raes*, loaded with wine for the Dutch nation in Gamron. We stayed here until the eighth of the month, when we departed around noon. ## Travels

drawn, though little through the plain which is stirred on this side. At the end of it against the mountains there is a water conduit, where there stands a building, about which I spoke above when I passed by it. The water is received there through a long channel, which runs far through the mountains, walled in. I sketched it as

it appears at No. 236. Then one crosses a high mountain range, from which descending you find yourself in a beautiful large plain, at whose beginning a stately stone *caravanserai* and many dwellings are seen, because people live there, some of whom cultivate land. Having crossed this plain for about two and a half miles, one again comes to the mountains. We stayed in the *caravanserai* near the village of Dekoe for two hours in the evening. This village is fairly large with many pleasant trees and gardens occupying both sides of the mountain, lying about two miles from one side to the other of the mountain range. The plain is roundish and partly cultivated.

The following day we set off again an hour after midday. As we traveled through the mountains, shortly before sunset we arrived at the village of Bieries, having covered three miles. Here we stayed in the *caravanserai*, which is beautifully built of stone. From here one can see the ruined castle on the nearby mountain. We have depicted it previously. This is a large and beautifully built village, not dilapidated at all, indeed more significant than some Persian cities. My footman fell ill here, so I left him there; but in the morning, feeling somewhat better, he got onto a donkey, and shortly after midday we set off again through the plain, which has a length of about an hour. Then we rode over mountains until, before sunset, we came to a beautiful plain where we passed by a ruined *caravanserai* and saw many herds of livestock. We also encountered some caravans with camels as well as horses and mules. The sun had been down for two hours when we stopped at the village of Aes-Zjierafie, five miles from the previous resting place. There was no *caravanserai* here, but a special house which was used for that purpose, as we said above.

The following day, three hours after midday, we set off again, passing steadily through a sandy plain, but with fertile soil, being cultivated in many places. In the evening we passed close by a round rocky hill which lies in the middle of the plain, and later past a place located near a large watering hole, partly shaded by a tree, running with a channel through the land. We stopped for rest at the ruined *caravanserai* near the village of Dedomba, four miles from the last resting place, at eight hours.

On the 12th of the month, three hours after midday, we continued on our way for a few more hours in the plain, where several gardens and dwellings are seen, and arrived at the *caravanserai* Monsel at nine hours, having covered four miles. Here I found the aforementioned Father Petro d'Alcantara, with whom I had stayed at Zjie-raes. He still had four Italian priests with him. The fathers were already in the resting place. However, I spoke to Father Petro, with whom I sat chatting for a good hour, while we emptied a few glasses to each other's safe journey and prosperity. For they too were to leave two hours after midnight for Gamron, where the Director had already informed me of his arrival. To wit, he was honored with the dignity of Bishop and Apostolic viceroy, and

appointed to hold these offices in the kingdoms of the great Mogul in a place called Sicopolis, where he sought to embark from Gamron. We were glad that we saw each other again unexpectedly.

The following day, three hours after midday, we set off again. But my runner became worse and had to stay behind. I gave him money and promised to follow him when he recovered.

After riding for a short while in the plain, we found ourselves in a rocky mountain range, having crossed a particularly high rock face as the sun descended. Then we rode through a flat path between the mountains, where one sees many trees alongside some settlements, of which four appeared here and there. We arrived at the *caravanserai* 't Zatal at eight hours, having covered five miles again. The overseer of this *caravanserai*, not feeling well, asked me for a little wine the following day. I gave him this along with some herbs and spices: for which he brought me a few fresh lemons and oranges as thanks to acknowledge this small service.

Shortly after midday we set off again over the high mountain range of Jaron, which is nothing but rock and very difficult. ## LXVI. CHAPTER.

Departure from Jaron. Ancient Ruins Near the Village of Tadurwan. Return to the Caravan Stop Out of Fear of Robbers. Arrival at Zjie-raes. Meeting with Baron Larix. Arab Merchants Robbed.

Departure from Jaron. WE departed from Jaron on the fifteenth of the month shortly after midday, riding through the city which we described in previous pages from the other side, as was relevant to our purpose. We then passed through a very pleasant plain where we saw many herds of cattle grazing. We also saw four or five beautiful gardens enclosed by walls. Having enjoyed a lovely road, we crossed several small stone bridges, as many waterways flow through the land. Many donkeys laden with rice met us, bringing them to the city of Laer. Here I saw a moderately high tower without any other work in its foundation. Nearby lay various fallen gravestones, and some graves with two or three dwellings of poor people. This place is called Demonaeer.

After riding for an hour, we crossed a large stone bridge with seven arches, the largest being in the middle. During high water, the river flows through all of them, but now there was little flow. As evening approached, we rode through a river, whose banks are high on both sides; subsequently over common mountains, mostly flat but rocky. After traveling six miles, we arrived within the caravan stop Moogack at ten o'clock.

The following day, we set off again at midday, once more over a stony road and much mountainous terrain. Here we met two runners of the Company, with letters sent from Spahan to Gamron. From here, we rode for a short hour away from the usual path towards the village of Tadorwan, where we rode for another hour beside the river before we could pass through it into

the village; this happened with much danger, effort, and struggling just before sunset. On these difficult roads, we had only advanced four hours, losing two or three cattle along the way, one which we thought would have died on the spot where it fell. However, we managed to continue with great difficulty, and also in the morning without being loaded. This village has the appearance of a forest, entirely enclosed within gardens, each garden having a separate wall. From the outside, it lies completely on an incline beside the river, surrounded by a low wall of gardens, which is very strange to behold. At its end one passes through the river, which continues its course through the land. Then one climbs the high bank and subsequently through the land towards the village, which lies alongside the gardens as separated toward the mountains to the North. The village is densely populated with houses. Although I had been here before with **Herr Kaftlein**, as I recounted then, entering from the other side, where it is much easier; I still wanted to observe it again; because from the manuscripts of those who traveled with Envoy Cuneus to Spahan in 1652 and arrived in Batavia, I had discovered that there were some remarkable things to be found here. For they mentioned numerous underground passages extending towards **Zjie-raes**, which is twenty-five miles away; also a very deep well in the mountains. As night fell, we took our rest beside the houses, and I set off early in the morning with the *Kafla's* servant and a *perfoon*.

The Village of Tadorwan. ## Remnants of Old Fortresses

Remains of Ancient Foreign Structures

Remnants of old foreign structures. ## Reisen: Investigations and Discoveries

I investigated a large area, from the village to examining everything. I ventured further than I had been on previous journeys, discovering that there was a cave in the rock, its opening descending from the upper ground. Through this, I lowered the villagers, allowing them to see the ground through two or three openings close together. Continuing onward above, I noticed that approximately 30 paces from the entrance, it reached its end; we then met again on the common path running alongside the river. Asked where one subsequently went towards *Zjie-raes*, he showed me the level path. Thus, I found that the

aforementioned recorders had made this known without even investigating the truth themselves. It was also the case with the particularly deep well with *venfler*-holes, which they said was in the mountains. Returning, I ascended the adjacent mountain to the north, partly on horseback and partly on foot. I discovered there had been a structure of which some remnants and broken walls remain, along with separated pieces of rock, as on the summit there is a small square building with a dome above it, as we show in No. 237. The wondrous sphere, mentioned in the notes, is nothing more than a separation of the mountain range, extending very strangely to the east. The river runs in the lowlands. The mountains are quite high and steep. The buildings that the Heathens or Idol-worshippers built against them are unbelievably strange: I have never encountered anything like it before. They had their dwellings along the sides of the rocks; at some places, a small passage can be recognized alongside the rock faces. Of these few remnants, I sketched one as I saw it from below in No. 238, and another from the east side towards the village in 239 with the river between the mountains, also the small watercourses on the high side, covered with reeds and other vegetation. It is said that those people had spanned two iron chains from one side of the mountain to the other, to be able to come together during times of war; it is also said that there is a similar cleft or separation in the mountains on the other side (which should be towards the west). However, I could not understand the nature of the thing from the inhabitants, who give this place the name Goenegabron, or dwelling of the Heathens. They also believe that

Error of the Travel Describers.

it was created by greater and stronger people than are found today, and that it existed thirteen hundred years ago under the rule of a *Ruftan*. But these things are as certain as slate rocks. We have already spoken about this in the description of Persepolis. These dwellings are about half an hour from the village, and the mentioned underground passage about an hour. Little on this side is seen of a large water spring falling from the east, taking its course past the village through the land to the west. Here there is abundance of fruits; I obtained good melons, for which I paid my air (suffered), also taking some with me. At the place where we settled near the houses it was quite cold, so we made a good fire constantly.

The other day, two hours after noon, we departed again from there along the other side of the village, where we found a better opportunity to ride across the river easily, arriving after an hour's time on the common path, where there was a guardhouse.

Subsequently, we rode through a beautiful plain between the mountains, where many villages and gardens lie, giving a picturesque view in this land. The sun had already been below the

horizon for two hours when we found ourselves within the caravan *fera* Afmongeer. The land around here was mostly cultivated, and the people were busy irrigating it by letting water flow over it. Having arrived here, we had traveled four miles.

The next day, shortly after noon, we rode again through the same plain that we had found as before. Here we saw many tents covered with black cloth, and encountered many families with their livestock, some women sitting with their children on camels, others on donkeys. We also met several *Kaflaes* or caravans with wine, and three or four Persians who had a *Kafua* with women with them. Before sunset, we rode over a level mountain that was entirely stony. An hour later, we passed through the plain again until two hours in the evening, when we settled down in the caravan *fera* Payra, having traveled five miles, not experiencing the harsh north wind which we had directly ahead. It lasted throughout the night, and the following day it was also particularly gloomy and cold weather. Nevertheless, we got up again around noon. But we were no more than 300 paces from the caravan *fera* when our people stopped the cattle

Strange Buildings. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

To heed the warnings of two runners who told us there were ten robbers on the road, waiting for any *kafla* or other people they might ambush, all being armed with muskets. We therefore decided to return to our encampment, taking another *kafla* that was there and planning to depart at night. We did so an hour after midnight, traversing a rather mountainous region. At the start of day, we encountered a *kafla*. As the sun rose, we had left behind the reported robbers. We descended for about eight hours into the plain, seeing many wooded areas. At nine o'clock, we entered the *karwanfera* Moe sfarie, five miles from where we had spent the night. A large *kafla* had settled here. Although very wide and spacious, this place was too small for all the people and livestock, so many remained outside. We rode again an hour after midnight through the beautiful long plain with clear air until two o'clock in the day, when the road changed into a somewhat mountainous area. Here we encountered several Persian travelers, as well as many donkeys laden with rice. Subsequently, we returned to a lovely valley, at whose beginning one finds a *karwanfera* named Babasjie, where we entered at nine o'clock after having traveled for seven hours. Here we found another *kafla*, and a Persian gentleman who had seven or eight people with him, intending to travel to Gamron. This afternoon we experienced some rain, otherwise we had been served well by the desired sunshine until now. The following day we set off again at seven o'clock to cover the last stage to Zjie-raes, which is five miles away. After riding for an hour and a half through the plain, we crossed a somewhat mountainous region, from where we reached the beautiful plain of Zjie-raes, which is particularly long, with several places within it. From here one can also see the town and various gardens, which

are two good hours distant at the end of it. Having ridden for an hour ahead, I arrived there at three o'clock in the afternoon, wet from the rain that had overtaken us half an hour earlier.

I went to my previous lodging with the Carmelites, where I found Father John and Father [Vlaanderen], whom I had met on the road from Gamron last year. They received me with abundant courtesy. The following day my old acquaintances Alexander Latoul and Batar, a French clockmaker, came to call on me. They were busy making wine there, as our own winemaker Bufkens does. In turn, I paid them a visit, and then spoke with the overseer of the *kafla* about resuming the journey the following day. However, he did not appear at the appointed time. Meanwhile, I received by messenger a letter from Lord Baron van Larix, dated the twenty-eighth of the month, sent directly from Mahyn, three days' journey from here; the same lord had also dispatched a letter to Persepolis to find out if I had taken that route, as the Director of Gamron had written to him, since he desired to speak with me. This lord had also been Head in Spanhan and now remained for a second time in Gamron. I replied to the letter that very evening, stating that I would remain here awaiting his arrival and looking forward to meeting him. Then, at two o'clock after noon, I rode out to meet the Dutch Father, who had settled in a garden outside the town on the height of the mountains, where we greeted each other with joy and stayed until an hour before evening. The three aforementioned friends also came there, riding with us equally to the town. Lord Larix took up residence in the Winemaker's house of the Company, as is customary for heads of households.

On December second, we went to greet Mr. Hazjie Nebbie, the merchant. We rode through the town with great pomp, sitting on beautiful horses that were excellently equipped. Two had fine harnesses and beautifully embroidered saddle cloths with silver; I rode one of them. We concluded this visit and returned about midday. This Persian had already welcomed Lord Larix and sent several gifts of valuable oils and fruits, with the bearers returning with empty hands. In the evening, Lord Larix had the kindness to come and dine with me in the Convent, bringing what was prepared for him. We were joyful there until late at night. The following day we escorted this lord as far as the village that lies a good distance outside Zjie-raes.

Monfr. ## Travels

Monfr. de Latoul led him to Garnon. Along this route, we raised a *rhee* (a temporary enclosure), where two of the hunting dogs were released, one of whom made the catch after we had each taken our share, as I was informed in the morning by one of the returning servants. Previously, I had decided not to take the route through Perfepolis, as I initially thought, but rather to visit a place five or six hours further away, called Ma-zjiu madre Salmoen, or the Church of Solomon's Mother. How this people came to be

associated with Solomon is unknown to me, since I could not ascertain the reason from them. And I cannot comprehend, even with all my senses, how a temple of King Solomon's mother would exist among this people, as they claim it does. For neither the holy scriptures nor ancient histories show that the king ever visited these regions but always remained in the Holy Land. This temple is therefore dedicated only to the mother of a Persian king who will have borne this name. As for this place and what is visible there, I received information from Envoy Hoogkamer and later in Spahan from our head, Mr. Bakker, who himself made a sketch of one of the buildings when he was Secretary to the aforementioned envoy – that is, the building constructed high up with large stones fitted together. There is a bare chamber inside without a grave. Other buildings are located nearby. About two musket shots away there stand several ruined structures in the plain to the north, among which one displays a large gateway or portal without any carvings. Approximately an hour and a half from here, on a hill, stands a wall of particularly large stones. Something important must have been on the hill, but little remains now. This is about an hour from the village of Sefaboenia.

Upon my arrival in Zjie-raes, I learned that recently, at midnight, a *Kafla* (caravan) of Iman-fade coming and approaching Ma-yn about half an hour away was attacked by more than 20 robbers. These men took all the wealth from three Christian merchants, amounting to 1300 gold ducats and a portion of silver coins. They also robbed them of their rings, which they were wearing on their hands. The three, each having a servant, fired all their muskets, consisting of nine shots, at the robbers, killing one of them. The robbers, not having firearms, inflicted several wounds with their clubs on one of the merchants, and one of their companions killed him. The merchant died on this spot, and the robbers fled with the loot.

Among these *Kafla* were Latoul and Battar, whom I mentioned earlier. The former led the vanguard for the French nation, although he was an Armenian by birth; therefore, these merchants had sought his protection on this journey. But these men, upon hearing of the thieves, fled without offering any resistance, and returned to the same place an hour later, where they found things as I have said – a disgrace indeed for Europeans, especially since these merchants had placed themselves under Latoul's protection. For if he and the others had offered proper resistance, there would be no doubt that this misfortune could have been averted, since only a few robbers had clubs, and the others merely sticks without any firearms, which these cowards were well equipped with. One of these merchants was from Aleppo, and the other two were from Die-erbecke, the capital of Mefopotanie, located fourteen or fifteen days' journey from Aleppo. They intended to travel to India to conduct their trade. They were accused of some carelessness because they had counted and exchanged money within Spahan in the *karwanfera* (caravanserai). On this occasion,

the robbers took note, even on the toll, so that they knew exactly what was loaded. From these and other dangers I heard about on the roads, I resolved to keep to the main road and avoid traveling at night; indeed, I dared not entrust my baggage to any *Kafla*. In this situation, I regretted not having taken precautions regarding this matter when I was previously in Perfepolis. The younger of the merchants was here: the other had returned to Spahan to see if there was a chance of recovering the stolen goods and arresting the thieves. It was said that permission had already been given for this purpose. As far as I was concerned, I hired a *Kafla* with two late oxen to bring me to Spahan, having obtained another runner from Baron Larix to serve me. Therefore, I made all preparations for the journey.

Church of Solomon's Mother. Merchant struck down. Merchants robbed. Robber shot through. ## LXVII. CHAPTER.

Departure from Zjie-raes. Notable Fortresses. Beautiful Caravanserais. Arrival in Spahan. Departure of the King with the Court.

I continued my journey on the fourth of this month, two hours before dawn, escorted by Father Jolef Bufkens and Battar to the place where we had welcomed Baron Larix. Here we drank a glass to a good journey and bid each other farewell.

Two hours after sunset, I entered the caravanserais Baet-sjega, which is very large and spacious, three miles from Zjie-raes. With the end of the sun's descent, I proceeded according to my intention of stopping nowhere, partly to be freed from the cold of the night, and on the other hand to avoid all dangers, since one can better see oneself during the day. Therefore, I traveled alone with haste, because the *kaflaes* commonly travels only at night. At first, my path was partially over mountains, and subsequently into the plain of the village Sergoen, leaving that place on the right side. Further, I rode through the valley, where I now found no water. When I reached the bridge Pol-chanie, I left it on the right hand. Subsequently, I found no water in the plain, choosing a path to reach a river. After this, I rode through another village and arrived half an hour before sunset within the caravanserais Abgerm, having traveled eight miles. With the rising of the sun, I proceeded again, coming after a small hour over the large stone bridge that spans the river, where two mountains lie upon which there used to be fortresses. From the last resting place my *kafla* had departed in fear of robbers, as I could observe, since they commonly abstain from this area. To shorten the way, we passed through the water twice or three times, where one leaves the large mountain on which a notable fortress once stood on the right side. Here I found the first snow visible on the mountains. At the end of this mountain range on the right side, we rode through the river, where we now found no water; further through the plain

until shortly before noon, when we arrived at the village May-ien, where we entered a caravanserais five miles from the last resting place. There I encountered several travelers, among whom was

A Persian Lord of some standing, who had people and firearms with him. He showed them to me. I found it unloaded and without good stones, which he did have with him. He also showed me a good half-European musketton, on which I placed a good stone. I showed him my own firearm here, which was loaded, containing four pistols and a matchlock. Two pistols I had on my body, and two on the horse. This Lord intended to take his way to Zjie-raes, and I continued mine, leaving the *kafla*, which moved slowly, behind. Having traveled a good distance, I rode over a difficult mountain range, particularly stony and rocky, also so dangerous that I was often forced to dismount and walk. For my smaller baggage fell two or three times, forcing me to repeatedly lift the pack-saddle. Meanwhile, three travelers approached me, who were also heading for Spahan, keeping themselves near me most of the day. An hour after noon we had crossed this bad mountain range and found ourselves in the plain, where we arrived within three hours after midday at the caravanserais Oedsja, having reckoned seven miles traveled. When we saw the sun rise, we proceeded, finding most of the water now covered with ice. We rode continuously through a beautiful plain, partly in cultivated land and several villages. We took our lodging at the village Affépas within the caravanseraï. Now we had again traveled five miles. Here was a *kafla* loaded with wine from Spahan for our Director in Gamron. Awakened by the sun, we subsequently went over the mountain lying here over a good flat road. Here one sees occasionally much birdlife in a pool covered with rice: but now we heard only further in the land where there is much water, some Snipes, Moorhens, a flock of *Oje-varen*, and Plovers. The road was particularly good due to the great drought: so that two hours after noon we arrived within the caravanseraï at the village Koes-Kiefar, located seven miles from the last Koes-Kiefar. ## Travels

The next day we continued across the same plain, where several villages appear on the right side. Therefore, there is much cultivated land here, followed by hills and mountains. Here we encountered many significant Persians, with a retinue of twenty-five people, all armed with muskets: also several *kaflaes* and other travelers, some with their camels lying in the field. An hour after noon, we came to a level road again, arriving within three hours at the *karwanfera* at Degerdoe, located 7 miles from the last place, where we stayed until morning, when we continued over the adjacent mountains. At noon, we passed a place where water flows by. Then we rode up and down many hills. After that, we encountered a difficult road that made me fall off my horse. Having overcome this, I arrived in the plain of Jes-da-gaes, where one descends into the valley so steeply that one is forced to dismount from the horse. At three hours, I entered the *karwanfera*, located seven miles from the last resting place, very

tired, as it had been blowing hard that day. Riding with the sun ahead, I passed through beautiful plains, where several places lay on the right side. Shortly before noon, I rode through a village and arrived at Magsoebegi within two hours after noon in one of the *karwanferas*, which are many there, having traveled six miles. Here I found English Lord Jean, who was going from Spahan to Gamron in the place of the deceased, about whom we have spoken. He had with him his Italian Signor Francisco, whom I had found in Zjie-raes the previous year, then the wine maker of the English nation. The English Lord received me politely and kept me with him for dinner that evening. But I left early, knowing that he would continue on at night with the large *kafla* he had with him. After his departure, I also continued my way through the same pleasant plain, which was very enjoyable due to the walled gardens and airy courtyards, which were occupied from all sides. Many dovecotes extended as far as Cominsja, a breezy place running along a pleasant river partly through a large ravine, over which bridges are built in several places where one rides, especially near Cominsja, where I entered one of the *karwanferas* an hour after noon, which also has many and is equipped with many conveniences. Now I had come five miles further than the last resting place was. The next day, I continued from here for quite a while through the same plain, where a good stretch of gardens and dwellings lies along one side. Here a stream flows as far as Majaer, where one rides alongside it and crosses the same water several times by means of small bridges. Two hours after noon, I arrived at the beautiful and famous *karwanfera* Majaer, 6 miles from the last place. I sketched this well-built and renowned place for a third part sitting in my room from where I had a view of the front gate, through which one enters it, with the elevated place in the middle of the *karwanfera*, as shown here alongside. We have spoken before about the building and its exterior appearance, also showing something of it in print. Now I had the last seven miles to go. Therefore, I continued at daybreak partly across a plain. In which an hour from the mountains is a decent stone *karwanfera*. Then one crosses the mountains, but on foot due to the steepness, until one reaches the plain again, where several places appear on the right hand side. Having traveled two hours, I passed the *karwanfera* Mierfa-elrafa, located three miles from Spahan. One must travel over a good stretch of mountains from it, and almost as soon as you have crossed them, you see the city, which appears particularly pleasing. Three hours after noon, I arrived at it across the Zjie-raesche bridge. Spahan. I immediately went to the Convent of the Capuchins, mentioned before. The *operfite* of this Convent had been Father Jan Baptift for nine or ten years, a quiet and virtuous man who received me politely. I had chosen this lodging for greater security and freedom than in the *karwanfera*. Here I intended to continue my journey as much as possible. Upon arrival, I learned that the King from Spahan had left on August 28 of this year, first to the garden Sa-dets-abaat, just outside the city, and from there on September 16 to another garden called Coes-gonna, and on the 24th of the same month to

Douwlet-abaat, three miles further from this city. He had set out with all the Greats of his court, and all his concubines, or the entire *Haram*. Here he had an uncommon crowd of people with him. This departure was intended to review some places and the furthest borders of the realm, according to the custom of the old Kings. He had gone to see a few places and the extreme limits of the kingdom, according to the custom of the old kings. ##

Cornelis de Bruyns

The Caravanserai of Majaer.

permitted to depart for his Prophet's city or residence by Sefi Coelic Aga, one of his captains, who held the authority in his hands as much as the King himself, and everything he did was deemed good.

The day after my arrival, our Chief, Mr. Willem Bakker, welcomed me through his steward, and requested that I attend a meal around midday, promising to greet me again later that evening. I complied, and was received politely. This gentleman offered me lodging at his house, but thanking him, I returned to the Convent.

The following day, I went to fulfill my obligation with the English Agent, Mr. John Lok, who in turn received me kindly and offered his home as my residence.

In the days that followed, familiar friends welcomed me, among them an Italian named Signor Jofef, who had come here after learning of my departure, and brought with him supplies for a physician and wound healer to use.

Shortly thereafter, I gave my letters, which I sent to Gamron to Mr. Director Kastelein, and Baron La-rix, and other friends, to a runner dispatched that way. Then I rode with our Chief and Father Antonio outside the city to refresh ourselves in the garden Koes-gonna, where the King had previously prepared for his departure. In the middle of this airy garden is a beautiful building, the most notable feature of which is a large hall decorated with floral paintings. Above one can see the surrounding countryside from this building. Adjacent to it stands the Haram or women's

quarters, consisting of many small common rooms. Returning, I spent the night in the company's residence, where I was received with another group the following day.

1. **LXVIII. CHAPTER.**

New Year's Wishes from the Dutch Governor-General. Christmas Greetings to the English Agent. Reception of an Armenian Merchant. News Regarding the French Envoy. Habits, Their Time-Spending, Religion, and Customs.

The year 1707 now began, with its commencement I wished our Governor-General much luck and blessings for this and the following years. I remained with him on this day, letting Father Antonio, the Calantar or Burgomaster of Julfa, some of the most prominent Armenian merchants, and most European spiritual fathers also be present, making a total number of well five or six and twenty persons. Being received warmly, we all departed from there. This morning the first snow fell, whereby one could see the mountains mostly covered in the morning. This morning my friend Adrian Bakker visited me, who also stayed with me at night.

On the 6th of the month I wished the English Agent a happy Christmas, letting the aforementioned company be present as well, so that there was a table of about thirty people who banquetted here under the sound of music and the firing of five cannon flares. Being received warmly, we took our leave with the evening.

The other day the great Fast of the Persians ended, which had begun on the seventh of the preceding month. After a few days, our Governor-General came to greet me and the fathers of the Convent; with whom I rode the next day in company with his Stadtholder to Julfa to be present at the reception of an Armenian merchant named Gregoor der Sumael. As we arrived over the plain near the river, the horse of the Governor-General made such a jump to the side that it, along with its rider, fell into a dry ditch covered with snow so completely that neither he nor the horse could be seen. However, he reappeared quickly, being fortunately only slightly injured in his leg by the fall of the horse. Upon arriving at the merchant's house, we found a large company gathered there already, namely the Patriarch, with his Stadtholder Father Antonio Dextiro, the fecundity of the English nation, several French spiritual men, and various prominent Armenian merchants, making a total of well fifty people. After the customary reception of sugar confections, warm drinks, brandy, and tobacco, there was an abundance of dishes prepared, consisting of a variety of courses. The prayer was made by the Patriarch, who had a large flat bread in his hands that he broke into pieces and shared with many of those present, a ceremony which I had never seen before. The dining room being quite large was completely

covered with a cotton tablecloth, where we sat around according to local custom. Several servants distributed the food on table plates to each person: also the wine pourers had busy work, running between the arranged dishes, which gave an impressive spectacle at this gathering. A toast was made to the health of all those present, as well as several absent ones. The company parted around the evening.

On the 17th of the month their baptismal rite occurred, of which I have spoken above.

Here we heard that Monsieur Doot des Fabre, coming as Envoy from France to this court on August 20 in the city of Erwan, had died. After his death only four gold ducats were found with him, having (so it was said) left a debt of well one hundred thousand guilders, of which the largest part was made in Constantinople, where he had left his wife, a Greek woman. In this company he had brought from Paris a lady who, after his death, intended to return as Ambassador and display herself on horseback like an Amazon with an uncovered head, contrary to the customs of this land. We remained in expectation of what would follow here. Subsequently we learned that Monfr. Michel, Secretary of the Ambassador at the court of Constantinople, was coming home, and then from letters from Aleppo, that orders had come from the King of France to send this Fabre chained back to France. And this ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

it zou hem overkomen zijn, ten zij hij tot zijn geluk rechts van daar getrokken was.

We vertelden in de maand februari des jaars 1707 uit brieven gezonden van Erivan, dat daar enige onlusten ontvangen waren tusschen de Fransen van dat gevolg en de Perfanen, waar van men zeide dat die genoemde Ambassadeur oorzaak geweest was. Men was handgemeen geworden, en verschillende Perfanen waren op de plaats dood gebleven, en andere gewond; evenwel met de nederlaag der Fransen, die in het eind overmeesterd en gevangen werden, nevens eenige Armeniërs, die de Fransen geholpen hadden; van welke Armeniërs twee door het Gerecht met den zwaard gestraft zijn. Op deze tyding hoorde ik zeggen, doch zonder enige zekerheid, dat er van het Perzische Hof last gegeven was tot het terugzenden dezer vrouwe. Het welk ieder, die er van hoorde, gaarne gezien hadt, dewyl zulk een exempl frekken mocht tot eene schandvlek voor alle Europeers, die zich in dit Rijk onthouden; waar van ik hierna breeder spreken zal.

Hier zijnde beving me een lucht om in gesprek te treden met de Gebberische Priesteren. Hier toe vond ik goede gelegenheid door de vriendschap, die ik onderhield met den Engelschen Agent, een man van groote beleefdheit en zinlijkheid in alles te onderzoeken, die ook goed Hollandsch sprak, als hebbende in zijn jeugt in onze landen ter schole gele gen. Hij ontbood dan eenen der Priesteren

bij zich, niet alleen om mij hierin te willen zyn, maar ook zijnen eigen lucht te voldoen. Hier was ook bij een Serfiaensch wetgeleerde, die de Agent gebruikte tot het opstellen van brieven, die in de Perzische tale mochten geschreven worden.

Het geen ik te vragen had stelde ik in schrift. Mijn eerste vraag was wat de Gebbers geloofden of meenden te weten van de schepping der wereld, en van Gods almogendheid. Hij antwoordde mij dat naer hun gevoelen de lieve Godt een en alleen was, en naer hunne verbeeldingh een geeft of licht, van geen menschelijk vernuft te begrijpen. Zij hielden voor vast dat hij overal tegenwoordig en alwetend was, en alles doen kon wat hem behaagde; dat hij ook Godt van eeuwigheid was, en zonder einde zou zyn: dat zonder zijn willen en weten niets ter wereld geschiede. Zij hadden ook eene overlevering dat eenige Engelen Godt den oorlogh hadden willen aandoen, en een der zelve hierom uit den hemel gestoten was, wiens naam voor zijnen val Ab-lies ware geweest, en daer-na Zeyloen of duivel, hebbende nu zijn plaats in de Dofag of helle, die zij geloofden dat onder de aarde was. Godt, zeggen zij, heeft de wereld gemaakt in zes tijden, bij hen genoemd Mey-deferem, Mey-doesjem, Pete-ijaebem, Eoos-aen, Meydie-eriben, en Ammaespas-miediehem. Doch of deze tijden jaren, maanden, weken, of dagen waren geweest, wift deze Priester niet wel te zeggen. Zijn naefte mening was echter, dat het da-gen waren geweest. Na het scheppen der wereld hadt Godt den mensch ge-maekt, die van hem genoemd wiert Baba Adam, naer wie alle menschen in't byzonder onder de Perfen en Turken Adam genoemd worden. Deze Adam was gevormd uit de vier Elementen, het vuur, de lucht, het water, en d' aarde. Toen schiep Godt een ziel in den mensch, die zij agten dat wint is. Hierna nam Godt uit de flinke zyde van Adam iets van zijn lichaam, en iets van zijn ziel, waar van hij naer Adams gelykenisse eene vrou gevormd heeft. Na eenigen tydt, zeggen zij, werd aen Adam door iemand, dien zij niet noemen kunnen, een voort van terwaangeboden, hebbende de groot-te van een meloen, waar van hij zou ge-geten hebben. Hier op hadt Godt hem uit de plaats, waar in hij getelt was, verftoten. Nog zeggen zij dat Adam, toen hij eerst geschapen was, de oogen boven op zijn hoofd hadt, maar dat die na het eten dezer vrucht in zijn voorhoofd gekomen zyn. Hier uit is te bemerken dat zij gelooven dat Adam voor den val naar den hemel, en federt naar de aarde gezien heeft. Dus voor Godt verschijnende had die hem gevraegt, wat hij eerst gezien hadt; waar op hij antwoordde: Godt. Dat Godt hem weder-vraagde wat hij nu zag, en hij daer op zeide, my zelve in eenen elendigen staat. Hoe zich Adam en zijne Gemalin verder gedragen hadden, wift hij niet te zeg-gen, houdende het alleen daer voor dat ze de wereld door aanteelen van kinderen hadden vermenigvuldigt; en dat na ver-loop van langen tydt opgefiaan is een pro-phet, bij hen bekend onder den naam van Zaer-sjos, dien de Perfanen nu nogh voor Abraham houden. Deze prophet in de wereld gekomen zijnde predikte den menschen het goet doen aan, en het quaet doen af. De mensen morden hier tegen aan, zeggende: Hoe komt gy ons te

gebieden dit te doen, en dat te laten? Hij antwoordde: Ik kome van Godt. Zij ffreeeden hier tegen aan, zeggende: Zoo gy de waarheit spreekt, zoo krmp onbescha-digd door ons gout en zilver, dat wy smelten zullen. Het welk als gy doen kunt, zullen wy u gelooven, en gehoorzamen. Zynamen deze proef, en hij voldeed hun: federt wel- ## Travels and Customs of the People

When this time they gave him the name of Zaersjos or Zaer-sjoest, which means someone adorned in molten gold and silver. From these people, they received their law books to learn their commandments and follow them, maintaining them for as much as God and their descendants are concerned. In these laws, they had great respect for all that was greater than themselves, namely the sun, the moon, divine honor to be shown to it, although many people call them worshippers of the moon. For they have only respect for the moon because they enjoy and derive service from it; just as it is with water, which they use for drinking and cleansing. They draw light from the sky, just as from the sun and moon, and therefore have some reverence for it, as they do for the earth, from which they primarily originate. Their respect for the moon has remained since the time of the ancient Persians, who during the times of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander were called blessed when the moon was named holy and eternal, and carried with festivity on silver altars before the army. The image of the sun was also placed in a glass of crystal and raised above the hut so that it could be seen by everyone. The prophet Ezekiel also speaks of this, saying: "Your sun images will be broken." But we have spoken at length about this in the description of the state of Persia.

The foods forbidden to them to eat are primarily ravens, serpents, camels, and also blood from any of those animals. They keep pigs within their houses for two or three months, taking care that they do not eat anything unclean. After that time, they slaughter and eat them.

Regarding the customs concerning the birth of children, it must be known that when a child is born into the world, one of the priests comes three days after the birth with consecrated water, from which he gives the child some in his mouth, as also to the mother. Then the child receives its name, according to someone among their ancestors. Furthermore, a prayer is made for it to endure and be provided with all necessities. There is no knowledge of baptism.

Concerning marriage, they have this custom. When a daughter becomes marriageable and requests marriage, she chooses a proxy who appears before the court in her name along with some witnesses. After these present the matters concerning this daughter, the court questions the witnesses whether this man is worthy to be joined with such a woman. If an answer is given to this, the man who requests the daughter's hand also appears.

They ask him if he is willing to take such a maiden as his wife; and this question is repeated three times. Upon this, the court commands him to give forty *toman* in silver and five in gold (this amounts to 1575 guilders) to the bride, if she desires it. He promises this and commonly pays this sum in jewels. But if he is unable to raise this money, he is excused from the obligation of that payment. When this has been decided by the court, the groom takes four or five of the oldest friends and goes with them into the house of the bride, where she is found among other women, having a veil over her head. The proxy then takes the bride by the hand and delivers her to the groom. Upon this, all the friends each carry a candle in their hand and lead the bride into the house of the groom until within the chamber, where they will retire. It is customary with great ceremony that the lovers do not come together immediately so that the suitor does not see his beloved; this is quite different among common people. If they do not have children with their wife whom they now marry, they may take another woman alongside her, but with the consent of the first.

Concerning the burial of the dead, they have these customs. When someone dies, a priest comes to him and performs some solemn things fitting for such an occasion. After death, they bring the body from the house to a place suitable for it, called *Lefcona* or afterhouse. There they leave it for four or five hours until the friends arrive. Then they wrap it in a shirt and other linen on a mortuary bed made of iron, and transport it to a hill where a chamber has been built with several small separate burial places, in one of which it is laid. Before it arrives there, it is read aloud from a book over the way. When they depart from there, they whistle shut the burial place, leaving the dead body to lie there for a whole year. Then they take the bones and bury them under the earth. They believe that the soul after separating from the body passes into another world without seeing God. ## The Followers of John the Baptist

Thus it shall be until that Tuesday or day of judgment when he will rise again, pure being the heaven as reward, impure hell as punishment received.

Regarding the Sabbath or rest day, they know them as days of prayer. They only observe four days of prayer each month, coming to the church to confess and perform their ceremonies. Usually, prayers are said three times a day: first at sunrise, second at midday, and third when the sun sets. They consider Muhammad to be a false prophet and curse him.

These worshippers have lost their land due to the calamities of severe wars and now exist only in small numbers, sheltering in certain peripheral cities where they enjoy more freedom than in Persia. Those in Julfa were forced to adopt the Muslim faith some years ago during King Abbas's reign, just as the Armenians and

others had lived in full safety before that, so they would not remain on the borders of Turkey. They were also granted land here for cultivation; a work still undertaken by many Armenians in various regions, as I mentioned above in my description of Samachir.

These worshippers or Gaurians are bad people. The clothing of their women is more akin to Arab fashion than that of this land, always keeping their faces unveiled according to the custom of that nation. They also have a completely different language, so much so that even their letters are of a very different form from those of the Persians.

They calculate their time from Adam, whom they call as mentioned above, just as we do. However, their lineages bear different names. They claim that after Adam had been in the world for thirty years, there was an uprising which they call *Oufchyn*, recognizing it as the head of a family. After this, they recognize a Sem-fiet, whom they say was their first king. They attribute seven hundred years of life to him. After him, they say, came Soobaet, who lived for a thousand years, and after him Frey-doem, who, having lived five hundred years, relinquished his kingdom to Pßoom, when they do not know when he lived or ruled. Following him is Mamoet-fie-ber, who reigned for one hundred twenty years, and after him Noufar, who held the kingdom for twelve years, when Aef-raesja, coming from Tartary, conquered the kingdom of Persia and ruled it for fifty years. After him came Khbekobaet, who reigned for one hundred twenty years; then Khbekoboes, for one hundred fifty, and after him Loraes and Gofaes,

who reigned for one hundred twenty years while attending church. Then came Baman, who held the kingdom for 99 years; followed by Homa, his daughter, who ruled for thirty years, being succeeded by Darop, son of Darius, whom they wish to have sat on the throne for fourteen years and three months. In his place came the son of Baman, who reigned for twelve years. He was followed by Schandaz-roemie, or Alexander from Europe, who reigned for fourteen years. After the two first fathers, they record all subsequent rulers in a book. In Alexander's place came Asbt, son of Asht-poes, with Nieroefein-Cofforo, son of Ardewoen, along with Baboko-en, ruling together for two hundred fifty-seven years. After him came Ardesjier Babokoen, and after him Armoes, son of Sjaoper, who reigned for five years. He was followed by Baroen Senogormoes, who sat for three years and three months. After him ruled Pieroes-ger for ten years. After him Baroem, son of Baroem-mioen for four months and five days, followed by Narsje, son of Baroem, who sat for nine years. Then came Ormoes, the son of Narsje, who also reigned for nine years, after him Sa-poer, son of Sapoer, and he reigned for five years and four months. Then Za-ardezjer afzja, which means as much as king. He ruled for ten years, followed by zja Poer, son of zja Ardezer, who possessed the kingdom for eleven years. Then Fefdeger reigned for thirty years

long, and after him Baroem Miger 66 years. After this Fesfdeeger, son of Ba-roem, 18 years and four months. Then Fhiroes son of Fesfdeeger 14 years. After him ruled Narfie, son of Fhiroes seven years: in whose place Bellaes, son of Fhiroes five years reigned. He was followed by Cobraet Sinneferoes, who reigned for forty years, and after him Nofeer-woen, son of Cobraet, a very righteous king, who held the kingdom for seventy-seven years. After him came Ormoes, son of Nosjeva, who sat for twelve years, and after him Cofro, son of Ormoesja, who reigned for eighty-eight years. After him ruled Cobraet, son of Cofro, seven months. After him ruled Aerd-e-sjier Sinneco-baet a year and six months. Here-after ruled Afermien, daughter of Cof-row, 6 months, and after her Kefwarbo-noe, daughter of the aforementioned, one year. Then reigned Fesfdeeger twenty years. Then came the Mahometans. The number of these years reckoned from Adam, excluding those whose time or life they cannot name, amounts to 3632 years, a month, and five days; adding to this the 1135 years of Muhammad's comes to a total of 4767 years, a month, and five days. ## LXIX. CHAPTER.

List of the Kings of Persia since Alexander the Great, until this time, drawn together from ancient Greek and more recent Persian writers.

AFTER Alexander the Great had ruled Asia for six full years, and before that, an equally long period in Macedonia, passed away from this world, there arose great contention and disagreement among the principal princes and warlords of the realm regarding the crown, which each desired for himself. After prolonged struggles, Ariades, Alexander's brother, was finally chosen as king by Philip with Philinna, through unanimous votes; but because he was weak in health, he entrusted the kingdom to Perdikkas. The others were given dominion over several large kingdoms and territories that they had previously ruled as lieutenants of the king, but afterwards tasted the sweetness of governance, claimed ownership, and reigned over the land as kings. We do not intend to delve into the extensive details of these matters, which have been elaborated upon by historians, but only to record the order and names of the princes who, after Alexander, until this time, ruled over Persia as kings.

Beforehand, however, it must be noted that the authority of the Greek rulers over Persia did not last very long. Because they were divided among themselves,

I. The first was then Antiochus, who had dominion over Asia Minor. After overcoming Eumenes, he seized the supremacy of Asia, Syria, Babylonia, Persia, and the lands belonging to them.

However, he could not retain all these powers against Seleucus Nicator, from whom he was defeated. Thus, he became king of Persia in his place.

1. Seleucus Nicator, or Nicator, as others wish to call him, a name meaning "victor." This man reigned ## Cornelis de Bruins: Thirty Years and Subsequent Rulers

For thirty years, then yielding to

1. Antiochus Soter, or the Savior. He reigned for twenty-one years, and after him
2. Antiochus Theos, or the Divine, who possessed the kingdom for fifteen years. After him came

V. Seleucus Callinicus, or the Beautiful, who sat on the throne for eighteen years.

There is a great difference among writers regarding which of these two last ones the Parthians fell away from. To bring their various opinions together would be a work too extensive to undertake. According to the opinion of Scaliger and others, whom we follow here, the secession occurred under one Arfaces, whom Strabo calls a Scyth by birth, others a robber, in the twelfth year of Antiochus Theos, being the third of the 132nd Olympiad, and according to Helvicus's time reckoning, the 3700th after the creation of the world, that is, 248 years before Christ's birth. However, this does not mean that Arfaces immediately after his secession seized Periphia and the neighboring lands. Therefore, we also believe that Arfaces conquered Periphia when Seleucus Callinicus was at war with his brother Antiochus Hierax, that is, the Expelled One, around the seventeenth year of his reign. However, it is commonly reckoned from the secession that the Parthians ruled over Periphia for 3579 or, as others say, 3576 years.

The lineage of the kings, who all retained the same name of Arfaces in honor of the first, is this. But note that the numerical letters after the names indicate the years of their reign, and those where there is no certainty are omitted overall.

Kings of Per- phia. 1. Arfaces I reigned 2. Arfaces II 3. Pampatius or Phrabartes, otherwise Arfaces III 4. Pharnazes or Arfaces IV 8 5. Mithridates I or Arfaces V 47 6. Phraates or Arfaces VI 28 7. Artabanus I or Arfaces VII 2 8. Pacorus II or Arfaces VIII 9. Phraates II or Arfaces IX 10. Mithridates II or Arfaces X 11. Orodès or Arfaces XI 12. Phraataces or Arfaces XII 13. Tiridates or Arfaces XIII 14. Phraataces or Arfaces XIV 15. Orodès II or Arfaces XV 16. Boanones, others call him Vonones, or Arfaces XVI

His son Mcherdates did not obtain the kingdom. But another lineage followed.

1. Artabanus II or Arfaces XVII
2. Bardanes, or Vardanes, or Arfaces XVIII
3. Gotarzes or Arfaces XIX
4. Vologeses I or Arfaces XX
5. Artabanus III or Arfaces XXI
6. Pacorus II or Arfaces XXII
7. Cosdroes or Arfaces XXIII
8. Vologeses II or Arfaces XXIV
9. Vologeses III or Arfaces XXV
10. Artabanus IV or Arfaces XXVI

This Artabanus was the last of the Parthian kings to have ruled over all the lands of Periphia and to have waged fierce wars with the ancient Romans. For he says in the fifth year of Agathias, or, as others say, in the tenth year of the reign of Alexander Severus, Roman Emperor (this is according to Scaliger's and Helvicus's time reckoning 228 or 232 years after Christ's birth, and 4176 or 4179 years from the creation of the world), he was deprived of his kingdom and life by a native of Periphia named Artaxerxes. Some say that this prince's father was a certain Pavacus, an artisan of his craft. Others say that Pavacus, having no children, foreseeing from the stars that a descendant of a certain foldaat named Sannus, who happened to be lodging at his house, would become famous and fortunate, had his wife lie with him; from this union Artaxerxes was born. The reader may freely believe or disbelieve as he pleases. But it is certain that Artaxerxes was very outstanding in wisdom and knowledge of magic, or Persian wisdom. From him also are descended all the subsequent kings, whom (a) Agathias and others have drawn from the writings of the Per- fians and left to our memory in this order.

1. Artaxerxes I reigned 14 10
2. Saporees I . . . 31
3. Ormisdas I reigned 1 year and 10 days.
4. Uraranes II . . . 3
5. Uraranes III . . . 16
6. Uraranes III, nicknamed Seganesna . . . 4
7. Narfes . . . 7 9
8. Misdates . . . 7 9
9. Saporees II

This one was declared king even while unborn in his mother's womb, the crown that could not be placed on his head being placed upon her body.

Lineage of Per- fians Kings named Arfacids.

L. iv. de bell.Goth. & al.peregr. hift. c. ii. feqq. coll.lib.ii, c. 14.

The lineage of King Artaxerxes. ## The Kings of Persia

lichæm, reigned for 70 years. 10. Artaxerxes II, his brother . . . 4
11. Saporès III, son of Artaxerxes . . . 5 12. Uraranes IV,
nicknamed Kermenfat . . . 11 13. Izdigertes I, whom Procopius
states was appointed guardian to his son Theodofius II by
Emperor Arcadius. He ruled the kingdom of Persia . . . 21 14.
Uraranes V . . . 20 15. Uraranes VI, son of the preceding, called
by others Izdigertes II, reigned for 17 years and 4 months. 16.
Perozes . . . 20 17. Valens, brother of Perozes, also known as
Obalas . . . 4 18. Cabades, son of Perozes. Wishing to introduce a
law whereby every man would be free to have relations with all
women, whether married or unmarried, he was deposed in the
eleventh year of his reign and imprisoned in the house of oblivion.
In his place was elected his brother Zambafes, or Zamafpes, who
reigned for only four, or as others claim, just two years. For
Cabades fled from his guards with the help of his wife, who
sacrificed herself to the jailers, taking refuge among the Huns
called Entbaliten. There he married the daughter of the king of
this people and acquired a large army with which he marched to
Persia and regained his kingdom, which he held for thirty years
above-mentioned, so that the entire period of Cabades and
Zambafes' reign amounts to 41 years. 19. Cofroes the Great, son
of Cabades, waged fierce wars against Emperors Justinianus and
Justinus, and reigned . . . 48 years. 20. Ormisdas II . . . 8 21.
Cofroes II . . . 39 22. Siroes . . . 1 23. Ardeshir reigned for 7
months. 24. Baraz or Sarbaras, reigned for 6 months. 25. Baram
or Barnirim, reigned for 1 year and 7 months. 26. Ormisdas
III . . . 2 years. 27. Jezdegird or Jazdgerd II, 20 years.

The kings listed here are expressed by Arabic and modern Persian
writers with different names, corresponding to their language; it
is not possible to list them all in detail. The reader can also find
satisfaction on this subject in the brief account of the Persian
kings given by

Mr. D. T. V. Y., Gentleman of the Chamber of the King of France
(a).

It may be briefly noted that Persia has suffered greatly under the
six last kings and finally came under foreign rule. For Muhammad,
the prophet, was born into the world in the 812th year of the
Alexandrian reckoning, on the twenty-second day of the month
Nifan, which is April 22, 572 AD; he spread his supposed
prophetic revelations forty years old in the 611th year; driven
from Mecca by the Koreishites and exiled to Medina; and then in
the year 629 and the following Chaibar, Mecca, the land of Tebac,
and almost all of Arabia were overwhelmed by arms; and finally
died in the year 634, the eleventh of the Hegira, or his flight from
Medina, from a falling sickness and fever; Abubecr, or Abubakar,
son of Amer and Salma, and father of Aijischa, the third wife of
Muhammad, was elected by the people as the first Caliph, or head

of the worldly and spiritual affairs of the Muhammadans. He was followed in office by Omar or Homar, son of Elkateph, who drove King Jezdegird into flight around the year 640 AD, conquered the city of Madajina, where Cofroes formerly held his court, and brought almost all of Persia under his power. His court was in Bagdad. He ruled for three years, and in the fourth year of his reign he was murdered by a Persian slave named Abululna with three wounds. After him, Othman or Ofman, son of Affan and Bifa, was appointed Caliph, who conquered Jezdegird, who had rallied himself again, in the 31st Hegira, or in the year AD 651 after Christ's birth, thus conquering all the lands of Persia, after they had been ruled by the descendants of Artaxerxes for a total of 461, or as others claim, 457 years. Thus follow now in order the Caliphs, or Persian Kings, who were Muhammadans by birth, as I have drawn them from the Persian writers Mirkond, Abulpharaji, and others.

1. Othman or Ofman, the III Caliph of Regeer-ders of Persia, called Abubecr rejected, and inherited King of Perfie, reigned 11 years, 6 months.
2. Aly, the IV Caliph . . . 4 9
3. Al Hifen or Acem . . . 6
4. Muavi or Maauya I. 19 6
5. Fezid or Threzid I. 3 8 G g g 3
6. Mua- ## Cornelis de Bruins' Chronicle
7. Muawi of Maruya II reigned for 4 months.
8. Abdalla.
9. Mariwan I for one year.
10. Abdulmalec.
11. Walid of Oelid I.
12. Solely Ben Abdolmalek.
13. Omar of Homar.
14. Fezid of Thezid II.
15. Ochon, also known by others as Hifiam, Hafshan, Heschan, or Evelid.
16. Walid of Oelid II.
17. Fezid of Thezid III.

18. Ibrahim of Ebrabem.

19. Harwan II.

The seventh Caliph, or fourth ruler over Persia, namely Muawi, also Mua-viih Ben Abu Sofian, was descended from a prominent Arab named Ommiab. Therefore, he and his descendants are often referred to as the Ommiads by writers, and distinguished from the followers of Ali as the *Farae-na Beni Ommiab*, that is, the Foraos or tyrants from the lineage of Ommiah. The last of the Ommiads, Maruan II, was conquered in Syria by the Abbaffides in 130, or, as others claim, in 132 years of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding to 747 or 749 after Christ's birth; he fled and died in a village in Egypt. Then the Caliphate, or supreme authority, passed to Abul-Abbas Saf-fab, an Abbaffide, so named because he descended from the fourth branch of the declining line of Abbas, son of Abdalmothleb, Muhammad's grandfather. His descendants possessed the kingdom for approximately 500 years. They succeeded each other in this rank as follows:

1. Abbul Abbas Saffab, grandson of Aly, son of Abdalla, and grandson of Abbas, the uncle of Muhammad, the prophetic prophet, reigned for 4 years and 9 months.
2. Abugiafar, son of Almanfor, brother of Saffah, reigned for 22 years.
3. Mahadi Billa, son of the previous ruler, reigned for 3 years.
4. Hadi or Eladi Billa, son of Mahadi.
5. Harum Rafchid Billa, brother of Hadi.
6. Abu Abdalla Amin, son of Harum.
7. Al Mamun, brother of Amin.
8. Abu Ezach Motaefem, or Matacon, son of Harum.
9. Harum Watec, son of Motoaffem.
10. Al-motoWakkel, son of Motoaffem.
11. Montaffer, son of Motowakkel.
12. Ahmed Abul-abbas Mu-stain, son of Motaffem.
13. Motaz, whom others call Almatez Billa, son of Motowakkel.
14. Motebadi Billa, son of Wathec.
15. Ahmed Abul Abbas Mota-med Billa, son of Motowakkel.

16. Motadhed or Motazed Bil-la Ahmed, son of Muaffic, and grandson of Motowakkel.
17. Moctafi Billa, son of Motadhed.
18. Giafar Abul Fadius Moc-tader Billa, son of Motadhed.
19. Mohammed Al Manfur Al Kaber Billa, son of Motadhed.
20. Ahmed Al Radhi or Raz.y Billa, son of Moc-tader.
21. Ibrahim Abu Ishacus al Moctafi Billa, son of Moctader.
22. Abdalla Abulcafin Moc-taci, son of Moctafi I.
23. Fazele Abulcafin Mothi Bil-la, son of Moctader.
24. Abdel Kerim Abuber Al Thai or Tayaba, son of Mothi.
25. Ahmed Abulabas Al Ka-der Billa, son of Ishac, and grandson of Moc-tader.
26. Abdalla Abgigafar Al Ka-yem, Beamaryl, son of Kader.
27. Al Moctadi Billa, son of Muhammed, grandson of Kayem.
28. Ahmed Al Mustadher, or Al Mostazer Billa, son of Moc-tadi.
29. Al Mostarshed Billa, Abu Manfur, son of Mo-ftadher.
30. Abu Iaafar Al Manfur, nicknamed Al Rashed Billa, son of Mo-ftarshed.
31. Mohammed Al Moctafi Be-amrilla, son of Mo-ftadher.
32. Iffuf Al Mostanjed Billa, son of Moctafi.
33. Abu Muhammed Al Hasan Al Mostadhi Beamrilla, son of Mostanjen. ## The Lineage of Rulers
34. Aleman, son of Al Nafer Ledinilla, grandson of Moftadhi.
35. Al Dhaer Billa Odatoddin Abu Nafr Mohammed, son of Al Nafer.
36. Abijaafar Almanfur, Al Mostanfer Billa, son of Al Dhaer.
37. Al Mostazem Billa, son of Mostanfer.

The latter was conquered in 654, or as others say, in 656 of the Hejira year, corresponding to 1256 or 1258 years after Christ's birth, by **Hulacu Khan**, the Mongol or Tartar Emperor, and killed along with his sons. With their death, the Caliphate of Baghdad came to an end. Thus, all the Caliphs who also ruled over Persia numbered seventy-seven in total, excluding Muhammad, the

commonly regarded prophet. Here we must note a new development. For these Caliphs had already lost some of their prestige under the rule of their military governors and other newly emerging Sultans during the time of Ahmed al Rhadi, so that they subsequently retained only the title of Overlords. However, they are mentioned in Tarik al Abbas, Akkbar Beni al Abbas, and Abdalla Ben Huffsan in his book *Alfis firdabl beni Abbas* as Kings and Overlords of Persia. Yet their greatest power was broken by the Mongol Tartars who, even during the time of Caliph Al Nafer, began to raid through entire Persia, Armenia, and Lesser Asia – today's Anatolia. Nevertheless, they were driven out of Persia in 623 of the Hejira year, corresponding to 1226 years after Christ's birth, by force of arms from the Caliph Al Monstanfer Billa. But eventually, particularly under Hulacu Khan, they confirmed their rule over Persia. Now I will list here, in order, all the Mongol kings from the beginning, who conquered and ruled Persia, according to the account of Abul Pharajus, Marafchi or Marakfschi, Mirkond, Eduard Pococki, and others.

1. **Gengiz Khan**, or as Abul-Pharaius says, Ingiz Chan, was in the aforementioned year defeated by Caliph Abujaafar Al Manfur, Al Mostanfer Billa, in his victories, and driven from the greater part of Persia. He ruled over both his own land and over Persia.
2. **Oktaji** or Jotai Khan, his son.
3. **Gajuk Khan**, son of Oktaji.
4. **Manchuka Khan**, son of Tuli, and grandson of Jingiz Khan.
5. **Hulacu Khan**, or Holagu Chan.
6. **Abaca Khan** or Haib Kai Chan, son of Hulacu Khan.
7. **Ahmed**, or Hamed Khan.
8. **Argun Khan**.
9. **Caichtu Khan**, whom Teixeira and others call Ganiatu Khan, son of Abaca, ruled for approximately 4 years.
10. **Baidn Khan**, son of Targi-bi or Targai, grandson of Hulacu Khan, reigned.
11. **Kazan Khan**, or Gazun Khan, son of Argun Khan.
12. **Giyatbo'ddin Chodabanda Mohammed Khan**, also referred to by others simply as Mohammed or Alyaptu Khan, son of Argun.
13. **Abu Said Babadur Khan**, son of Mohammed Chodabandab, reigned – some say 19 years.

This was the last of the lineage of Gengbiz Khan, although Marafchi in his history of the Mongols adds one more, named Arba Khan, whose father was Sengbi Khan and whose grandfather was Malec Timur, who was a son of Artak Boga, grandson of Tuli, and a kinsman of Gengiz Khan. Nevertheless, he adds that Arba ruled for no longer than five months. This indicates that this lineage of the Persian kings ended around 736 of the Hejira year, or 1335 after Christ's birth. For after the death of Babadur, or as others wish to say, Arba Khan, the land-governors seized the territories over which they had been appointed by the kings, wishing to recognize no one above them. This territory remained without internal strife until Timur, bearing the nickname of Lenc, that is, lame or crippled, and commonly called Tamerlan by European writers, was elevated to king by general acclaim of the Tartars in the year 1371 of the Hejira, or 1369 after the birth of the Savior, and seventeen (or as others say, eighteen) years later seized the kingdom of Persia, over which he and his successors ruled in the order that follows. ## Cornelis de Bruins

1. Timur Lenc Soltan, who ruled the Tartars and Persians alike for... 30 years.
2. Shah Ruch Bahadur Soltan, son of Timur Lenc. 43
3. Al Malec, al Said, Mohammed Ulug Beg, son of Shah Ruch. . . . 29
4. Abdo' llatif Mirza, son of Ulug Beg. . . . 6
5. Mirza Abdollah, son of Ibrahim, and grandson of Shah Ruch. . . 1
6. Mirza Soltan Abu sfayd, son of Mohammed, grandson of Miran Shah Gurga, and a great-grandson of Timur. . . 18
7. Mirza Soltan Mohammed, son of Abnfsyd, or, as others claim, of Baifankor, whose father was Shah Ruch, ruled for 28 years.
8. Mirza Babor Soltan, son of Omar Scheikh, and grandson of Abu Said.
9. Mirza Al Malec, whom others call Mohammed Soltan, son of Aby Said, who was a great-grandson of Timur Lenc. . . 20
10. Soltan Hofain Mirza, son of Manzur, and great-grandson of Baikra, whose father was Omar Scheikh, son of Timur, ruled for... 28 years.
11. Mirza Badio 'zzaman or Badi Alzaman, son of Hofain, ruled concurrently with his brother Mirza Modhaffer.

12. Abu'l Mahan Mirza and Gil Mirza. These two were the last rulers from the lineage of Tamerlan who ruled Persia; it should be noted that these rulers did not entirely inherit all the lands belonging to Persia, but rather held power over a portion of that realm, just as those following them also did. For even in the fifteenth century after Christ's birth, there were two other lineages known to have sprung from the Turcomans and who possessed a part of Persia, and are therefore counted among the rulers of those lands. The first was called Kara Koyunli, that is, the black sheep, from which the following kings descended;
13. Kara Iffuf, that is Josef the Black.
14. Amir Scandar, son of Iffuf.
15. Ioon-xa or Johan Shah, son of Scandar.
16. Acen Ali, son of Joon Xa. These two, father and son, were destroyed by Hafan Al Tawil, descended from the second Turcomannic lineage, named Ak Koyunli, that is, the white sheep, by the writers. The kings who sprung from this lineage are as follows:
17. Tur Ali Beg.
18. Phacro'ddin Kofti Beg, son of Tur Ali.
19. Karah Ilug Othman, who perished in battle against Amir Scandar around the year 809 of the Hegira, having lived over 90 years.
20. Hamzab Beg, son of Ilug Othman, ruled for approximately 39 years.
21. Johan Gir, son of Ali Beg, and grandson of Othman, ruled for 24 years.
22. Hafan' Al Tawil, that is, the Long, whom Teixeira calls Ozun Azenbek, and Leuncavius in his Turkish history Ufun Chasan, regarding which it should be noted that *Ufun* in the Turkic language also means "the long"; he was also a son of Ali Beg and brother of Johan Gir, having (as is claimed) Despina as his bride, daughter of the Greek Emperor Calo-Iohannes, who ruled over Trapezunde and Pontus. Hafan died in the year 883 of the Hegira, which corresponds to the year 1478 after Christ's birth, having reigned for approximately 11 years.
23. Chalil Beg, or, as Teixeira calls him, Sultan Kalil, son of Hafan, ruled for six months and a half.
24. Yacub Beg, son of Hafan, and brother of Chalil, a learned and ingenious poet, ruled for 12 years 2 months.

25. Majih Beg, the fourth son of Hafan, did not retain the crown due to the division among the realm's rulers. Therefore, Ali Beg, son of Chalil, was declared king. However, because all the great men did not have equal standing in this selection, Bai Sankar Mirza, son of Yacub Beg, but only ten years old, ascended to the throne. He remained in a military campaign after having reigned for one year and 8 months.
26. Rustam Mirza, or Rostambek, son of Maksud, and grandson of Hafan, ruled for 5 years and 6 months.
27. Soltan Ahmed, or Hagmed Beg, son of Ogurlu Mohammed, and grandson of Hafan, reigned for approximately one year.
28. Alhwand Mirza, whom Teixeira calls Alwan Bek, son of Yus'eph or Iffuf Bek, and grandson of Hafan, ruled for one year.
29. Morad, son of Yacub Beg, reigned for approximately seven years. This Morad was the last of this royal lineage; being from Shah Ifmael ## Reisen.

Ismael in the 914th year of the Hechire era, or according to our reckoning in the year 1507, driven into exile and deprived of his lands and kingdom; so that for over two centuries Persia has been ruled by another royal lineage until this very day. We will trace these rulers in order up to the present time, briefly noting their names.

Sceich Haidar, a son of Jonaid, some say descended from Ali, grandson of Mohammed, was the progenitor of the following kings. His father, Jonaid, or Gioneid, as others say, was considered a holy man, just like his great-grandfather Sheik-feti or Saffi'ddam, son of Gabriel, who traced his lineage back to Hofsin, son of Ali, and had a large following in Ardavel or Ardebil, located in the province of Adirbaizam. Such an increase in reputation and number of followers greatly vexed Joon Xa, king of Persia, from the Kara Koyunli, or black sheep, so he forbade him from gathering so many people. Jonaid, defying this prohibition with his retinue, moved to Diarbek, the territory of Baghdad and Mosul, where he was received amicably by the king of that territory, Hafan al Tawil, also called Azenbeck and Ufun Chafan, who then gave him his own daughter, or bride (for there is disagreement in the accounts), named Kadja Katum, through whom he gained this son, Scheich Haidar. Subsequently, Jonaid's followers, under the pretext of piety and zeal for their beliefs, forced all they captured to join them throughout Gurgestan. Thus, advancing, they also overwhelmed Trebizonda, and killed the king of that territory; Haidar, son of Jonaid, then ascended the throne. Meanwhile, his father-in-law or stepson Hafan or Azenbeck had already conquered King Joon Xa along with his son Acen Ali, thus seizing control of most of the Persian Empire. Encouraged by the successful outcomes of his campaigns against Gurgestan, Jonaid proceeded further into Schirvan, a province of Persia on the

Caspian Sea, but was completely rejected by the inhabitants, who harbored no good feelings towards him. It is said that Haidar also married a daughter of Hafan or Azenbeck, named Alemcha, and with some troops he received from his father-in-law, or, according to others, whom he himself had gathered, swept through Gurgestan entirely; but when he marched into the field against Feroxhzad, king of Schirvan, to avenge his father's death, he remained in the camp with his sons, except for two, namely Ismael and Yar Ali, whom others call Ali Parcha. These were captured by their uncle Yacob Beg after their father's death, but eventually released by Ruftam Mirza, who followed him in the region, under these conditions that they should remain near their father's grave in the garb of poor men. They did so until Ruftam Mirza came to inherit, when they fled again for fear of Ahmed Soltan, who ascended the throne in Ruftam's place. Finally, Ismael at the time of King Alwand Mirza raised a whole army drawn from people who adhered to the beliefs of Ali. With this war force he defeated Alwand along with his son Morad, and also the other kings of Schirwan, Diyarbek, Bagdad, and others, thus conquering all the lands of Persia with such good fortune that he was established in that kingdom, and his descendants have borne the crown of Persia until this day. He called himself Sofi, which in Arabic means someone who goes about clothed as a spinner of wool and is an ardent Muslim. With what guise Ismael apparently wished to signify his former state. He was fourteen years old when he became king, reigned for twenty-four years, and departed this life having grown old at the age of eighty. The kings of Persia then follow each other in this order from that lineage.

1. Shah Ismaël Sofi reigned 24 years.
2. Shah Tahmâf, or Xa Tabmas, was pardoned by his wife, who had borne him a son named Haidar, dying in the year after Christ's birth 1576 at the age of 68 years, having ruled for 54 years.
3. Shah Ismaël II, son of Tabmâf, died in the year 1578, having reigned one year and 10 months.
4. Shah Mohammed Chodabandah, son of Tabmâf, and brother of Ismaël II. was blind. He died in the year 1585, after having reigned for six or, as others say, seven years.
5. Shah Abbas, son of Chodabandah a skilled ruler, died in the year 1629, being aged 63 years, after having reigned for 45 years.
6. Sam Myrza, son of Sefi Myrza, whom his father had murdered because he was beloved by the people. Now when Sam Mirza became king, he called himself, at the command of his grandfather Shah H h h

Sefi ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Sefi reigned for twelve years, starting in 1642. 7. Shah Abbas II, son of Shah Sefi, ruled for 24 years and died in the year 1666. 8. Shah Selim, son of Abbas II, died on September 9th in the year

1694, having reigned for 28 years. He was succeeded by his son: 9. Shah Selim II, or Soliman Huffain, the current King of Persia, who ascended to the throne in 1694 after his father's death.

Here I will conclude the history of the Kings of Persia, without doubt believing that the reader will find my promises fulfilled and enjoyment therein. Now is the time for us to continue our travel narrative and pursue our journey until we reach our homeland.

CHAPTER LXX.

Excavation of a River. Preparations for Departure from Persia. Departure from Spahan. Arrival at Kasjan, Cohm, and Sauwa. Meeting with the French Envoy. Description of the city of Kasbin. Sultanieh. Arrival at Zim-gan and Ardewil.

During these days, work began on excavating the Zenderoe river near the bridge Alla Werdie-Chan, where approximately five or six hundred men were working. Seventy thousand men had been allocated for this task, with the Armenians of Julfa obligated to provide 6000 at their own expense. This was done to ensure that the water flowed more freely, as previously mentioned, preventing significant damage caused by erosion during rains. However, they are struggling; the sides they raise with earth or timber are easily washed away by the force of the high water, since all this work is undertaken without any stakes or other supports.

On February 25th, news arrived from Taurus with letters stating that the aforementioned Envoy Michel van Constantinople had arrived there, as had the previously mentioned Fabre's attendant, Michel having departed for this court a few weeks prior to send him back to France via Erivan and then Aleppo. However, failing to arrive, he continued on his way and reached Taurus, from where he was returning. The aforementioned woman, under the protection of the local Governor, set off on the same route, being provided with thirty *Mamoedjes* for sustenance, amounting to approximately two ducats per day. It was said that there was still a remaining Frenchman with her, along with about 30 people who were in service

to the Governor. This caused various comments and considerations among all people, eager to know how this undertaking would ultimately conclude. But we will speak more of this later.

Having finally settled on departure, I prepared everything for the journey and bid farewell to the English Agent and other friends, both those in the city and those at Julfa. I entrusted a package with letters to be sent to Batavia and Gamron, and went to the residence of our Head Merchant, where I stayed until the

following day, taking leave from this gentleman in the afternoon, his Second, Difpenfier, and Assistant seeing me off outside the city, accompanied by seven foot soldiers. We arrived at approximately nightfall within the *karwanfera*, located opposite the aforementioned Royal garden, named Koestonna. We had our evening meal by torchlight, as darkness began to fall, with the cold provisions we had brought along. After a final drink of farewell, these friends rode back, and I retired for the night, feeling very unwell due to a severe cold caught the previous day. Two Armenians came to me the following evening: with one of whom I decided to make the journey home. For he had been in Persia before and understood some Dutch.

We continued our journey the next morning at nine o'clock from Spa-han. ## Travels

We found many watercourses in these plains, over which we crossed by means of small bridges. We had a view of many places and gardens, and surveyed much water across the land. Three hours after noon, we arrived within the *caravan sara* at the village of Riek, having covered five miles. The strong wind brought much cold with it; many mountains were covered in snow, which had melted on the slopes near Spaan. Our company consisted of twelve men on horseback. There were eight baggage camels, some of whose servants sat upon them. I had three horses for myself, the others being for the two Armenians, and there were three or four footmen with the camels; also two other Armenians with little merchandise; a Georgian, and the driver of the baggage camels, also an Armenian like the footmen. We had decided to travel steadily by day, and not by night, not only for greater safety but also to avoid the cold of the night. We set out again at seven o'clock in the morning and reached the end of these plains two hours after noon, where there are two *caravan saras*. Then we rode into the mountains, where we could see little of our surroundings due to the mistiness of the morning. Just before sunset, we arrived within the *caravan sara* Sardaban, having covered eight hours. Here, eight *fluivers* were required to pay a toll for each baggage camel. In the morning, we mounted again and rode through the mountains into the beginning of the plain next to the King's garden, called Garf-tasjabaat. Here we saw various villages and gardens, also another large plain between the mutually lying mountains, which one sees on the right hand. We found most of the water on the roads covered with ice.

Subsequently crossing the mountains, we arrived within the *caravan sara* at the village of Garf two hours after noon, having covered five miles. This *caravan sara* we found quite empty. At four o'clock after midnight, we proceeded into the aforementioned large plain, which is very beautiful; until we stayed in the *caravan sara* at the village Boes-abae t, eight miles away. We had gone mostly N. West, without hearing of any lodging or resting place. The road however is very good. This village appears quite grand. We parted from here the following day and rode through the same

plain. This morning two Mahometan Georgians passed us by, having a following of fifteen or fourteen people with them, all equipped with muskets, lances, shields, bows, and crossbows. They were heading towards the King, taking along with them their amusement in shooting with the bow and running the horses, fluting also at times. Whereupon we stayed together for a while. Just before noon, we strengthened ourselves with provisions, and waited for our baggage camels. At two o'clock we arrived at Kasjan, located six miles from our last resting place. Here the *Bafaers*, passing by, I bought various silk fabrics, which, as I mentioned above, are made here very beautifully and with excellent colors.

On the seventh of the month, the Great Fast of the Armenians began, during which time, for nine-and-forty days, it is not permitted to these people to eat any meat, fat, butter, eggs, or milk, even on a journey. Which being highly commanded by their Patriarch, they also diligently observe, eating nothing but bread, rice, oil, vegetables and fruits: a poor diet indeed for travelers who are accustomed to living more liberally. Wine however, that is something, they may drink.

The following day we traveled through the same plain, where one sees many places on both sides. This morning the aforementioned Georgians came back to us near the village of Siefen, taking some refreshment from our supplies. Here we had most of the high mountains behind us. At four o'clock we had covered six miles, proceeding then into the *caravan sara* Ab-bi-fiferien. The other travelers also took shelter; for here are various *caravan saras*. In the morning, we continued our way with the gentle company for a large part, encountering various caravans. Five miles further on, at one o'clock after noon, we entered the *caravan sara* at the village of Gaffum-aba. The following day, riding through the same plain, we had a view of various places, finding the peasants busy plowing the land, with two oxen before each plow. An hour after noon, we settled down in the *caravan sara* at the town of Cobm, four miles from our last resting place. With the day, we traveled through the same plain, which here is mostly waste and uninhabited. An hour after noon, we came upon some dilapidated *caravan saras* and other buildings. Another hour further on, we stayed in the *caravan sara* Sjaffalaba, having covered six miles. Shortly before sunrise,

Vaften der Ar- meniers.

Hhh 2 we ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Journey

We continued across the same plain and crossed a bridge over a stream flowing through the land. Then we passed through several waterways; in one, due to carelessness of the people, two pack animals fell, one of which was mine. However, they were rescued without getting very wet. An hour before noon, we rode through a

strong-flowing river where the horses went up to their bellies in water but all got across safely. One of the Armenian servants, riding alongside his horse, partly laden with goods, tumbled off as he almost reached the other side. We rejoiced that we had overcome this difficult passage. Our horses were tired, and therefore in danger of falling, so I myself led my pack animal by the reins, fearing that my goods might get wet if they fell, although I had carefully wrapped two chests with cotton and linen in Spahan and packed them into a thick sack. Now we still had several other waterways to cross, having seen in the meantime the appearance of a small village and raised black tents. Three hours after noon, we had covered six league miles and arrived at **Sauwa**.

Sauwa is quite large and resembles a town more than a village, partly surrounded by an earthen wall. It has several towers and a beautiful, large *Mad-Zjid* or church, covered with a blue-glazed dome. Outside one finds also a fairly beautiful cemetery. There is also much vegetation like a forest, where we could not see any pleasantries now in the season. I brought on arrival from the south side a view of it onto paper, sketched out.

Sauwa.

Formerly this was a brave town, but now it is completely decayed, as is the case with many towns in Persia. There are several *karwan* serais here, quite convenient for sheltering people and cattle. Here also toll is paid on goods, namely about twelve stivers for each pack animal.

From the toll collector, who had recently been at the King's court, we learned that the companion of Envoy Fabre, of whom we have spoken several times now, had arrived there and become a Muslim. He had seen her himself and knew she had a scar near one eye. He added— ## Reisen

He added that the talk concerned a gift sent from the King of France to the King of Persia.

Here we understood that the roads were very unsafe, and even within our caravan, a Georgian Christian had his entire possessions taken by robbers five miles from here. They were, he said, ten or twelve men on horseback, and two on foot, all armed with muskets. He had laid down his flaps, having seventy guilders in money with him. I and the two Armenians, out of pity, gave him so much that he could continue the journey to Kasjan. We took here two persons on horseback with a letter from the Commander, because there were no soldiers here, so that we might have five or six people armed with muskets for our safe keeping in the nearby village. We stayed here, to have the beefs shouted out, until the fourteenth of the month, when we started at the beginning of the day. At ten hours we reached the end of the plain and the beginning of the mountains, which after passing through in an

hour brought us into another plain, and two hours after noon to the place called Gangb, consisting of gardens and a caravan stop. The two men whom we had taken with us went ahead at our command, who on approaching us brought five people armed with scythes and clubs. With this escort we proceeded without delay, coming here also upon our own caravan with camels. At five hours we reached the interior of the caravan stop Goskaroe, eight miles from the place where we had left before. The next day at six o'clock we set out again, and at ten o'clock arrived in the mountains, where we found much water from the snow, which was partly melted. At noon we were through the most dangerous places, where the robbers hide themselves. Here we handed over the fighting men that we had taken with us. Two hours after noon we rode past the caravan stop Hoskaroe, a large building where the robbers sometimes hide, and where there are so few people that they can be robbed. I myself did not ride in or out again, and found the house empty and deserted, and full of rooms, some of which were dilapidated. At four hours we came with a very strong wind into a small caravan stop to the village Alla-langb, which is located in many gardens, having now traveled six miles further.

The following day we set out again into the same plain, where there are many villages and gardens. This night much rain had fallen, so that the roads were full of water. We also had to cross several small rivers, with the high mountains covered with snow before us. At eleven o'clock we had traveled three miles, and arrived at the caravan stop at the village Abbefabath. With the day we continued through the same plain with strong wind and cold, so that there was much ice in the water. The villages and gardens in these valleys, with the surrounding high snow-covered mountains, give a pleasant sight to the eye, especially in good weather. At eleven o'clock we waded across a broad, flowing river where the horses went into the water up to their bellies. We got safely across, and rode on through much water that was lying on the land, also over several stone bridges, and a long stone paved road. We met some caravans with camels, and shortly after noon rode again across a large river, causing one of the Armenian servants to drop his load-bearing pack far away. However, he received prompt help. Here we were close to a large caravan stop, and then proceeded for a considerable distance over a stone paved road, where on both sides there was a stream flowing, with most of the land under water, except closer to the city of Kasbin, where it is higher and drier. We had an eight-hour journey to complete that day, and the sun had been down for three hours when we finished it: so the light of the moon, which shone brightly then, was welcome to us. Upon arriving at the city we rode through it for about half an hour before reaching the caravan stop; so we were busy with this day's journey for fourteen hours.

In the morning the interpreter of the aforementioned Envoy, Mr. Michel, came to greet me, as news had spread that a Frenchman or European had arrived in this city, where the Envoy

had stayed for several weeks. I went to greet him after noon, to fulfill the duty of courtesy. He received me very kindly, as if he were a man of great politeness. He was still young in years, and yet had been used at four other courts by his King, and had attended the war in Poland. We stayed with each other for a while with great pleasure. He revealed to me the displeasure he felt about being in this kingdom, where he was received so badly. Hhh
3 ## Cornelis de Bruins

It was given to him that he had not been sent as an envoy of the King to this court. On the contrary, he showed that he was the first to be sent into this realm by the crown of France. Hereof, he said, his letters and considerable gifts were enough proof, clear evidence of the dignity with which he was honored. He displayed the letters and gifts to me, and alongside a letter from the aforementioned woman requesting permission to accompany him on the journey to wash his linen and attend to other necessities. She had behaved very shamefully on this trip. Nevertheless, she was brought before the King's court. For they would not have surrendered her to one who had intended to send her back to France in chains or to punish her for the matter itself. Thus it was with him; and they did not wish to allow him to proceed towards the King. However, he devised a plan to go despite their attempts to prevent him, and subsequently departed by night from here, leaving only two or three of his family members in his inn. The rumor was that twenty men on horseback had been sent to keep him there. But he was not concerned about this, having with him approximately eighty men, and so much firearms that he could arm an equal number.

We were compelled to remain for three days here because our horses were too tired to continue the journey. We then sold some of them and acquired others in their place.

As for this city, it is located in the northern part of the land of Ayrack, north-west of the city of Spahan, in the plain, about an hour from the mountains to the north. It is very large, full of gardens, as well as *Zenaer* and other trees. The most notable feature here is the Jumma Mat-zjit, or Sunday church, which is covered by a beautiful, glazed dome of great size, having two such towers. It has a large foregate just as we have seen the churches of Spahan. Besides this, there are two or three others of note; the rest are merely common. Furthermore, there is a large royal house. The *Chjaer-baeg* is small and surrounded by *Zenaer* trees and other vegetation. The Meydoen, or market square, is fairly large but not remarkable. Here all goods are brought. The shop places are very meager. Most of the houses are flimsy and many are dilapidated, just like the caravan serais. In the caravan serai where

we were lodged, there stood four *Zenaer* trees around a running canal in the middle. Here reside the Armenians, having above one corner their chapel for service, which is particularly small: so that from outside it would appear more like a pigeon or chicken house than a church. Here also come their women from outside over the caravan serai. We found some poor Jews here as well. Around evening we heard the sound of music on the Nagroe-chone, or drum house, which aroused a shrill sound.

On the 22nd of the month, we resumed our journey in the morning and found many villages in this plain. Shortly after midday, we arrived at the mountains and by three o'clock to the village of Kriskin, where we stayed after having ridden for five hours. The next day we continued on our way, traveling through much water, as the snow had now largely melted. We passed several villages in the plain. At three o'clock we descended into a deserted caravan serai in the village of Corondara, located six miles from where we had rested. The following day we set off early and saw most of the land being plowed. We encountered several caravans. By four o'clock we passed by the city of Sultanie, a good hour away from us, arriving an hour later at the caravan serai Kara-boelag, located eight miles from our last resting place. In this plain my hunting dog caught a certain animal that he brought alive to me. I dismounted from the horse, took it from him, and with me. Shortly after this he brought me another one. Upon arriving at the resting place, I put them in there to keep them for the following day. They appear to be a kind of land rat. It was told to me that they kept their bodies in the earth and grain as it is sown. In this landscape they are known by the name of *Zits-jan*. They are as large as a weasel or hare, but shorter in fur and tail. In shape and color they resemble a young rabbit. But the head is shorter. The two lower teeth are well half as long as the upper ones. On the front paws, which are somewhat shorter than the hind paws, they have four small claws, with a smaller one, and on the hind paws, having the likeness of a hand census ape. As I had never seen these animals before, I sketched them, as you see here alongside.

The following day, three hours after midday, we entered the city of Zin-Zingan, where we found the caravan serai so filthy and foul that we went to the other end of the town to find a lodging. ##
Journeys and Elevated Places

We arrived at a location with a high vantage point on either side. We divided into two groups and stayed there the following day due to the cold weather, which brought hail and strong winds. This place is desolate, and unremarkable in any way. The next day we departed early again, traversing hilly plains, moving further away from the mountains. We crossed through water frequently, including a strong current twice; the second time, our cart overturned carrying coffee beans destined for a distant location. At our resting spot, with the weather having cleared up, we spread out and dried the beans. In the afternoon, we took shelter

in the village of Mubul, approximately four miles away. That evening, it rained heavily and gusted for two or three hours, continuing throughout the night and causing considerable cold; we remained inside the house where we had taken refuge. Although I was covered from head to toe in fur, I still had enough to keep warm with two double blankets. Furthermore, I secured a large fire beforehand, while others huddled in small enclosures that they could barely obtain for money.

The following day, we continued on our way and reached the mountains around ten o'clock, steadily ascending. We encountered various depths between the mountain peaks where water flows, occasionally spotting a clearing. At three o'clock, we stopped at the village of Serg-Abeth, having advanced four miles. This place was as bleak as the previous one, which caused us distress because we had been heading north into strong winds and intense cold. However, we managed to find a reasonably good lodging in a particular house where we remained until the following day. Then we continued on with the same harsh wind and rain. After passing through several villages, we took shelter in a poor *caravansera* at the village of Agkant, having only advanced four miles because we had traversed soft ground, encountered water in many places, and ridden over high mountains. That evening, I felt some fever, caused by the cold and rain. I drank hot wine with *fui-ker*.

DIERTJE ZITS-JAN. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

Having set out and become fatigued, I resumed the journey the following day, as we remained until the last of the month to allow the horses to graze here. Then we continued onward over high mountains and through much water. In the afternoon at two o'clock, we arrived in the highlands of Taurus, inhabited by the people called Cafelsan. This has been described before, and the view of the bridge alongside the river Kurp is shown. We crossed this bridge and further on for a large distance through another flowing stream named Kurpu-koebaey. Subsequently, having ascended higher into the mountains, we descended to a place five hours after noon, now approaching four miles. Here I used feathers for the first time, consuming some provisions over two days.

On the first day of April, we climbed the other mountain where we found many graves of those buried from nearby villages lying between the mountains and therefore invisible. In this area, one finds some cultivated land. We were compelled to remain here for a few hours as the laden donkeys could not proceed further; one of them had already perished on the road that morning, despite it being empty, making it impossible to continue. Several travelers and a brave caravan, well-armed with firearms, we encountered here. Now we had advanced four miles and remained in the village of Paggiesjiek for an hour after noon. The people with the

pack donkeys had settled down on the mountainside, unable to proceed further due to fatigue. The following day they came down from the mountain near us, one of their horses having died during the night. Around midday, we ascended again in fair weather, as on the previous day. At two o'clock, we arrived at the village of Ries, where they had settled alongside the houses. We remained there until the following day when we resumed our journey over rising and falling mountains and deep ravines through which water flowed. Before noon, we saw three or four villages in the distance. From one of them, some people on foot approached us on the road, demanding a toll, with which we had much trouble. However, we were forced to appease them with a few *Mamoedjes*. Shortly thereafter, three or four others arrived on horseback, armed with lances, who also demanded the same thing, despite being told that the toll had already been paid. They claimed they wanted nothing and that the toll should be paid to them, so that the Armenians, if they fled, would have to give eight or ten *Mamoedjes* to them. To resolve this difficulty, we moved on alongside a small stream or brook, where there was beautiful land and mostly cultivated with grass, wild spinach, and many white flowers each having six long, slender leaves, of which some had three on the stem but without scent. Also many small blue *Hyacinthen*. This provided an agreeable sight, as one rarely encounters it in these arid lands. At five o'clock, we arrived at a small caravan-stop in the village of Koere-i, six miles from the aforementioned resting place. Here I found myself very uncomfortable again. The Armenians went to the city in the morning; but I sent some of my goods with servants and remained until the following day. Then we departed from there and arrived within the city of Ardevil, *Komft* after having traveled five miles. In Ardevil, the Georgian died that night, who had been traveling with us from Spahan. There was then a great deal of concern that he might be a Muslim. Two of the Armenians, being sickly, grew better.

In the following days, mourning continued over Huffein again, as we have spoken about before. Now it was again remarkably unstable, windy, cold, and sometimes rainy, and on the ninth of the month there fell such a quantity of snow that houses and buildings were covered in a short time. I constantly took four remedies in my room, especially because I was still uncomfortable. We were compelled to remain here to join a large caravan that had departed from Spahan before us and had now arrived here, so as to be able to travel more safely through the *Morganfe* land, where it is very unsafe due to robbers. Many Armenians went from here to the city of Gilan, to cross the Caspian Sea from there to Aftrakan. I gave one of them money to buy some pieces of silk fabric for me in that place, which are made very beautifully there. The town of *Dieftadt* is reckoned to be about six days' journey

away. In this city of Ardevil, they only make cloth half silk and half cotton, but it is quite good considering the price given for it. ##
Chapter LXXI.

Departure from Ardevil. Extortion of the Toll Collectors.
Unfortunate Case of a Persian. The Rivers Kur and Aras. Arrival at Samachi. Territory of the Persians. Fertile Landscape.

We departed from here on the seventeenth of the month towards the village of Mierafræf, where we were wonderfully accommodated in the dwelling of the master of the caravan. The following day, although the weather was not improving and snow continued to fall steadily, we traveled two miles further to the village of Sabbad-daer. Here we found a large caravan on the road, which was muddy and full of water. The livestock enclosure was particularly intricate, as the smoke from the fire took its course through the door, and we were compelled to remain indoors due to the dense snow. But on the nineteenth, we mounted again and rode over a large stone bridge spanning the river Kaffoe, which has a narrow course. Here, the toll collectors counted all the livestock, requiring payment of three *mamoedjes* for each four beasts and one for each horse ridden. I had already paid three *mamoodjes* for mine upon exiting the city gates and two for my goods within the caravan fare. It was reported to me that the money collected at this bridge did not belong to them, but rather that they extorted as much as they could from the travelers. We continued past several places and then settled down in the field near the village of Koroet-Sjaey, having advanced three miles. The following morning, we proceeded onward through snow and mist for three miles and remained in the field. On the subsequent day, we traveled over hilly terrain in better weather and stopped again in the field near the village of Barfand, four miles from the last rough place. This territory does not belong to Ardevil nor to the Mogan region but exists independently. Therefore, three *Mamoodjes* must be paid as toll for each livestock here. Our route was mostly north-eastward. The following day we traveled forward only two miles through the difficult terrain and settled down by a running stream where everything was brought to us from the nearby village of Baesje-Zaboran. Here, the land of Mogan begins. The people of all the villages here are known as thieves.

The following day we rode through the swiftly flowing river Balbaroe and along a large stretch beside it. Then we had to pass through it again, but this time it was much shallower. We left it on our right side. Here we found tents and livestock scattered around. A caravan from Samachi intending to go to Spahan had also settled here, with which we joined after traveling two miles further. We let the cattle graze in the field, as this land is entirely covered with grass, a sight that was pleasing to behold, as it is not common to see in the regions of Persia. It was everywhere covered with small yellow, white, and horse-colored flowers. The

following day, this Sunday, the Armenians held their Easter feast with a beautiful young lamb, which had been purchased beforehand. The following day we set off again, and the caravan also departed onward towards Spahan as expected. We rode steadily through the green valley but found difficult water when we were three miles further on.

The following day, one of the Persian merchants suffered the misfortune of falling from his horse, breaking his ribs. He was initially unconscious and unable to speak. One of the company took him in his arms onto his horse to carry him to the nearest rough place, where they walked for two hours, having advanced three miles, without seeing any people or livestock that day, nor being able to obtain any food supplies. Meanwhile, efforts were made to help the injured man as much as possible, particularly with *mummy*, of which we had spoken before and of which I was solely in possession. He was given as much of it as needed mixed with fresh butter. But one could see that it would not have a great effect, and he would not live long. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Travels

As night fell, they carried him back to Ardevil to be buried there.

On the 27th of the month, we had traveled two miles and stopped again in the field. The weather was beautiful, allowing us to enjoy the sight of the mountains of Shirwan. Early the next morning, we continued on our way and arrived at the rivers Kur and Aras eight hours later. We settled down at the place where these streams converge. I found this area quite different from before; previously it had been sparsely populated, but now everything was level and flat. Throughout the day, we transported all our goods as before, which the fine weather greatly facilitated. On the 29th, we continued along the riverbank for a good stretch to the north, then with some curves towards the east. The countryside here was, as I said from the other side, barren. We sought shelter in the field without finding water. On the last day of the month, early morning, we resumed our journey and found good water flowing from the mountains—it passed through the ground so that it seemed to gush from the mouths of the rocks. An hour before sunset, we arrived at Samachi. Here I greeted a Russian gentleman named Bories Fedowits, whom I had previously known as Colonel when he was stationed in Aftrakan and who now resided in this city as Consul for His Majesty the Tsar. He received me with great politeness, and I enjoyed his favor, as I was eager to continue my journey with him since he intended to travel to Viefaway and Aftrakan.

On one occasion, something happened here: some Persians committed a serious offense within the homes of the Fathers Jehuites, breaking into their monastery to help them. But by good fortune, one of the Jehuites, who was also a doctor and well-known among them, was at home. He used persuasive words so effectively that they retreated back home. However, they returned

again, but without further trouble. Such incidents occur daily here; the sole cause is the current governor, a man given to indulgence, who spends his time with his companions drinking excessively, announcing that the King has granted freedom to drink wine. As a result, the common people also indulge in this excess, causing so many bad occurrences that foreigners cannot use the streets unless they want to be pelted with stones. To avoid this danger, I stayed indoors, where I was safely protected from being hit by stones on several occasions. All this trouble, I say, stems from the actions of the city magistrate, who has no aptitude for practicing such a profession and is not considered more than a child; in contrast, the recently deceased governor was treated with great respect when I passed through, as he was known to punish criminals according to their merits—with death. It also contributes greatly that the soldiers do not receive their pay on time, causing them to resort to acts of violence. Even the Moskovites here are aware of this, and they are not treated properly. As a result, someone from this people pointed out to them how close the Tsar was and how easily he could invade their land. But they replied that they could endure such things and believed they would be better off under the rule of that prince than under the administration of Persia, as they had heard that the inhabitants of Moskovia and Ruflant were treated better. They said that if the Ruffians came, they wouldn't even take up their rifles but would surrender the city to them without resistance. Indeed, they prayed to Mahomet, their prophet, that this might happen. Considering these disorders here and the advantages of a flourishing government, it seems certain that taking a chance on this territory for His Majesty would be well worth the effort. The prize is not insignificant in Persia, as the main income falls on this side, separated from the other territories by the river Aras. Certainly, the remarkable revenues from Gilan—of cotton, saffron, and more—are well known. Furthermore, this land produces fine wines, white and red, of which the former is quite strong but very good when mixed with water. There are also fruits of all kinds: beautiful apples, pears, pomegranates, and similar fertile land produce. In particular, this territory, extending towards the side of the Georgians, is especially beautiful and fertile. But there are no people to cultivate it. It is also abundant in horses and animals that provide sustenance—sheep and wild fowl in abundance. Moreover, there is plenty of rice and grain, and therefore good bread. Here at

Samachi.

Lax discipline. ## Reisen.

by is'er een schoone haven voor de schepen tot de stad Baggou. Die hier dan het opperbewint hebben, zyn genoeg in flaet om zich in weinige jaren te verrijken. Het zoude myns oordeels een schoone parel aan de kroon zyner Czaerfe Majesteit zyn, en niemand beter paffen in het bezit hier van te zyn, dewyl deze

Vorst hier naeft aan grenzende de beste gelegenheid daer toe heeft, en zyne onderdaenen, als hier handel dryvende, den staet des lants kennen, dat, zoo ik my niet bedriege, met een kleine macht van volks in te nemen en te behouden was, als men maer eenige fterkten opwierp tot veiligheid des bezitters.

Nu bereidde ik alles tot de verdere reize om met den ConfuL, die myn verzoek toegestaen had, te vertrekken. Myne brieven, die ik naer Spahan te zenden had, gaf ik aan den Jefuit, van wien ik even gesproken heb, over. Want deze Vader toonde my veel bewys van beleefdheid, en quam my dagelyx uit vriendschap bezoeken. Hierom beklagde ik hem en zyne medegenoten te meer. Want deze luiden zeker leven hier in zeer groote onveiligheid, altydt in vreeze dat door de ongebondenheyt van 't graeu hun eenigh ongeluk wedervaren zal.

LXXII. HOOFDSTUK.

Vertrek van Samachi. Komst tot Niefawaey. Vertrek van Niefawaey, en komst tot Aftrakan.

Ik verliet deze stad den 24 dezer maent tegens den avont, nadat de ConfuL met alle de Ruffen reeds voor af gegaan was, en zich nedergeleggen hadt tusschen de bergen, ter zyde van den gemeenen wegh af, een uur van de stad. De zon was pas onder, toen ik my by hen voegde. Veele andere partijen van Armeniers en Indianen ont- hielden zich dicht aan den gemeenen weg. Wy trokken des anderen daags vroegh voort, rydende ten negen uren nevens een overbylffel van een vervallen gebouw, dat ik geloofde een grafplaats geweest te zyn, dewyl'er vele fraeje, doch verbroke zarken om flonden, en eene gemeene daer ontrent lagen. Een weinigh van daer reden wy door een rivier, en verscheide waterloopingen. Het gebergte is groen en aengenaem bezet met meeninge van kleine wilde bloemen en kruiden. Ons by eene der waterloopingen wat opgehouden hebbende reden wy eenige reizen tusschen de bergen door de rivier. Ten agt uren vlogen wy ons neder benevens een rivier, by een krepelbofch. Des anderen daags begaven wy ons weder op wegh, rydende een groot fluk langs de rivier, van waer wy in bergen quamen, die meest in bosch bestaen. Toen gingen wy weder door de rivier, en leiden ons ten zeven uren daer by neder. Hier vonden wy vele beeft en opgeflagene hutten. Des morgens onze reis voortzettende quamen wy na weinigh tyds in de vlakte der Kaspifche zee, daer zich meeninge van dorpjes, tenten, en beeft in het groen vertoonde. Veel bezacht lant was hier ook, dog om de laegte ook veel water, daer we telkens molten doorryden. De Ruffen hadden zonder de laatbeeft en eenen anderen wegh genomen. Ten zeven uren kregen wy tusschen de zanthuvels het gezicht der genoemde zee. Wy hielden de binnen- zyde des lants tot by den avont, rydende toen de zeftrant langs, dewyl wy een inham daer van, die in het lant loopt, door- trekken moesten. Hier vond ik meeninge van

toetsteen in het zant, waer van ik 'er eene met my nam. Ten tien uren kwam en wy te Niefawaey aen. De Ruff- fen hadden zich van de ftrant af nederge- flagen, nevens welke ik ook myn plaats nam. Hier lagen zes Ruffische vaertuigen gereedt. Veele tenten flonden 'er ook langs de ftrant, waer onder een gedeelte van het goedt der Koopluiden lag, en het overige onder dekkleden voor den regen bewaert wert. Op de plaats, daer wy ons verbyf hielden, was een houten huis, opgesteld door de Ruffen, die hier overwinteren. Het overige beftont in tents. Ik bragt 'er het gezicht van op het papier, gelyk het zich op de volgende bladzyde vertoont. Twee of drie dagen daer na braken de Ruffen het geen ze hier opgetelt hadden weder af. Toen bega- ven wy ons naar den zee Kant, die hier maer een vierde deel van een uur was. Hier begon men de goederen in te sche- pen. Maar door het fterk waegen van den Oosten wint ftloof het zant zoo ver- vaerylk, dat men hier eeneige dagen uit- itel mede nemen moft. Van dit onge- mak, door het zant veroirzaekt, hebben wy boven in de befchryvinge deze gewo- ## Cornelis de Bruijn

View of Niesaway.

weften spoken. These goods consisted mostly of side and rice. While we were here, I sketched the appearance of this street from the southeast side, as indicated by the number 240. I added the tents and some tables made of tall reeds, along with the ropes used to secure the vessels on the shore and, when necessary, to be wound around on land.

On June eighth, all the goods were loaded onto ships. The smallest vessel also departed for Aftrakan. Now, another arrived from Tirck or Tarku, anchoring nearby. Here we saw two vessels arriving from Aftrakan. On the afternoon, I went aboard the largest vessel with which the Conful and his retinue were to be shipped, along with three or four Armenians. In the morning, I sketched the view of Niesaway from the sea, lying northeast of the shore. You see this depiction in No. 241, with the high mountains always covered in snow behind it. In the afternoon, one of the two vessels from Aftrakan arrived here and fired three shots. At two o'clock, the Conful came with the people he had with him, also aboard, when we set sail with the other three vessels. We had 80 people on our ship, including thirty sailors. The rest were travelers. In the afternoon, we anchored off Flitse. Throughout the morning, we sailed through Flitse and reached Derbent by the afternoon, five hours from Niesaway, but so far out at sea that we could not recognize the city. At night, we continued our course northward. With the dawn, we saw no land anymore. In the afternoon, we sighted the land of Tirck due to a northern wind; therefore, we anchored thirty fathoms offshore until the fourteenth of the month. Then, with an eastern wind, we sailed again, but in the evening, due to the wind's shift, we anchored again until the sixteenth of the month, when we sailed bravely westward until the following day. Then, the opposing wind forced us to anchor again

at twenty-four fathoms of water. On the eighteenth, with sunrise, the wind was east northeast and the weather fair, so we set sail again. In the afternoon, we found ten fathoms of water, nine and eight at night, seven and six in the morning, and around four in the afternoon. Here the water became whiter and not as salty. A vessel from Aftrakan arrived near us, wishing to anchor off Niesaway. The Con- ## Niesawaey: Two Illustrations

The first illustration portrays a coastal scene at **Niesawaey**, showing several boats moored close to the shore. On land, there's a camp with tents and a building where smoke rises from a fire. Several figures are visible – some seated or standing near the fire, while others seem to be occupied with activities along the beach. In the background, more people can be seen walking towards or away from the water's edge.

The second illustration presents a wider view of **Niesawaey**, featuring a large expanse of water dotted with boats. A prominent sailboat is positioned near the foreground, while smaller vessels are scattered across the water. The distant shoreline is lined with trees and low-lying structures, set against a backdrop of rolling hills or mountains under an overcast sky. ## Travels

We encountered a group of people who came aboard our ship after hearing us speak and then departed. At four o'clock, we reached waters so sweet that we drank them and found them particularly pleasant in flavor, which was especially welcome because the water we had was already beginning to dwindle and become scarce, so it was rationed for everyone. Now we found three and a half barrels of water before nightfall. After sunset, the wind turned against us, forcing us to drop anchor on ten fathoms, with the ship's depth at 8 fathoms. Due to this opposing wind, which follows the course of the water in these seas, we occasionally grounded. And so we remained anchored until the 21st, when we raised sail again at three o'clock after midday with a favorable north-north-east wind. As night fell, the wind shifted and became calm, causing us to remain aground on the shallows, experiencing a strong northerly wind during the night and the following two or three days. The Conful sent our rowing boat to the other vessel that had been constantly accompanying us at sea, with instructions to send them to Aftrakan so that we would not be separated by other ships if the wind did not become more favorable. Now we caught a very strong wind from the west, followed shortly by thunder and rain. Here we only had eight fathoms of water.

On the 27th, at three o'clock after midday, we discovered three vessels which we initially took for pirate ships; therefore, we prepared to defend ourselves. We had two iron cannonballs, several particularly large wrought-iron pieces, and other firearms. They approached close, rowing strongly. We fired a ball towards one of them, causing it to turn briefly but then return closer.

Another shot was fired, and when we called out their origin, the reply came from Aftrakan. This revealed that they were the barges we ourselves had summoned, which relieved our fear and transformed worry into relief, especially since they brought us refreshment in the form of beer and other necessities. However, our fear was not entirely unfounded, as pirates often plunder on these seas—a bold and courageous people who are well-versed in all sorts of things. Their greed extends beyond goods; they frequently kill those they find aboard vessels. These pirates come from the mountains and are mostly Samgalen, among whom are also mixed some rebels who have been bought out from the Ruffen.

On the 30th of the month, we lay at anchor with a south-west wind and set course southward, having eight fathoms of water here. The wind failing to favor us again forced us to remain anchored. Here we experienced the familiar plague of mosquitoes during the night—each person struggling against these persistent insects with their mosquito nets.

On the second day, I departed from the ship at eight o'clock with a small barge that I took alone for greater ease, partly to no longer risk sailing into the good wind and partly because all my stores had run out. We rowed and sailed with the help of the north-north-east wind southward, having 7, 6, and 5 fathoms of water. An hour after midday, we sighted land to the north-north-west. First appeared a rough, long, low mountain, and two more such mountains further west. The fourth was even farther away, so that all were quite distant from each other. These are the four Red Mountains, which we mentioned in our outbound journey.

Here rises lower land extending towards Persia along that side of the Caspian Sea.

When entering the bay or inlet, it is useful to observe the people who reside on a barge nearby. The land around here is entirely covered with reeds or tall grass. We remained here for part of the night, anchoring and waiting.

On the third day of the month at eight o'clock, we came upon a fishery where observation was again made; later that afternoon to another fishery which was largely submerged in water, making it difficult to tread on land. Nevertheless, I ate my midday meal there with good bread. At four o'clock, we arrived at a third fishery and remained anchored throughout the night, drifting and fighting against the strong current. On the 4th of the month, we set out again early in the morning, seeing all the land submerged, which was now exceptionally high, causing many Tartar tents to be partially underwater. Thus, we gradually reached Aftrakan, where I greeted Knees Peter Iwanits Gawans-ke, the Governor of the place—a brave and astute gentleman who has been Governor here for over 20 years—and displayed my letters of passage. After

reading the letters, he kindly welcomed me and offered his services to provide anything I might need as long as I remained in Aftrakan.

Pirates. Arrival at Aftrakan. Greeting of the Governor. ## Cornelis de Bruins

I had received it. I replied with thanks that I was pleased with his favor, and only requested lodging in a particular house where I might have more comfort than in the caravans. He gave me here, on one occasion, a translator alongside one of his servants, who went into the city with me and found a place to my liking.

On the eleventh, our ship came before the city. The Governor ordered that my goods be brought to my inn without being inspected. I did not find any of my former good friends here on this return. For they had been killed in the disturbances that occurred in August of the year 1705 by the rebellious rebels or soldiers who destroyed Governor Timafe Ivanewits Urfofskie and Colonel de Wigne in the same disaster. Only three or four had left for Moscow a few days earlier, namely, the Governor's son with his wife, the Consul, about whom I have spoken, Captain Wagenar, and a certain healer; all other Germans with women and children, along with anyone who depended on them, were lamentably killed. Since then, His Imperial Majesty has sent troops to Astrakhan, and thereby seized the rebels completely, punishing most of them with death, as well as many who were associated with them. Thank God that I had left there and was already in Persia. The Governor's wife escaped the wrathful sentiment and remained alive. But her unfortunate fate overtook her on the journey to Moscow. For when the ship on which she was traveling came upon the Volga River, it caught fire, causing her to lose everything she possessed, and thus robbed, she arrived in Moscow where she soon afterward died.

Upon my return, I found fourteen barges together in the harbor, neglected by Captain Meier, who had also been killed in the disturbances. Five other barges had already been brought to the service of His Majesty for three months by Commander Laurens vander Burgh, a man of great ability. He had extracted them from the harbor with considerable effort and brought them into town to preserve them from the Caspian Sea. Work was being done daily to lighten the others, but so far only by two men, half of whom were ill. Three such barges also lay before the city, five others further from the city in the same manner.

Now more Dutchmen arrived daily in the service of His Majesty, and there were even more on their way. Here I lamented that the English gentleman, Maynard, about whom I spoke in my description of my stay in Zjie-raes, had become blind and so crippled in this city that he needed crutches and had undertaken the journey to his homeland.

While I was in this inn, it happened that the wife of the house, who had a room directly above mine, gave birth to a son without me or my companions noticing anything at all. We had seen many women coming and going, drawing strength from brandy. But that was more of an occurrence; so I merely thought they were visiting as usual. When my company dispersed, I inquired what had transpired. Shortly thereafter, the man, a scribe in the Kansfary, came to the house, whom I treated with some Persian fruits, such as pistachios, dates, and almonds for the women. The same evening, the women began to sing before the midwife's bed in a manner that seemed to lean toward the spiritual side. Having never heard anything like this from women in this city, my servant, who understands the Russian language, asked why the women were singing so. He replied that they were drunk. I then inquired whether he had noticed what kind of song it was; whereupon he informed me that it was for the birth of the child. The next day, when I came to the house in the evening, I found the midwife sitting alone in the open air below, having the infant hanging in a cradle before her. On the second day, she treated the women on the lower floor, serving them brandy herself, which they also partook of. I had heard much about this, but never seen anything like it.

By chance, going out, I found a bird at Vremde market called Babbe by the Ruffians, similar to our Waterbaler. I had searched for him here before and also in Spanhan in Persia, but could not find him. I offered him some vich, but he would not taste it, repeatedly throwing it away. He could not be held steady by the neck or kept standing; but he remained seated steadily with his neck drawn in, appearing as if he were a flipper. I sketched him in this characteristic pose, as he is shown here.

[Illustration of the bird]

Strange behavior of a midwife.

Ships neglected. ## REIZEN.

DE VOGEL BABBE.

He was still young and had not yet reached his full size, though he was already well over three or four times the size of a goose. His body and plumage also matched this scale. The beak is one foot and three inches long, and almost an inch and a half wide. At its end is a small yellow curve, similar to that of a parrot's beak. At the end of the lower mandible, the water sac begins, running subsequently under and past the neck to the throat. This pouch is so large that these birds can hold more than two feet of water within it. The feet are short, with a flat and broad underside, at

the end of which there are four small claws. Having caught this, I severed its head with part of the neck, leaving the crop or water sac attached to preserve it. I positioned it as you see here.

While I was present, he emitted various cries, mostly outside the camp near the Tartars, who had shortly thereafter turned against them. I have already spoken about these people, but will add a particular detail that has come to my knowledge.

In the year 1246, Keyne, called Gog-Cham, that is King or Emperor, was taken as the Supreme Ruler of all the Tartars, who also call themselves Mongols. This Emperor and his descendants usually signed their letters with the words "The Power of God, Emperor of the Whole World." On their seal were these words in a circle: ONE GOD IN HEAVEN, ONE CUYNE CHOM ON EARTH, THE POWER OF GOD AND THE SEAL OF THE EMPEROR FOR ALL MEN. They always maintained five armies to compel all those who would not willingly submit to their obedience. This first Emperor conquered fourteen kingdoms from Persia as far as Antioch, and two days further on, having subjugated the Prince Bajotnnoy, who ruled over all the lands of Christians and Saracens up to the Mediterranean Sea. Bajot was his own name, Noy that of his dignity.

The Tartars never had a greater leader than Batbii. His army consisted of six hundred thousand men, including one hundred and seventy thousand Tartars, Emperors, and four hundred fifty thousand Christians. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

...and other unbelievable soldiers. So that man, Chom, always had five armies, the number of whose soldiers could not be counted. This land lying to the East is called Mongal, inhabited by four kinds of people: the great Mongols, or Moals; the Saniongal or water-like Mongols, who are also called Tartars after a river named Tartar through which their land runs. The third kind was called Merkat, and the last Metrit. These four nations were of one form and had a way of life and speech, all distinguished by particular rulers, chieftains, and territories. There is also mention of a certain Gingis in the land of Jeka Mongal.

1. CHAPTER.

Departure from Aftrakan. Shipwreck on the Volga. Tartar raiders. Arrival at 't Zenogar and Zaritsa. Meeting with the Governor of Aftrakan. Arrival at Saratof.

Having come to the time to part ways, and through me and a Georgian lord who had been an envoy to the King of Poland and was now returning home to continue his journey towards Moscow, we requested from the governor a vessel that could transport us to the city of Saratof, along with safe-conduct passes that would be powerful enough to obtain horses for the journey in that city.

This lord provided me with three wagons, and the envoy as many as he needed. We received these letters on the nineteenth of this month and found the people ready with the vessel there. On the following day we departed with thanks to the governor and set sail towards the afternoon. Having been led under sail across the other side of the river opposite the city, we anchored to await two or three men from the remaining ship's crew. They came to us by chance shortly thereafter. We were towed along with a rope for a good distance and anchored at night. The next day we continued on our way, aided by the rope and trees, and the sail was hoisted around eight hours with a strong east wind. But the vessel pitched so violently back and forth, now over one side, now over the other, that we saw the danger of capsizing before our eyes. People began to speak of fetching another vessel or providing this one with more ballast if we had come further: but no decision was made regarding either. Also, the ship's hull was leaking. My advice then was to set the ship

ashore, because otherwise it seemed that we would have to endure an accident. Our company consisted of approximately thirty people, along with two horses belonging to the envoy: and the vessel was particularly small. In this fear, we began to take in a great deal of water. Meanwhile, around midday, we reached the mouth of the Seliter Gorod stream, where the old city of Afrakan once stood, located about seven or eight miles from the present one. Before we could set it down on a good spot, so much water had entered the ship that most of the goods were already soaked. Therefore, we did as much as possible to simply reach the ground in order to free ourselves and our belongings from further damage. This was accomplished by the people who jumped into the water for this purpose, with the help of our two smaller boats. In the meantime, the ship filled so much with water that most of the goods came out soaked. My first concern was for my two trunks, where all my papers and best possessions were kept. I had to abandon the supply of food and other small items. The two horses jumped, when the vessel completely tilted to one side, without any effort, directly into the river, as if they themselves understood the danger while standing in the water and wanted to save themselves. Here we spent two long hours working diligently to dry each of our belongings. We thanked God that we had come to such a good bargain. For if we had capsized in the middle of the river, no one would have survived, because the water has a very strong current and the river is very wide here; so that the ship would have been lost. ## SHIPWRECK

we have sunk. In this state we informed the overseer and caretaker, appointed by the Governor to the Ambassador on the journey, along with his interpreter to be sent to Africa with one of our rowing boats, to inform the Governor of our misfortune, and to request another vessel from him. But as the wind did not abate, this delay had to be endured until the following day. They then departed at six o'clock, and with them went my servant to buy

new provisions, and to bring a letter to Commander Vander Burgh, wherein I informed him of what had happened, and requested the Governor to grant me leave, if within a few days another vessel could not be sent, to depart at the first opportunity that might present itself in another way; adding thereto that, should he approve of my proposal, I would like to have a rowing boat to return with my goods, until an occasion arose. Meanwhile, I sketched this *Aftéképlaets* with our sunken vessel and the appearance on both sides of the river, facing the city to the right side from the N.W. side, as we had laid down there under the sail of the ship, as is shown here alongside.

SHIPWRECK ON THE RIVER.

On this same evening at nine o'clock, Commander VanderBurgh came with his sloop to see for himself how we were faring. He had read my letter to the Governor, which replied that our misfortune was known to him, and that he would send another and better vessel within a short time, with instructions to have the sunken vessel retrieved if possible, and sent to *Aftrakan*. In the morning, the people began to bail out the water, which being partly accomplished, it floated again. But it did not last long before it filled up again and sank into a deeper ground. Then they removed the ropes from it and abandoned it. The Commander came to us again on the following evening, bringing the requested *lyftogt* for me, and the news that the desired vessel was already on its way, which he said he himself had inspected and found good, also larger than the wrecked one. He added here that the strake or the vessel had been sent by the G... ## Cornelis de Bruins

Gouverneur with fruits and other goods loaded, and sent to His Majesty, departed a day before us, also sunk, but the people thereof saved, and that day arrived at Astrakhan. But the Tartars had come upon them and taken all that remained. Fortunately, we lost the ship so close to the city. In the morning, the aforementioned vessel, which was much better than the first, arrived. Everyone began working diligently to bring everything aboard so that we could depart the following day. Little work is being done here now; we saw only six or seven people.

Raiders. On this occasion, the Envoy, between 8 and 9 o'clock, while walking a short distance from us, encountered about ten people who he saw running towards the shore to call for help. But they fled behind the bushes and took flight, so that we could not hold them back with firearms or other weapons due to the high vegetation and hilly terrain. In this new vessel, we now had 15 soldiers, who also performed the work of sailors, whereas we only had 12 in the other ship. We kept watch at night with two soldiers. People worked diligently, despite the difficulties, to do everything necessary to move the vessel forward. Here on board, we loaded our goods and people again, as well as the two horses, and departed two hours after noon against a headwind. Ten soldiers

went to the towline to pull the ship. The river was about half an hour wide here, but after two hours it narrowed to about half its width. Now the wind changed, and the water became calmer. Here we heard that another vessel, which had left shortly before us, had been wrecked. It had been decorated with many flags because it belonged to a Burgomaster of Astrakhan. The people on board, they said, were also saved. We flew two flags, one forward and one aft, on the ship. We also had four lanterns, and flags on two of them. In addition, there were two small cannons belonging to the Envoy, besides other firearms, bows, and arrows. The soldiers each had a blunderbuss, and I mine with two large and two small pistols. Thus we were reasonably well armed, and found good comfort in this ship. I will not say much about this river here, as I promised to do so on the journey back and have marked the most important places. It is worth noting that one must always use the towline when facing unfavorable winds, because the current of the river is against you, which slows progress. This often requires anchoring in strong headwinds. We saw a few Kalmyks here and there.

On the 28th of the month, we passed a watch on the right side of the river at the corner where the land separates, through which the Volga flows into the Caspian Sea. The river appears like a vast sea between this separation and the land. In the middle of the river, there is also a watch house, mainly for the night. The guards came to our ship in a rowing boat but immediately went on their way again. We then passed many Kalmyks who were fishing with rods. We threw them bread, which they swam towards. Many of the aforementioned birds, called Water Carriers, appeared here. Now we were towed along the right and then the left side of the river as it suited the circumstances. We also avoided areas where Tartars are frequently found. Two days rowing over an inlet of the river on the east side, where the land loops around and returns into the Volga. Hereabouts, we landed among the Kalmyks, consisting of men and women who were quite eager to examine my clothing, as such things rarely came before their eyes. They examined me not only from head to foot but also touched all my clothes to see how many layers there were on top of each other. They placed their feet, which were small and bare, next to mine to measure the difference in size. They did the same with their bare legs to see the difference in height of the knees, which they had rather short. I found the women also short in stature, stout and round in flesh, like the men in general. I bared my chest to my shirt for the women, who examined and touched it carefully. When I had satisfied them, I showed that I had the same curiosity about them; whereupon the women began to laugh and satisfy my eagerness. Their clothing—these common people—consists mainly of a skirt made of sheepskin or other hide, depending on the time of year. For this season (I ## Travels

(I speak of the wretched sort) they go about with half their bodies exposed. The boys run mostly naked. Their head coverings consist of a braid or topknot, like the women have two. Others wear a cap or a *bingel* on their heads. Some have bare heads and a skirt of poor cloth, running without shirts, wearing only trousers under that skirt. Their faces are mostly flat and broad, their cheeks protruding, and longish. Seeing that I smoked tobacco, they showed some interest in sticking it in their noses or chewing it, the women being eager for that as well.

We then sailed along the eastern side to avoid the western side, which is full of Tartar thieves. We encountered several vessels daily. We still had to navigate through several inlets of the river, which was done with ropes and poles; a work that takes much effort at times, especially when you have inexperienced people aboard. At these places, fishermen often come, from whom one can sometimes buy good fish.

On September 2nd, we anchored near the place where the Supreme or Governor of the Kalmyks rules over this nation. He had sent twenty men to the western side of the river, all armed with muskets, to keep the countryside clear and safe from the Tartars' robberies. We therefore saw many of them rowing back and forth in boats. This happened mainly because the Tartars had come ashore by night and taken about twenty horses from the Kalmyks, along with one of their men. They tried to pursue them but returned fruitlessly.

Having gone little further, we learned that several Cossack robbers were hiding near this countryside. We therefore kept a vigilant watch.

On the 7th of the month, we came near the city of Tzenogar, where we remained at anchor due to headwinds and sent the rowing boat with people to the city for supplies of *montkoft*.

That night there was a strong wind that brought us great fear, as it had already drifted far from the shore by dragging the anchor. To prevent further inconvenience, two ropes were attached to the steep and high landside, remaining anchored thus because the wind did not subside. Some of our company retired to rest: but I, with the recent shipwreck still fresh in my memory, could not bring myself to sleep, but waited patiently for daylight. When it rose, we sent our people back to the city for refreshment, as we were forced to remain here anchored.

I had made it a habit to give each of the ship's crew a cup of brandy daily. The Envoy reprimanded me for this through the interpreter, saying that they were not worthy of such things like stupid oxen and that too many people had gone to the city again. I replied that I had bought the brandy beforehand and distributed it to the ship's officers to win their favor or in case we might encounter an accident, as there was no one else who could help

me, which I had learned through experience. That you couldn't make them better or more experienced by scolding and arguing with each other, and in any case, had to continue the journey according to the saying: He who is shipped with a trickle must also take a strap along to get over it.

That very day, as we approached the city, we fired all our muskets. We saw several vessels lying there.

The second day here, we continued on, in such cold that one had to resort to warm clothing, which was quite strange at this time of year, especially since we had experienced great warmth before. In the following days, we were grounded several times due to the incompetence of the rowers and lost our anchor through their carelessness, as there was no order on the ship, and the boatswain had as much say as the steersman, which meant that things could not go well, causing me to lose my patience. For in the mornings, when one would set sail, one had to wake up the soldiers, who also served as sailors, and the children, ten or twelve times, encouraging them with words to come out for the day; commonly, because they slept in their shirts, an hour would pass. I thanked God every day that no accidents befell us at night, especially from the robbers, as I often found while lying on deck under the mosquito net that those on watch had laid down to sleep themselves. When we then anchored to rest or were caught in rain, we had great difficulty getting the people moving again.

Kkk 2 ## Cornelis de Bruins

Gen. Here we saw a large vessel on the river in a forest, which had been wrecked by high water.

On the 16th, we arrived at the city of Zaritfa. There is a white church there, newly built of stone. The city has been largely burned down this year and not yet completely rebuilt. We stayed here also the following day, because we had to take on other ship's crew. The previous day a vessel from Saratov had arrived, which had been plundered by the Kaffke Russians, who make this water unsafe with small boats. We learned that this people showed themselves to be in numbers, yes, even up to a hundred. I spoke about this with the Envoy and asked him to request some more soldiers for our security from the Governor, who would certainly send them if he were offered a tribute. For without money, little can be expected from this nation. The Envoy, although I willingly offered my assistance in that regard, had no ears for it, so I had to have patience. Meanwhile, the people from two other vessels lying there informed us of their intention to depart with us the following day for greater safety, a plan which was also approved by the Governor. A third had been hoisted for us and we found it on the bank, half submerged, because it had taken in much water through a small hole. As a result, most of the goods that were in it were wet, and the Russian merchants were

now busy drying them, having already stopped the leak. They said they would follow us within a short time and came to our anchor two hours into the evening.

On the 19th we passed by two fisheries where we found the river quite free of ice around them. Lying at anchor this evening, we kept watch with the guns all through the night, because it was very dangerous here, letting the soldiers rest, except for one who had to patrol the line all day. These people were better than the previous ones and thanks to them we made greater progress daily. Some of them were not familiar with gunpowder, which I shared with them. In the morning we encountered a vessel that had been plundered by forty robbers the previous day. We also saw three vessels approaching, towards which we held our guns high. But as they drew nearer, we found they came from Saratov and Kafan, one being an open rowing boat with soldiers, suitable for Aftrakan. Subsequently, we entered a bay of the river, a straight hiding place for thieves to come in and out with their small boats without being seen, because it is surrounded by trees. We kept watch again at night as before and at three hours before dawn continued on along the same West side, because it is not convenient to do so on the East side. Shortly after that we ran aground on a sandbar where we stayed for an hour, and then were battered by the strong wind from the East side, where we had sought refuge in a bay of the river, dropping anchor and staying there until eight o'clock in the morning when we could not reach the other side due to the large sandbank that lies in the middle of the river. Here we raised the sail and, with the help of ropes and trees, worked our way around the corner, when we sailed forward with a favorable wind; just like one of the other vessels that had anchored on the West side during the night, while the others had continued on.

In the afternoon we found in a small bay on the far or West side a large heap of onions which the robbers had taken from the aforementioned vessel and left there. A little further on we saw two small rowing boats with people on the shore, whom we first took for robbers but then discovered to be fishermen.

This evening a bark passed us coming from Saratov and having departed from Aftrakan, and now returning here. Afterwards we met the new Governor of Aftrak-an, named Peter Matfewis Apraxim.

He had with him about thirty vessels, seven of which were large. His was adorned above with a red sash-cloth and had a pavilion. From behind and in front it had a large flag, like on the mast, with a pennant above it, both white in color. Some others were blue, white, and red, just like ours, but with the colors reversed. In one were depicted two eagles, the arms of His Majesty. In one of the large vessels women appeared through the mutual window openings. We held back to let them pass: that gave a light and

pleasant sight on the river. Meanwhile, the Envoy sent the Governor some watermelons, made in our manner on his float, coming upon it. ## A View of the River.

Saratov.

The city sprawled along the banks, a panorama of faded grandeur and quiet resilience. The **Volga River**, wide and powerful, dominated the scene, its waters reflecting the sky in shifting shades of gray and blue. Buildings rose from the embankment – grand neoclassical structures hinting at a prosperous past, interspersed with more modest Soviet-era apartments, their facades weathered by time and the elements.

A sense of stillness permeated the air, broken only by the gentle lapping of water against the stone quay and the distant hum of traffic. The riverfront was alive with activity; elderly men played chess on benches overlooking the water, while families strolled along the promenade, enjoying the rare moments of sunshine.

The **Saratov Bridge**, a colossal steel structure, arched gracefully across the Volga, connecting the city to the opposite bank and symbolizing its enduring spirit. It stood as a testament to engineering prowess and a vital link in Russia's transportation network.

"Saratov is a city of contrasts," an old local remarked, gesturing towards the river. "A place where history whispers from every corner, yet life moves on with quiet determination."

The air carried the scent of damp stone, river water, and distant wood smoke – a familiar fragrance that spoke of generations who had lived and worked along this vital waterway. It was a scene both melancholic and beautiful, a portrait of a city shaped by its relationship with the **Volga**. ## Reisen: Chapters LXXIII & LXXIV

With his attendants, and a Georgian to thank the envoy who had presented him with a small flask of brandy upon returning from whence they came. In the meantime, I captured the appearance of this encampment on paper, and provide you with an image thereof at No. 242. They had not set sails due to the unstable winds.

Nearby, there appears a mountain that is flat on top, merging with other mountains. It is called the Thieves' Mountain, as robbers used to take refuge there in the past. In the following days, we were fortunate enough to have favorable winds, and finally arrived at the city of Saratov on the 28th of the month before

nightfall. We disembarked from the boat, having been weary of traveling and rowing for a long time, and entered the city with joy, going to an inn in the houses designated by the Governor.

LXXIV. CHAPTER

The Governor of Saratof's Politeness. The Manner of Life of the Kalmyks. Departure from Saratov. Arrival at Petros-kie, Pinse, Infere, Troyetskie, Djmink, Kasjiemo, Wo-lodimer, and subsequently to Moscow.

To offer some proof of fulfilling my duties to the Governor, I went to greet him the following day and offered a few watermelons brought from Aftrakan, and other Persian delicacies. I also showed him my letters requesting that he provide me with the necessary items for the land journey to Moscow. He received me very politely, saying that the three horses and wagons requested, and any other things I might need, were ready at my service. The following day he sent me his interpreter, asking me if I would like to keep him company for a while. To which he readily provided a rowing boat for me to cross the river to see the Kalmyks. Upon arriving there, I found that these people, both men and women, were displaying many goods along the bank. The same is done by the Ruffians from the city side, bringing with them various edible wares, such as rice, bread, and other items; also linen, trinkets, boxes, and whatever else the Kalmyks desire in exchange for horses and other livestock, butter, and anything further they have to trade or sell. I sketched from the riverbank, at a height removed from it, these people as they gather along the shore. This image also shows a portion of the city on the other side, as indicated by No. 243. I ventured inland for about half an hour to see their tents, which I found were woven, as indeed all these people were. For the most prominent among them had withdrawn into the countryside several days before our arrival. These remained in various groups within woven tents, resembling those of the Tartars that we depicted in the description of Aftrakan, although the Tartar ones are more ornate. All theirs are open above and covered with scant fabric. When I returned to the city, the Governor sent his servant to my inn, inviting me to breakfast with him at nightfall. He had also requested the envoy, whom I already found upon my arrival. The conversation was polite and courteous. We lingered there for a few days longer than we had intended, as the Governor had dispatched many people to pursue the robbers and search for some escaped prisoners. Thus, we had to wait until the seventh of October. Meanwhile, we completed the wagons, which required some work. For the wagons one finds here are all open. Therefore, they are often fitted with wooden hoops, just as one sees on our *kales*, and covered with mats or blankets, not only for this reason but also to be safe against snow, rain, and wind. We had four of them fitted out in such a way that if

one were to take other horses in other cities, one could take new wagons and attach them, as is the custom there. We then departed ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journey

With thanks to the Governor at two hours in the morning with twenty-three wagons, of which he reserved twenty for his service, and the remainder for my use.

The road from here is a beautiful and flat sandy ground. Covering the wagons proved quite taxing. It was very cold due to the strong wind. An hour after midday, we arrived at a solitary place within an enclosure made of wood where one rides, and a small wooden house for his service. This was warmly heated, which greatly relieved us from the cold, allowing us to take our midday meal there. Having refreshed our spirits, we continued onward over somewhat hilly terrain. At nine hours in the evening, we were thirty verstas (approximately 31.5 miles) from the city and arrived at an inn where we had to ride a particularly difficult stretch of road, causing three wagons to roll backward uphill. The following morning before dawn, we departed again and found the road covered with snow. We took our meal in the field, as there was no shelter or trees to be seen. However, we gathered enough wood to make two or three good fires. At five hours, we entered the city of Petroskie, where the Governor assigned us lodging in his house. This place is fairly large and enclosed on the outside with poles that are connected. The city itself is partly surrounded by a wooden wall, as are all the houses, according to the custom of this land. Several churches are made of wood, as are the gates, which lie somewhat away from the city. The city has wide streets of hard clay ground. Here we obtained other wagons and fresh horses, and on the following afternoon at three hours, departed over a good, grassy expanse. Having ridden an hour, we came across a fairly large wooden bridge located between the division of the high ground where the water, which was now scarce, flows through. Near the city is also a river or stream. As the sun set, we remained in the field, having covered another ten verstas. Here we arranged the wagons in a circular pattern and made a large fire in the center. The servants did the same outside. Two hours after midnight, we departed again into freezing weather through a bad marshy ground where we got stuck three or four times. Subsequently, we found a good road and arrived at midday at the village of Kondee, which is divided into two separate groups of houses. Riding again from there at three hours, we passed through two villages. Adjacent to one called Apaneka runs the river Kaminke. This place is seven or eight verstas from the city of Pinfe. We stayed here in some houses where one simply walks in without asking. We chose the best and enjoyed the warmth of the stoves. On the tenth day of the month, two hours before dawn, we departed again and arrived at the city of Pinfe at ten hours, where one first arrives by means of a large wooden bridge over the river Pinfe, which is final. The aforementioned river flows into this one, which to the southeast curves into the lowlands from the city.

Many kinds of fish are caught here, such as pike, bream, perch, and others. The city is very large. Its location lies northwest of the river, against and partly on the hill, like the castle, which is also large and enclosed with a wooden wall where some towers are. Several wooden churches are there, and wide streets. The city extends mostly in length. It is not unpleasant due to the abundance of trees. Many houses are also on the other side of the river. One estimates this city to be several verstas from the common border. Here we had to obtain other wagons, which were still not as well-made here as in other cities, because they must be obtained from the surrounding villages. While waiting there, we saw several Swedish prisoner-of-war commanders. The following day, after sunset, we departed again and passed through two villages, reaching the third village called Biffin, where we stayed until ten hours. Then we rode throughout the entire night with a spirited pace through various villages. Approaching the village of Persiene with diligence, we had to cross a wooden bridge through a place that was so difficult that it took us long to get through. On this road, we found much plowed land and signs of haystacks. We stayed here until ten hours and arrived within the village of Pettin with the setting sun, having now covered twenty-four verstas. On the thirteenth, we departed an hour before dawn, still having five or six verstas to go to reach the city of Infere. We arrived there at eight hours and made our way into the houses to await replacement horses. Here, as in the previous places, we found the food very cheap. A good hen costs one silver coin, and for the same money, fourteen or fifteen eggs, sometimes even twenty. It happened occasionally that one could find forty or fifty, and also two hens for the same price. ## Travels

had taken place. I bought a clean rooster for 3 fluivers, and also for that money a suckling pig, and a grown boar for ten guilders. A grown sheep for 10, a lamb for 5 fluivers, a goose for 2, and bread according to need.

As far as this town is concerned, it's unremarkable. It has a wooden wall enclosing it, and several towers. The rest of the town resembles a village. Since the Governor was outside the city, we couldn't clear the horses for the 15th of the month; moreover, the Envoy was partly responsible, refusing to pay what he considered due, adhering to his letter stating that he had nothing to give until this place. Finally, they agreed on half.

So, we continued our journey and, having ridden for two hours, found ourselves eight versts from the village to the city of Jems-koy, which is fairly large and equipped with a wooden church. Here one crosses over a wooden bridge. Before nightfall, we arrived at the village of Katsjalava, being eight verstes further. On the 16th early in the morning, just outside the village, we passed along a long stone bridge over the Mokfa River, which flows into the Ocka River. Then we rode through a forest that was eight verstes long, then through a village consisting of two rows of

houses on a very wide thoroughfare. One finds many such villages on this road. We then came across a bridge covering the aforementioned river, which was covered in ice. At noon, we arrived at Troyetskie, now three verstes further, from where we rode another six verstes until 5 o'clock to the village of Belt-föjatsjas, located 30 verstes from the city of Inhere. The next day, after midday, at 3 o'clock, we departed from there and proceeded eight verstes to the village of Abrefna, where we stayed for a few hours. Then we hurried on through several places to the village of Miegalskie, located 15 verstes from the last place of stay. On the 18th, we set off with the day and rode through many small forests, through which the aforementioned Mokfa River has a fairly wide course. One crosses it by means of a wooden bridge, where there is a guardhouse. At nine o'clock, we arrived at the city of Djmnik, about which little can be said, as it's just unremarkable, without a castle, and lying open like a patch. On the 20th of the month, I was ready again with my three horses and wagons; but the Envoy's request to follow could not be met. They wouldn't let him follow the horses without the customary payment, so much time was lost for me again, who dared not continue the journey without company. Finally, they agreed on an hour each: and thus we rode an hour after midday from there, and for a short while outside the city along with the aforementioned river, which also runs past the city. Then we got into the forest, where it also flows through. Here we met many Russian travelers. Further on, we had a bad road in the forest, where we only made it through at nightfall. Then we stayed for a little while outside in the village of Vedenapina, now having traveled fifteen verstes further. Early in the morning, we set off again, riding outside the village alongside the same river. Then we got into the forest, where we also crossed the river over a long, narrow wooden bridge. Subsequently, we had a bad road close among the trees with many deep pits, so that the axles of the wagons broke seven or eight times, which took much time to repair using young tree trunks. In this forest, we rode past a small chapel where some clerics revealed themselves. But we were forced to stay there because an axle of one of the wagons had broken, as nightfall overtook us and these roads are not to be used at night. We then built large fires around the hard frost and kept good watch. Now we were about fifteen verstes further. After passing the night, we set off again, riding alongside the aforementioned river for two hours' time, where we came a half hour further with a wooden raft, being transported on two rowing boats, with two wagons always being transferred at once. I found this river here to be approximately two hundred paces wide. On the other side is a small plain before the forest, where we stayed until two o'clock after midday, as two more wagons had broken. After more than two hours, we got out of the forest onto a flat road. Having walked another hour, we stayed in the village of Koelikove, located ten verstes from the place where we had spent the night in the Koeliko-forest. This place is on high ground and has a long furrow in the lowlands, where some water flows that is now frozen. All around one sees forest. On the 23rd, setting off

with the beginning of the day, we again crossed the aforementioned river along a wooden bridge. Subsequently, we had bad roads in the forest, and three or four times descended into the valleys near the mountains, where we found wooden bridges because some waters that were now frozen there ran their course. ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journey

We arrived at the village of Aloffa an hour before noon, having covered fifteen verstas. After riding another fifteen verstas, we reached the village of Zervata, where we spent the night. Two servants of the Envoy had been left behind in the last village due to drunkenness, and they had drowned themselves in brandy. The Ruffians had robbed them while they were still asleep, stripping them of most of their clothing and hats. They arrived at our camp in that state. Several councils were held regarding this situation. We didn't find it advisable to send people after them; therefore, we left it at that, continuing our journey two hours before dawn, which was still largely through wooded areas. Several times we passed inlets of the river, and then alongside the Occa River, where we arrived at ten o'clock to be ferried across, having covered fifteen verstas. This crossing occurred again in the same manner as previously described, but now with four wagons each time, spreading out the horses. Some Ruffian travelers were already busy being ferried across. In the meantime, I sketched this view after a gift from the *Zuitzyde*, from where one sees a large inlet of the river, which, as far as I could tell, runs from East to West. However, I couldn't be certain based on my feeling, because the night before my compass had broken. You see the depiction here.

| VIEW OF THE OCCA RIVER M. Pool Sr.

We were busy with this crossing until two hours after noon. Afterwards, we rode through wooded areas alongside the same river. Around evening, we spent the night in the village of Monfo, which lies outside the forest and beside the river on a height fifteen verstas from where we had been ferried across. In the morning, we advanced another fifteen verstas to the town of Kasjemo, which is of little importance. The following day, we received other wagons and horses and continued onward in the afternoon over sandy roads. We saw several places along the way.

Subsequently, we traveled through a forest of small trees and arrived at the village of Zerbalova within four hours, located fifteen verstas from the town. Around evening, we trudged laboriously through the woods with very dark weather and poor roads, causing several wagons to overturn and some to break down. This forced us to stop for four hours after midnight. An hour later, the Envoy and some of his retinue continued on. I was unwilling to ride in the darkness and waited for daylight, then set off with my three wagons. ## Travels

Wegh, leaving the rest of the people there. At nine o'clock I arrived at the village of Nove dereefne or 'the New Village,' located a short distance outside the forest 25 *wurten* from Zerbaloa. At midday we continued riding again through dense fog along a poor road. Having covered ten *wurten*, we spent the night in the village of Jikešowa, and on the following day rode early again through wooded areas but along better roads. After covering seventeen *wurten*, our meal was at the little village of 't Sookwa, from where departing we encountered some people with fine horses who were turned aside by ours, as they belonged to the towns on the other side. The road became worse further on, so that several wagons broke down again, including mine in such a way that the pair went forward with the front wheels and left me with the rest in a pit. This mishap took up time again, so we only arrived at the village of Orfamaghiene with the dark evening after covering 20 *wurten*. That day we had passed through several villages, and received such inconveniences in the morning due to the poor quality of the roads that we stayed for a while in a small village after having traveled ten *wurten*. Further along the road, the wheel of a wagon broke down again, which kept us waiting until another was fetched from the same village. Then we rode 20 *wurten* further to the village of Siegonau, where there were also some other places that we passed through. On the 30th, riding forward, we found much water, through which we had to ride several times. Around midday, we saw the city of Wolodimer from the opening of the forest for a short distance, which is located on a height and gives a pleasant appearance with its numerous small white churches. Having come further, we found ourselves at the river Clefma, which runs south of the city and flows into the Volga. Here we were transported across with a large boat, each time with seven or eight wagons. From there, we went up a steep road through a town that was 20 *wurten* from the last mentioned place. I found it large, lying on several hills separated from one another, far and eroded, also against and along them to the river. It has built seven or eight churches of small size, several also of wood. The castle is surrounded by a wooden wall. This city is also called Wolodimer. Actually, it is a principality, and lies 150 *wurten* from the city of Moscow, lying between that and the city of Nijb-novogorod to the north or northeast, and between that and the city of Nizhny Novgorod to the southwest. We stayed here until November 1st, when we departed again in very misty weather after midday. Finally, we had higher land and better roads, seeing several villages. At four o'clock, we rode across a wooden raft of beams attached to the river Wortfa, where a village of the same name lies. Now we had come 13 *wurten* forward. This evening also came here the Governor of the city Pinfé, whom we invited to our meal. He accepted our request and departed after the meal towards Moscow. He had only two people with him, without hindrance from any baggage. Four hours after midnight, we also left there across a plain, subsequently entering a forest where a very wide road runs through it, and the trees appear on both sides like a planted avenue or walking gallery. At eleven o'clock, we

crossed the river Lietma, then through the village of Boediena, having covered 20 *wurten*. We had a multitude of guides armed with large sticks, who were far ahead, as well as the scouts, an iron spear. This village is located in a large built-up plain surrounded by forest. Two hours after midday, we rode again and arrived at four o'clock across a smaller river and through the village adjacent to it, then back into the forest to the village of Peteoske, where we stayed after covering another 12 *wurten*. On the 3rd, we continued on our way through a sandy, flat road with little vegetation, and arrived at the village of Sallo-pokro at ten o'clock, which is large and decorated with a small church. Here we got all kinds of food, also here that was not available in some of the previous places, and very white bread. But everything was more expensive here. This price for food.

One had to pay 4 *fluivers* for a chicken, and pay accordingly for everything else. Now we were 13 *wurten* from the place where we spent the night. Subsequently, we came through three or four villages with wooden bridges in the lowlands, where we found small rivers or watercourses. At six o'clock, we stayed in the village of Sjeleve 18 *wurten* from the last lodging place. In the morning, we rode again in dark and misty weather, but along a good road, and through several villages. At nine o'clock, we arrived at the river Clefma, where we were transported across with a raft of beams lying on the water, each time with four or five wagons. Here I wanted from the height to

The city of Wolodimer.

The river Clefma.

Location of the city. ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

The river required us to transfer our luggage to a wagon; my right foot, however, on the frozen ground, slipped so severely that I fell and lay in considerable pain for quite some time, initially believing my leg was broken. They carried me onto the wagon, across the river which is fifteen *furrows* from the last resting place. Another five *furrows* remained to reach the village of Ragofa, where we arrived around eleven o'clock. Here I discovered that my ankle on the outside of my foot was swollen with two knobs, each two finger-breadths high, making it impossible to stand; they had great difficulty helping me in and out of the wagon. I treated it with *mummy*, which I had brought from Persia and always kept with me, taking a small amount internally as well, applying it wrapped in cloth on a poultice, as best as could be managed on the wagon, though I continued to travel with it. We departed again shortly after midday, having passed through five or six small villages, and arrived at the village of Teggera twenty-five *furrows* further, just before nightfall. Now we were only fifteen *furrows* from Moscow. The following morning, we set off two hours into the day in very misty weather over a remarkably smooth road,

encountering numerous wagons. Finally, around nine o'clock, we arrived at the city of Moscow. The Envoy remained with his retinue in some houses outside the city, awaiting an audience and lodging within the city walls. However, I made my way to my previous inn. Upon being helped out of the wagon, I found that my foot was completely swollen. I applied the same remedy again, and believing the evil entirely gone, I rode with the *fledge* (carriage) to the Dutch Resident, Mr. Vander Hulft, as I felt able to walk a little. But the next day, this movement proved too much, causing my foot to become so inflamed that I was forced to stay indoors. I used the *mummy* again, but without success, for which I blamed myself, having moved about too much. The following day it felt even worse, prompting me to seek a wound healer and other remedies. I kept the leg poulticed for another fourteen *furrows*, and in six weeks afterwards, I could still walk very little.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Rebels Punished. Grand Birth Celebration. Arrival of the Czar at Moscow. Author's Conversation with His Majesty. Beautiful Apothecary, and Other New Buildings. Four-Horse Carriage. Departure of the Czar.

At the end of this month, I rode with the Resident outside the city to the estate of the aforementioned Knees Bories, to offer my thanks for the letters of introduction given to me by the Governors of Kafan and Aftrakan. He received us that afternoon in the company of his wife and other women. I also greeted Mr. Charles Whitworth, Envoy on behalf of the Crown of England, who received me with particular courtesy and afterwards kept me at table. He even came himself to my inn to examine what I had brought back as noteworthy. On December 17th, thirty persons were taken from within the city of Moscow, having participated in the murder that was committed against the Germans and others in Aftrakan, about which I have spoken previously. The condemned stood in a circular formation, with five beams laid on the ground arranged in a triangular pattern; six men were placed upon each beam, and thus dispatched by the executioner with an axe. They began this around midday, and everything was completed within half an hour. It is scarcely believable how little ceremony accompanies such punishment here, nor how passively these people, quite unburdened, like lambs, submit to suffering, whereas in other lands so much fuss is made to help even a single criminal escape. For three days afterwards, there was a celebration in the German *##* Reisen.

German Account of the Celebration of the Naming Day of Prince Alexander Danilevitch, Held at the House of General la Fort

The celebration of the naming day of Prince Alexander Danilevitch, which occurred at the house of General la Fort, was preceded by several days of preparations for the gifts to be presented. Present were the Princes, members of his Majesty's suite, the Tsars with their three daughters, and the Georgian or Militant Tsar who had ruled over the Georgian territory and was ousted by his brother, seeking refuge with the Tsar of Muscovy, where he is still maintained, along with his son, a General Field Marshal in his Tsar's service, captured near Nerva and now to be exchanged for the Sweedish Wagon Master held here, together with five Captains, six Lieutenants, seven ensigns, and the royal Secretary Tepati, also captured near Nerva, who has been released to facilitate this exchange and depart from Moscow towards Stockholm. Numerous Russian nobles and ladies were also present, along with the English Envoy, the Confucius, and others of that nation. Many Germans were there as well. The men and women were received in separate rooms. During the toasts, thirty shots were fired each time, both from small cannons and mortars. After dinner, dancing ensued, and in the evening, a firework display was set off to celebrate the name of the aforementioned fortress.

On the sixteenth of the month, the Tsar arrived in Moscow at midday, where cannon fire greeted him along the walls, amidst great rejoicing by the inhabitants who had not seen his Majesty for two years. I accompanied the Resident two days later to Preprefensk to welcome the fortress, which we found already settled within the fortifications. He received me with a cheerful demeanor, shaking my hand and welcoming me to his land. Subsequently, he proceeded to the court of his nephews, located nearby, first attending church, a small chapel. After performing the religious ceremonies, he went with his retinue into the courtyard an hour later; where we followed him. Here he met the Princes, who offered each member of the company a golden goblet filled with brandy on a silver salver. Each person accepted it with proper respect. Those who had emptied their goblets handed the goblet to the attendants present, who promptly refilled them.

Among this company were several prominent Russian women, as well as two or three German ladies. After the Princes had performed this act of honor, they rejoined his brother, who then gestured for me to approach, eager to hear a brief account of my journey and the manners and customs of the Persian Kings, and their court, as well as how things stood with the opinions of their women in the *Serraglio*. He also had a similar curiosity regarding the affairs of the King of Bantam. Upon my relating this at his request, I recounted everything to him in the Russian language, along with his nephews and the most prominent ladies. This storytelling lasted for half an hour, when a second goblet of brandy was passed by the Princes. Now I requested a safe-conduct pass from his Majesty to return safely to my homeland, upon which I received assurance that I would have it. Around

eleven o'clock, his Majesty departed, and I likewise with the Resident to his residence, where we spent the day pleasantly; being quite pleased with the honor I had rendered at this court.

On the twenty-third of the month, the Polish Bishop departed from here to return to his land, to be exchanged for Knees Jakof Feuderowits, general field war commissary, who was captured near Nerva. During this time, we received letters indicating that the Great Mogul, a man over one hundred years old, had passed away.

Before I bid farewell to Moscow, it is not amiss to mention some alterations made to buildings which occurred during my journey to Persia. What struck me as particularly noteworthy was a large stone building that had been started seven years prior to be constructed into a mint and subsequently transformed after a year and a half into a grand apothecary. The building is magnificent and tall, with an elegant tower on the front side. It lies east of the flot or cafe, in the place where the chicken and dove market used to be. In total, it has two floors, and above that, five tiers rise towards the tower. Upon first entering through the large main gate, one finds oneself in an open space. Then one ascends a broad staircase. Here, the first room is the apothecary, which is fifteen good paces deep and twenty wide. It is high-ceilinged with cupola-style vaults decorated with frescoes, then ## Cornelis de Bruins

When I was there, it was depicted as a town. The side walls have tall glazed windows. The other pillars are adorned with beautiful Chinese pots, which have already arrived according to models sent over; each pot has a portion inlaid with gold in the Chinese style, bearing the arms of His Majesty. This room has two doors, one leading into the chamber where the supply of spices is kept, and the other into the apothecary or laboratory. Both these establishments are beautiful and large, also built in a dome-like fashion, and high with floors. There is also a room suitable for the furnace house, another for the bakery, and a warehouse filled with salted meats and animals, which are kept here. There are several other rooms besides, including one for the President or Doctor. Another is for the apothecary, assistants, and boys. All these are on one side, and beneath them are several very large and beautiful cellars. Above the apothecary or laboratory, this Doctor has authority. After him comes an Under-apothecary and other clerks. This Doctor has great power over all those under him, so that he can punish them with death if they deserve it. All articles, powder makers, and wound healers are paid from this laboratory. The number of apothecaries belonging here is eight, five assistants, and over forty who work for it. For here a great deal goes on, as the entire military force, both naval and land-based, must be supplied with medicines from here.

This Doctor or Chief Manager is an Englishman named Robert Arskine, serving as physician to His Majesty's Royal Personage, from whom he draws a yearly reward of fifteen hundred gold ducats. He has been here for four years and has gained much esteem among the people not only for his experience and knowledge but also for his kindness and courtesy. When he undertook this great work, His Majesty presented him with a gift of two thousand guilders to encourage him to complete it. He stated then, when I was there, that he would have everything finished within a year. He was also busy searching for all the most important herbs, both those found hereabouts and those growing in the wilderness. These herbs and flowers, well dried, were recorded on paper in such a way that they could be identified there as if one could pluck them off; this was skillfully worked out. I have already seen a large book filled with thousands of herbs belonging to him. He also showed me a large piece of brown bread that had turned into stone, as many other things are found to be transformed into stone in this way. He also took along some people to send to Siberia to search for herbs, flowers, and what is of nature there. Only two gardens are maintained for this apothecary.

Since my departure to Persia, a Gathuis (hospital) has also been established here for the sick and wounded, built of wood in length on the north side of the Dutch Slobode (quarter) by the Jouse River. It consists of two sections. In the first one finds seven beds, each for two people, and in the middle nine, each for one person; on the window side there are also ten, each for two people. The other section is likewise arranged. Each section has three ovens or stoves. On the second floor is the Surgery Room. The upper floor consists of many small rooms, such as one for the Doctor of the Gathuis, one for the service of the Apothecary, and one for the Wound Healers. The apothecary consists of three rooms: two are for medicines, and one for drying and herbs, where the medicines are dispensed.

Next to this is a Linen Manufactory on Lakenbergrecht (linen production right), with a mill brought from Hol-reidery (Holländery) land. Also a Mirror Manufactory, by the Jufferenklofter (Ladies' Cloister) on the left side of the Moskva River. Here all kinds of mirrors are cast, even those three ells and a quarter high. They were also busy with the plan to renovate the red wall, called Kitaei, especially on the east and north sides, as well as with a slope at the Slotbren-gen (Castle Gate). Nearby, the three Jesuits who are here have built a small stone church in the Dutch Slobode, which has already been partly painted inside with Fresco. They were also talking about establishing a Printing House with Latin letters to print books and other things that have already arrived from Holland for this purpose.

Now it was the year 1708, whose Feast Day was celebrated with joy, and in the evening a grand fireworks display was set off within the city on the same place that I mentioned before. His Majesty had prepared a stately banquet within the daer flaandelogie (flannel factory). A few days later, His Majesty entertained the same company in the Dutch Slobode at the house of the aforementioned Herr la Fort, which now belongs to Vorst Alexander Danie- ## Reisen.

Nicholas Lewis, who has made it possible to build a significantly more substantial structure. After dinner, the Tsar began to honor the overseas merchants with his visit, coming in the evening with his usual company to the Resident's house, in the same manner as I have recounted in my description of my first stay here. After spending two hours there, he departed again to pay other visits, which kept him out until late. He found, as it were, that within two or three days he would be leaving for the army. Meanwhile, Mr. Grundt, envoy from the King of Denmark, arrived here.

In the last month, the merchants from Archangel returned here, having had such a bad journey due to great misfortune and hard winds as has not happened in many years.

On February 6th, seventy of the aforementioned Astrakhan rebels were beheaded; and six branded, having been hanged outside the city gates just a few days prior.

Finally, I received my two safe-conducts and departed from the Resident and all my good friends, as I had decided to leave in the month. For this purpose, as is customary, we hired wagon drivers to Königsberg. According to arrangement, I set off on the appointed day to the Court of the English Envoy, where the entire nation could be found. We spent the evening joyfully and prepared to depart with all the wagons.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Departure from Moscow. Arrival at Vas'ma, Dorgobuzh, Smolensk, and Borisov. Villages burned by the Russians. Return to Moscow.

W E departed then an hour after midnight, and arrived at eight hours in the morning in the village of Vefomka, where we had traveled 35 verstas. Our company consisted of seven people, among whom were four English merchants, namely, Messrs. William English, James Hewit, François Beefiti, and Joseph Wilkins; also the merchant Daniel Pell, and Joan Joachim Schroder, born from Hesfenkaaffel. Each of us had his own baggage, along with two wagons for the servants. We also had five riding horses, or by chance some of them might join us on the journey, as often happens. We had also sent the horses to the city

of Smolensk several days before, to have them groomed upon our arrival, taking others from Moscow to that city. At midday we continued onward to the village of Modenovo, where we arrived at seven hours, having traveled 49 verstras, over a flat road through many villages. Continuing on after midnight, we encountered numerous wagons and found ourselves at the village of Ostrosjok at midday, located in a grove. Now we had completed forty-four verstras. In the afternoon we rode again from there, passing through thick woods and various villages. We arrived at the city of Vas'ma at eight hours on the 18th of the month, having advanced 37 verstras. This city is large and widely spread out. It has a wooden castle with several fine towers attached. Around midday we rode again from there, encountering some wagons loaded with hemp. Having completed another forty verstras, we stayed in the village of Sobotovo until midnight, and arrived at the city of Dorgobuzh at six hours on the 14th after traveling 29 verstras. This place is poor. The most notable thing there is hemp, which is considered the best. Here we crossed the river Niper: then at ten o'clock subsequently through much woodland to the village of Phova, located 44 verstras further on, where the aforementioned river also has its course. After midnight we departed again and arrived at the city of Smolensk on the 15th, located 36 verstras from Phova. We showed the Governor our safe-conducts. He received us kindly, pointed out an inn to us, and granted us a general safe-conduct to continue traveling to the borders, along with a guide for our safety: for which courtesy we rewarded him with an anchor of wine. This city is quite large. Some of the churches are built of stone, the rest is all wood. There is a Bishop here. ## Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

Meanwhile, the men we had sent ahead prepared the horses, and we set off again at five o'clock, encountering much water on the roads. It was little more than passing through a deserted place, resembling a gate, where some soldiers kept watch. Two hours after midnight, we arrived at the village of Krana-felo, having covered 44 *wurften*. The following morning, at seven o'clock, we resumed our journey with a hard frost. Here, we met several packages from Prince Alexander Danielewits, also known as Mensikof, along with some carriages and, in one of them, his wife, who was staying in a village through which we passed and intended to travel to Smolensk. At midday, we entered Polish territory, where the roads were ridden from a height. Two hours later, we reached the village of Dobroofsna, having covered 23 *wurften* across hilly terrain. In the evening, at nine o'clock, we departed again, arriving before the town of Copies three hours later, after traveling six miles. Beyond this side of Smolensk, they begin to count in German miles, commonly (as mentioned previously) taking five *wurften* for a mile.

Early one morning, we showed our safe-conducts to General Allert, a Scotsman, who received us very politely. Here, there was some difficulty regarding passage through Königsberg, as some

Swedish troops were marching towards it. Nevertheless, since everything was uncertain, we decided to continue the journey toward the town of Wilda. We lodged at an inn with the aforementioned English physician Areskine, who happened to be in this city, as everywhere was so full of military personnel that all houses were occupied. We spent the time pleasantly together, and in the evening, the General joined us for a few hours. The Russians had drawn their lines here, mostly around the town and the river Nipro, which flows alongside the town. They intended to wait for the Swedes and surrender their flag.

On the 18th of the month, two hours after midnight, we resumed our journey, which was largely through groves of pine trees, abundant in this land. After passing several places, we arrived at the village of Kroepka at ten o'clock, where a garrison of 500 soldiers was stationed. Three hours after midnight, we set off again and entered the town of Borifof two hours later—a common place with houses widely scattered. There is a wooden castle surrounded by an earthen rampart. At this time, Herr Keizerling, Envoy of the King of Prussia, resided there. After showing our safe-conducts, we departed again at two o'clock in the afternoon, traveling through dense groves. We found the road very difficult and strayed from our correct route due to the ignorance of our guides, so that we arrived at the village of Jule-jewa at eight o'clock.

An hour after midnight, we proceeded with a guide to the village of Bela-roes, where we found a large house belonging to a Polish nobleman. Now we had covered six miles. At two o'clock, we set off again, initially through groves and then across open fields, passing through a village where a regiment of soldiers was stationed. After midnight, we arrived at the village of Krafnasel, having completed six miles.

We resumed our journey on the 21st at six in the morning and reached the village of Mollofina at three o'clock, from which Prince Alexander had departed that morning to the side. This and the surrounding villages were already partly consumed by fire set by the Russians, who burned everything they could not carry away to deprive the Swedes of supplies. A regrettable situation indeed for the inhabitants of these areas, who cherished their possessions greatly. Many Polish peasants sought refuge in the nearby woods, hiding themselves. Others were seen fleeing with whatever little they could salvage from the flames along with their livestock. Some stood weeping, gazing at their burning homes with tear-filled eyes, unsure where to turn. Still others exposed themselves to their fate, awaiting the enemy's arrival with fear, knowing they would be destroyed. In this distressing scene, our guides became so frightened that they began to weep bitterly and pleaded with us not to continue traveling with them but to let them return. Moved by compassion, we agreed and decided that, amidst this burning village, it was best not to continue the journey without them.

Therefore, we bought eight horses from them to travel to the town of Wilda—still seventeen miles away—with a horse for each cart, and thus left the remaining horses behind to return. This being done so quickly, we

Entered Polish territory.

The misery of the rural people.

The fear of the guides.

Arrived at Borifof. ## Travels

We encountered the returning party of Wallachians in the service of the Ruffians, intending to enter the mountains and advance. We awaited the war-folk of that nation, serving under the Swedes. For these people recognize neither friend nor foe, and would not spare even their own father or mother in such a circumstance; they are quite savage, living not by tillage but solely by plunder. Besides this folk, there were also some Tatars and Kalmyks, who were little better than those mentioned. We found ourselves on the common road around midday when a good portion of houses in this village burned down on either side of us. Everyone took to their heels, so we rode onward without fanfare and by God's grace. We had barely left the village when we encountered a party of approximately thirty Kofaks or Wallachians on horseback, serving the Ruffians. These riders, having their leader with them, hailed us. We showed them our safe-conduct letters, stating who we were. They seemed unimpressed and began to berate us, calling us traitors intending to go over to the enemy. We gave them a reasoned response and remained steadfastly hailed, not knowing how things would turn out with them. By chance, a German boy was among them who boldly rebuked them for their improper treatment of us. One of them struck the boy with his whip; but the boy, not flinching, returned three blows in kind and then turned to us, saying, "My Lords, a General is approaching with a party of riders, close by." The party we were dealing with, also knowing they could not be far off, let us go on our way. It is known that these Wallachians are bold at plundering but cowardly when confronted; and as soon as they see someone from their own group fall, they flee in all directions. Less than a fourth of an hour passed before the party spoken of by the boy arrived. With them were two general adjutants, one an Englishman and the other a German. There was also a Major and a Captain. They had with them two hundred troops of well-regulated cavalry. The English commander recognized ours, so we found ourselves among friends. We therefore remained silent for a while, recounted our experiences, and inquired about the possibility of continuing onward, praying for good advice. We were told that advancing was impossible in part because the Ruffian Kofaks were still behind, intending to set fire to what remained in the blaze, and in part because all the bridges had been destroyed. Moreover (which was

the worst of it) the Kofaks serving the Swedes had departed, plundering and robbing everything that came their way, even depriving people of their lives. That if we were to proceed, we would have to endure all these dangers. Therefore, it seemed wiser to return with them. What should we do? We had to follow this advice or run into death in our uncertainty. We then proceeded under their guidance and sent one of the riders back to our baggage train to have them return. They returned and hitched two horses to each cart. Thus, we came halfway to the band of aforementioned Kofaks, when the English commander, having heard from the cavalry guiding us, greeted their officer with a few whip lashes as a reward for the discourteous treatment shown to us.

We discovered that the Swedish Kofaks were only four or five miles away. Having turned three miles back, we stayed at the house of a Polish nobleman until nine o'clock when it was set on fire. We rode another three miles and came to a noble house, even larger and built in the manner of a fortress, where the Overste Geheim was stationed with a garrison. This lord advised us that we should not linger long there, as the advance scouts of the Swedes would be encountered shortly. We heeded his good advice and departed at nine o'clock from there. Riding past two or three farms where haystacks lay, we arrived at Vorft Alexander Danielewits who Menfikof, to Lefcova, a noble palace around three hours after midday. We had hoped to meet him sooner, but he had repeatedly moved forward from two or three places. We had taken with us four riders from the aforementioned troops, because we were to separate ourselves from the entire company to take another path leading to the fortress, from whom we received a friendly reception. The reason that drove us to seek him out was primarily to hear from him whether it was possible...
Cornelis de Bruins' Journey

Seeking a way to continue their journey, whether by choosing another route or sending a trumpeter under the favor of someone in the Swedish army to ensure safe passage, he responded that traversing was impossible because there was nowhere they could be certain, as the Swedish troops had occupied everything. Regarding sending a trumpeter, he refused, noting that already two or three, both trumpeters and ensigns, who had been dispatched were killed, demonstrating their unwillingness to receive envoys. Consequently, regarding what concerned him, he advised them only to return to Moscow. He particularly urged this upon me, knowing I carried with me the very same items collected in Persia and India. I thanked him and briefly recounted the journey made and how far it had extended. Then he urged us to travel with him for two or three days to be safe against the Polish peasants who were hiding in the woods we needed to pass through, numbering more than two thousand strong. They had fled there and lurked on passersby, ready to take anything they could get. Certainly, we were greatly indebted to the foresight of

this Prince. For here he received news that the summonses of the Swedes had arrived three hours after our departure from the last noble house, having killed 100 Russians they found there, demonstrating their lack of tolerance for envoys. We then proceeded with our baggage under his protection and that of his bodyguard an hour later. Upon reporting our departure, this palace, like the previous places, was set ablaze, without even removing the hay inside; allowing the Prince time to escape with his belongings. Thus we continued through the entire night, though often pausing to rest, now for the cavalry and then to move the baggage. This took much time due to the winding roads in the woods, which was very distressing given the fear that the enemy might approach. Finally, after passing several places, we arrived shortly before noon at the village of Nilnikof, having covered six miles through rain and snow.

To alleviate the discomfort of the journey, we had not been sparing in adorning ourselves well. Consequently, we discovered that our bread was the first to run out of our supplies. Here, good advice was needed, as there was no bread available for money anywhere. The only solution was to speak with the Prince here, whom I knew was amenable. I found him seated at dinner, and mentioning our common lack caused the entire company to laugh. Then he ordered me to sit down with him, which was good for me but inconvenient for my travel companions who were eagerly awaiting me. My request was granted, and since we were sufficiently provided with all other necessities, we had no further need.

Before evening, we set off again and arrived at a place from where we departed the next morning, still four miles to go, mostly through wooded areas where peasants hid. We stopped for the night in some villages outside the town of Ssebena around ten o'clock, having been invited there for dinner by the Prince the day before. But arriving too late, we found him already off the table; so after greeting him, we were received in another room by all the officers.

On the 25th of the month, we took leave of the Prince with gratitude, who sent three hundred of his cavalry ahead, under whose protection we could continue our journey. He also added six dragoons under the command of a Polish nobleman to guide us to Smolensk. However, my company became so engrossed in friendly conversation that the cavalry rode off without waiting for us any longer. We followed them at three o'clock after noon with the dragoons and arrived at the estate of Borisova seven hours later, having advanced four miles. Three hours after midnight, we found ourselves again at ten o'clock in the village of Kroepka, eight miles further. At four o'clock in the morning, we continued on through several villages, among which we found one where there were no people. Around noon, we stopped in the village of Tollobin, seven miles from the last resting place. On the 27th, with the beginning of the day, we set off again and arrived at the town

of Copies shortly after noon, having traveled eight miles along the road; from here had departed the aforementioned Colonel Allard and the Envoy from Prussia, who had arrived a few days earlier with the English physician Aires. ## Travels

Areskiene arranged for me to meet His Majesty the Tsar, who resided in Solenfō, seven miles from here. In the evening, at nine o'clock, we departed again and arrived at the village of Dobrofia the following morning at eight o'clock, having covered seven miles. We discovered that night that we had been diverted into the forest by a Polish nobleman with his dragoons, leaving us far behind them. They had ridden on ahead. Consequently, we faced considerable difficulty in finding our way back to the correct path, fearing that we would become stranded in the heavy snow. Eventually, we continued the journey alone, as happened two hours after noon. After passing a few places, we stayed at the village of Bageva for seven hours, having traveled five miles.

Here, we were on the last territory of Poland, where we found good lodging with the Jews, departing again after midnight. The following morning at ten o'clock, we arrived in the village of Kareetna, which we had previously passed through. It was calculated to be eight miles from the Polish border. Two hours after midnight, we departed again and reached Smolensko at seven o'clock in the morning, having covered four miles. Here, we greeted the Governor and recounted our experiences, requesting fresh horses to continue the journey more comfortably. However, they were unavailable. We did manage to obtain eight horses from local people who had left with other travelers from Moscow and had departed on another road the day before. It remained to be seen what would happen to them, and to two other groups of travelers. Unable to acquire any more horses, we decided to use two of these eight for each rider, and three of the others for each of the remaining riders. They were very exhausted, and some had even died on the road. Thus, we departed an hour after midnight and arrived at the village of Glowa at eight o'clock, having traveled 33 *wurften*. We encountered many wagons shortly before noon that day.

At seven o'clock, we reached the town of Dorgobusch, located 41 *wurften* from the last place. After midnight, we continued and reached the village of Simlova after traveling 48 *wurften*, where we stayed until noon and arrived at the town of Weefna at four o'clock. Having been delayed for two hours here, we departed an hour later into the village of Fedrofike, having covered 33 *wurften*. Riding from there at midnight, we found ourselves at the place of Bollekwovo after traveling 48 *wurften*. Two hours after midnight, we departed again, mostly through a forest for 44 *wurften*, and further to the town of Moscbaioskie, from which we parted ways at midnight. Thus, we arrived in the village of

Selagebienski at seven o'clock in the morning, having traveled 44 *wurften*. Here, we departed at ten o'clock and, after traveling another 54 *wurften*, arrived in Moscow.

It was about six hours when I reached Moscow. The German Slobode welcomed me into my former lodging. People were almost startled to see me, as everyone thought I was already close to my homeland. I recounted my experiences, from which the reason for my return could be understood. I made the same report the following day to the Dutch Resident.

On the 10th of this month, the six Dutch merchants who had departed after us also arrived. After them came the last departing travelers six days later, with two exceptions who were staying in the army of His Majesty the Tsar, hoping to continue on. During these days, Herr Keizerling, Envoy from the Crown of Prussia, returned here as well. The severity of this war meant that no news had come from Holland: and there were missing five or six postal stations. Therefore, the overseas merchants decided to send a messenger separately, risking that he would get through. But seeing no other means than returning to my homeland via Archangel, I chose to travel by water and departed here in the company of My Lord Isaack Kinfius, with whose brother I had previously come to Moscow. ## LXXVII. Chapter.

Our final departure from Moscow. Passage through the cities of Preslav and Rostov. Arrival at Yaroslavl. Description of the city. Arrival at Vologda. Notable features of the rivers. Manner of traveling by water.

On March 23rd, we departed from Moscow with other company, six hours after midday, our sledges numbering fifteen in all, including people and baggage. After passing through several villages, we stayed overnight in the village of Bratovfina, located 30 verstas (approximately 18 miles) from Moscow. In this rather large place, we rested for three hours. The following morning, continuing on our way, we arrived at the village of Troitskoye at nine o'clock, a place we had previously mentioned in connection with the monastery of the same name. We then proceeded along an uneven path, hilly but full of trees that provide a pleasant sight during summer. Here we encountered six or seven hundred young men, marching behind each other, being trained and brought up for military service. They were still without firearms. Their overseers or commanders rode in sledges. At eight o'clock, we reached the village of Selnovo, having covered 45 verstas (approximately 27 miles). At two hours after midnight, we continued on our way. After riding through a few villages, we passed through the city of Preslav around seven o'clock on March 25th. Then we rode through several more places and, having traveled 20 verstas (approximately 12 miles), stayed overnight in the village of Vaska until two hours after midnight. Subsequently, we continued through various villages, including the city of

Rostov, which lies north-west of Rostov's moor; around it one sees many villages. Most people here cultivate plots of garlic and onions. The city is built along the river or the lake. A Metropolitan has his household here. Half an hour further to the right side is the monastery called Peter Zarevits, surrounded by numerous houses. Having covered 55 verstas (approximately 33 miles), we arrived at the village of Nikola at seven o'clock, where a raft is used to cross the river Utshe-reka during summer. An hour after midnight, continuing on our way, we reached the city of Yaroslavl at nine o'clock on March 26th, located 25 verstas (approximately 15 miles) from the last place of stay, or 55 if calculated according to summertime; this is because one must cross the river Kotris three times. Upon arriving here, we took lodging in the suburb called Tropeynoë, from where I had myself transported by sledge to the river Vologda to visit this place and, as much as time allowed (for we had to leave within a few hours), sketch it on paper. From the east side, the city is designated by the number 244. The other side of the city, where the river Kotris has its course and flows into the Vologda, is also noted. There were then five *mackens* (small sailing vessels) with three masts that had been brought here from Kafa against the current of the Volga River with great effort by a large number of people to be further transported to Petersburg. In addition, one saw many other vessels frozen in the ice. Not far from the city on the same side lies an estate adorned with a stone church, as well as fortifications on both sides. The city itself is located on a high elevation and is partially surrounded by a stone wall; however, this work has collapsed because it was found to be sinking, so that this wall is now ruined. The city is quite large, approximately square in shape. It appears very beautiful from the outside due to the many stately stone churches, all painted white. There are also many stone houses; the rest are made of wood. Four wooden bridges extend down the river from the houses. The northern end of the city is indicated by the letter B. Here follow more houses outside the city, as well as a stone church, along the road one rides when departing. On that side of the land, the city appears at its finest and largest, because one has much better views both of the churches and of the city from there. It can certainly be considered one of the most beautiful cities in all of Ruslant. Many prominent Russian merchants are here. The best *jugten* (a type of fabric) is made here. There is also a lot of talc, brushes, and linen. But what is most pleasant is that there is very much fine ## Wologda

1. **The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: From Anatolia to Global Power**

The late medieval period witnessed a dramatic shift in the balance of power, as the **Ottoman Empire** emerged from its origins in Anatolia to become a dominant force across three continents. Initially a small *beylik* (principality) amidst the fragmented remnants of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, the Ottomans rapidly expanded their territory through strategic alliances, military prowess, and shrewd political maneuvering.

The founder, **Osman I**, laid the groundwork for this remarkable ascent by consolidating control over key regions in northwestern Anatolia during the 13th century. His successors, including **Orhan** and **Murad I**, continued to build upon his achievements, establishing a formidable military force known as the *Janissaries*, composed of Christian boys converted to Islam and rigorously trained as elite soldiers. The capture of **Bursa** in 1326 marked a pivotal moment, transforming it into the first Ottoman capital and solidifying their presence in Anatolia.

The reign of **Sultan Mehmed II**, often referred to as “the Conqueror,” proved decisive. In 1453, his forces breached the formidable walls of **Constantinople**, ending the Byzantine Empire’s millennium-long existence and ushering in a new era for the Ottomans. This conquest not only expanded their territory significantly but also provided them with a strategically vital capital city, renamed *Istanbul*, which became a center of trade, culture, and Islamic scholarship.

Under subsequent sultans like **Bayezid II** and **Selim I**, the empire continued to grow, extending its reach into the Balkans, North Africa, and the Middle East. Selim’s conquest of **Egypt** in 1517 brought control of the holy cities of **Mecca** and **Medina**, establishing the Ottoman sultans as protectors of Islam and further enhancing their prestige throughout the Muslim world.

The reign of **Suleiman I**, known as “the Magnificent,” marked the zenith of Ottoman power and cultural flourishing in the 16th century. His legal reforms, military campaigns, and patronage of the arts transformed the empire into a sophisticated and formidable state. Suleiman’s armies pushed deep into Europe, besieging **Vienna** in 1529 – an event that signaled the extent of Ottoman ambitions on the continent.

However, the seeds of decline were sown even during this period of apparent strength. Internal power struggles, succession crises, and increasingly costly military campaigns gradually weakened

the empire's foundations. The rise of European powers, coupled with technological advancements in naval warfare, began to erode Ottoman dominance in the Mediterranean and beyond. Despite attempts at reform throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the **Ottoman Empire** faced increasing challenges that would ultimately lead to its gradual disintegration over the following centuries. ## Reisen.

Fraeje vrouwen zyn. Want deze plaats heeft den roem van binnen hare muren de keurlyxte schoonheden van ganfch Rusland te begrippen.

Wy vertrokken van hier ten twee uren na den middagh meeft, als te voren, ten Noorden aen. In korten tydt geraakten wy in boschaedje, vervolgens door verscheidene dorpen. Ten agt uren 40 wurften wegs afgelegd hebbende quamen wy in het dorp Wakfere. Een uur na middernagt reden wy voort door vele dorpen, waer onder het groote was genaemt Danie-jeloske, dat op een hoogte gelegen, en met eene kerk van fteen gebout verziën is. Den 27 ten agt uren hadden wy weder 30 wurften afgelegd, en quamen in het dorp Oegaskiejam. Op den middagh reden wy van daer door vele dorpen en boschaedjen langs zulke quade wegen, dat eenige fleden verscheidene malen omvlieën. Want hier zyn byzonder groote kuilen in de bevroze fneeu door het veelvuldigh ryden der fleden, waer van wy vele ontmoetten, en eenige voorby gingen. Ten agt uren hadden wy 55 wurften afgelegd, als wy quamen aen het dorp Agargna. Wy reden weder van daer en quamen in het dorp Markowa, gelegen 48 wurften van de plaats daer wy vernagt te hebben, en bleven 'er twee uren stil. Ten middagh quamen wy te Wologda aen, daer ik voorgenomen had te blyven tot dat het open water zynzou, om dan de rivier af naer Archangel te va-ren, zynde begerigh de tuffchen beide leggende rivieren naukeurigh waer tenemen, te meer omdat 'er tot nu toe van de schryveren weinig aengetekent of in't licht gebracht is. Daerenboven heeft men in deze landtstreek, buiten de vermakelykheden der rivieren, in het zomerfaaien zeer fraeje gezichten van dorpen en geboomte, als zynde een van de voornaamste geweeften van geheel Rusland. Eénige dagen hierna quam hier van Dorpat, de hoofdstad van Lyflant, een meeninge van fleden bezet met Zweedfche huisgezinnen, bestaande in ontrent zeventhonderd menschen, die beflo ten hadden zich hier neder te flaen. Daer wert derhalven plaats in de woningen der Ruffen voor hun verschaft. Des daags hier aan vertoonden zich alle de Zweden op de rivier, daerze opgeschreven werden. Onder tuffchen verftont men uit brieven dat de gemelde stad na het vertrek deze menschen verdeelt was. Nu waren alle de Grooten (vier of vyf alleenuitgezondert) op bevel zyner Majesteit na Petersburg vertrokken: ftande van eenige overzee-fche en andere kooplieden gevolgt te worden. Hierna quamen hier ook aan de Zweedfche huisgezinnen uit de stad Nerva, befaaende in 1700,

zielen. Deze had-den ook laft om tot nader orde hier te blyven, nevens nogh eenige andere menschen uit de buitenplaatsen, bedragende dus het geheel getal te famen 2700 zielen.

In het laatst dezer maent begon het zich recht (want het had al eens gedoit, maar dan quam 'er weder vorft, die het ys in't water hielt) tot dojen te zetten, waer door de wegen zeer flikkerigh werden. De rivier begon zich reets hier en daer zonder ys te vertoonen. Op den eerften van Mei hadden wy, gelyk in de vorige dagen, zeer harden wint, waer door het ys los geraekt zynde in groote meeningte de rivier afdreef. De wint bleef duren vermengt met regen. Inzonderheit ontflont 'er den 15 ontrent den avont een zware storm van onweër, met donder, blixem, en hagel, waer van vele fteenen zoo groot als een knikker waren. Hier op volgden verscheidene zeer harde regenvlagen. In de volgende dagen was het weder geweldig veranderlyk: doch den 25 der maent ontrent vyf uren na den middagh ontflont 'er zoo zwaar een stormwint, dat veel dexels van de huizen, van planken en balken gemaakt, werden wechgerukt. Een gedaante zeker van eenen orkaen. Veele voorpoorten der woningen, vele schoorftenen werden omgeworpen, ja weinigh huizen in de stad bleven onbeschadigt. Op het dak van myn kamer raekten ook eene plankken los. Maar ik rondom ziende bevond dat van binnen alles hecht en vaft was, zoodat ik zitten bleef, om buiten komen-de geen ftukken op myn hoofd te krijgen.

Den 30 der maent quamen hier van Moskow de Engelsche heeren, die met my geweest waren op de reis naer Poolen, nevens andere, die des nagts naer Archangel vertrokken. Zy hadden door het quade weder veel op den wegh geleden, zoodat verscheidene van hunne wagens het onderst boven geworpen waren.

Ik tekende, om iets van deze plaats te vertoonen, uit myn herbergh ten Weften Wologda de rivier Wologda, waer van het gezicht afgetekent. Ik tekende ook een takje van eenen Cederboom. Van welke soort van boom men 'er veel buiten deze stad vint. Inzonderheit is 'er een boom, die vry groot is, voor vele jaren van een geplante korrel of pit voortgegroeit, die een liefhebber uit Siberie, daer deze bomen in overvloed gevonden worden, herwaert gebragt had. Eénige dezer boommen vint men ook ontrent de stad Moskow. Gy ziet in deze verbeelding het loof en de vrugt naar de wezentlyke grootte op No. 246. Men vint 'er ook zoo groot, als die op den bergh Libanon gevonden worden.

M m m 2

Was ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

Regarding the river Wologda, it was formerly called Naffon. It begins 100 versts west of the city of Wologda from large marshes, between the Koebensche Ofer and Belofer, and ends in the Wiega Soegna, receiving several small rivers above Wologda. The water of this river flows during summer such that one can almost walk

across it, hopping from one dry spot to another. Its breadth is approximately fifty paces. Other waters are also nearby. There's the Belofer, located 90 versts west of this city. This water is very fish-rich, yielding an abundance of beautiful fish, such as Sudakken (*Sudak*), Sterlotten (*Sterlet*), Baerzen (a type of Smelt), and others, all exceptionally fine. Therefore, this water is called Belofer or the white lake. Conversely, fifty versts from there to the N. West lies another lake that stretches beneath the city of Kargepool, where only black fish of all kinds are caught. This Ofer or lake empties into the river Donega, which flows into the White Sea. The Belofer flows through the river Soxna into the Volga, a few versts above the city of Pereslavec Refanske.

Before I mentioned my further journey by water, I must say that it is customary during summer to depart from here for Archangel with three, four, or five people in a vessel specifically made for this purpose. Everything needed for it is manufactured. This is ordered beforehand while still in Moscow, where instructions are sent to the place to make such a vessel; so that upon arrival one can leave within a few hours. In such a vessel, called a *Kajoeck*, there is every comfort. Each has their own dedicated space, tables, benches, and whatever else is needed. However, one is obliged to buy these vessels, as they are not rented. They typically cost 25 rubles, which amounts to 12½ guilders. To this, one hires 12 or 14 rowers, each for 6 or 7 guilders. There are also smaller vessels called *Karbassen*, suitable for carrying one or two people. These with their belongings cost five rubles and a half. Here there are six rowers, who receive 4 guilders each for the journey; the *fthierman* (skipper) receives 11 or 12 guilders; so a small vessel costs approximately 13 rubles. On this, two people row day and night, alternating every 10 or 15, or even 20 versts (as they understand it). Sometimes the turn goes to the one at the helm. These places of recognition, which they call *Pereminen*, are all apparently marked by a church, a village, a river, a tree, or a cross. The common reckoning from Wologda to Archangel by water is calculated at 1000 versts, but overland only 630; this is due to the curves of the rivers.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Departure from Wologda. Arrival at Todma. River of the same name. Description of Oest-joega. Confluence of the rivers Oest-joega, Niesna Soegna, and Dwina. Saltworks. The river Wietfigda. Alabaßbergen (Alabas Mountains). The mountain Orlees. Arrival at Archangel.

HAVING then purchased a small vessel and had it made ready for myself alone, so as to better observe everything on this journey, I left this city with it on the evening of June 17th at seven hours. Initially, the vessel went slightly south, but shortly thereafter turned east. On both sides, the way was bordered by sparse

woodland. At eleven o'clock we arrived at the first *wiffelplaets* or Peremin of 10 versts. It was on the right side of the river, marked by a wooden cross. There was much timber in the water here. The second was also of 10 versts, and was the river Soegna, into which the river Wologda flows, as already said. We continued along the Soegna during the night. I found it broader than the Wologda. The third was a village with a small church on the right side. Likewise the fourth. The fifth was again a small river named Sig- ##
Travels

Sixth wif Siedroske, a brisk side. The sixth, a cross. The seventh, a condemned tree, named *Sufna*, standing much higher than the others, on the right side. Here the river turned north. One can see little of it through the winding curves. Why one now and then uses a sail, that small one, made up of mats. We passed by the village of *Marema*, where there is a small church, lying north of the river. We thus proceeded quite far east. On the 18th in the afternoon we reached the eighth Peremin or wiffelplace, being a small river named *Lomme vietse* that runs inland. The ninth was the stream *Dwiniife* on the brisk side. We went quite far east and shortly thereafter south. One has a very pleasant view of this river, and hears in the trees standing along the bank the singing of many birds, especially thrushes. The tenth was the village *Soeskooy*, located partly on the southern side. The rest is on the west side of the river, where one sees along the bank the construction of vessels being built for dispatching goods from Wologda to Archangel. Nearby stands a church with a bell tower next to it. These people also engage in agriculture. We subsequently had higher woodland, mostly spruces and firs, passing several islands. The eleventh Peremin was the tree named *Felloe*, standing on the brisk side. A little further is the place called *Moterie* on the brisk side in a small flat area without dense woodland close to the river, which here is narrower. We went quite far east here. The twelfth wiffelplace on the same side is a small entrance to the stream *Moterige*. At eight hours we passed by the village *Weekinije* on the right side without any woodland on either side of the river. Going now far north, we came a little further to a long final island in the river, which here is broader. With the setting of the sun we reached the 13th, being an inlet of the river *Lomme zwierse*, where the village *Adriane* lies. Then we had the monastery *Gollobeeldske* on the brisk side, being a building enclosed by a wooden wall. The 14th was the stream *Sterrietsfe*. The 15th the stream *Gollebel*. The 16th the tree named *Wees*. The 17th the village *Kofsegowwa*. The 18th the stream *Kamenietse*. The 19th the village *Aoffsoma*, which has a church and houses standing side by side along the river. We held east and received on the 19th of the month around midday the twentieth wiffelplace, being a small barren tree. Here I disembarked in fair weather and found much wild strawberry in bloom, also raspberries, and some poor flowers, and rosebush. Here we were at an altitude of 59 degrees, 50 minutes. The twenty-first wiffelplace was the river *Selnunga*, lying on the brisk side. Subsequently lay on the right side the

village *Wassieljese*, lying a little from the river on a hill. Now we had higher land and woodland on both sides consisting of spruces and birch trees, also many alders; then lovely flats of beautiful soil and meadows on the right side, where some houses appeared, carrying the river north. The 22nd Peremin was the stream *Sidrofke* on the right side, by which the village *Borefnie* is located; being on either side of the river a few houses, and on the brisk side close to the church. Here we found many fishermen who brought us a portion of their catch in a small rowing boat. Here the river turns with a large curve back east, and then back north. The 23rd Peremin was the stream *Zarewe* on the brisk side. It runs inland for about 30 versts. At seven hours we passed by the island *Jedo* on the brisk side, lying in the middle of the river, and extending more than a verst. One can navigate around it on either side. There is a small church built upon it. At its end another island begins, which is full of trees. At nine hours we arrived at the town *Todma*, the 24th Peremin, where the *Niefna Soegna* flows into the river *Todma*. I sketched it from the S. western side arriving at the town, as depicted on No. 147. It lies at 60 degrees, 14 minutes, 250 versts from *Wologda*, north-west along the river, partly on an elevation. It is merely a common place and not large. All buildings are made of wood. Among them are four or five respectable churches. They are also said to be located 250 versts north of *Oest Joega*. Nearby stands a large grain mill made in our way, but only with two sails, and partly broken. The first river is called the *Wergna Soegna*, and this one the *Niefna Soegna*; of which the former means the upper and the latter the lower dryness. Still eight versts further from the town one sees a few heavy flints above water: but many of these are not visible until July, when the river is partly half dry. Now we had on the right or southern side about two vadem's of water. Here in the middle appears some green ground above the Mm m 3 wa- ## Cornelis de Bruins's Journey Upstream

Water; however, must always be found on the southern side. We mostly traveled upstream, and sometimes northward. After giving it some thought, this river has a width of 150 paces at many places. Shortly before midday, we reached the 25th *peremen*, being the old town of *Todma*, or the place where they began construction thirty years ago. This work was abandoned and resumed at the location where the town of that name now stands. Here, on either side of the river, one sees a small church with few houses. Here I could comfortably read or write by candlelight at midnight, whereas in *Vologda* I could only see until ten o'clock. This place is called *Stare Todma*, or *Old Todma*. Here the river flows more steeply, allowing for faster progress. The 26th *peremen* was the village of *Kafoega* on the right bank, and the twenty-seventh a small stream named *Siedetena* on the left bank. The 28th was the village of *Koffinga* on the left bank. The 29th a small stream called *Brivees*. A few small waterfalls from higher-lying moraines can be seen flowing into the river from the mountains, which turns southward and then eastward again. The

30th marked a division in the high land. Here we passed by the village of Broefinnis, which like many others, lies on either side of the river. We stayed there for some time against a *kabak* to shelter from the strong wind that once spun our boat around. Now the 31st was a stream called Forde on the left bank. The 32nd was the village of Slabootske on the same side north of the river, before a mountain without trees, mostly plowed. Further on there was fertile soil and high, beautiful hilly land. The 33rd was the village of Oesgorodiefafa on the right bank, where one has lovely views of the landscape. The 34th was the stream Storowietfa on the left bank. We went upstream and passed a tall, steep mountain on the other side. The 35th was the village of Selminga, which appears beautifully in the opening of the forest. Subsequently, after navigating past a shoal in the river, we arrived at the 36th, being a large tree from whose lower branches signs had been removed. The 37th was the village of Boberofske on the right or southern bank of the river below the mountain. Here we saw that the domes and belfries of the church were covered with tin. The village is fairly long, extending in a row of houses. The 38th was the village of Sabelotena on the left bank. The 39th was the stream Monasteriga, so named after a hermitage nearby. The 40th was the village of Andreanewa on the same side. The 41st *wiffelplaets* was the stream Oesjorde on the left bank. The 42nd was an inlet between the land, called Belosloede, after we had passed five or six other villages. Here there is much fertile ground and a forest with many trees. On the twenty-first of the month, at eight o'clock, we passed the village of Apocko, which has houses on either side of the river, featuring an Apocko church and belfry, whose domes are covered with tin. Here there is beautiful grain land. Across the river one has lovely views, where, as usual, many villages lie, which one often cannot see because of the trees. Here we turned completely southward with a very strong current, and then eastward again. The 43rd *wiffelplaets* was the stream Oefrelna on the right side. Nearby we found some people busy felling wood from the forests down to the river, where ovens were set up to burn the wood for lime. At ten o'clock we reached the 44th *wiffelplaets*, namely the village of Fedoferva on the left bank, after having passed four or five other villages. The 45th was the village of Koreetjena. After navigating past a few more villages, we arrived at the 46th, an inlet of the river on the right side. Further on we encountered many villages and low-lying land without trees, where one has a view to the south and east stretching far into the distance. The 47th was a wooden cross. Here there was beautiful high arable land with much grain, also green meadows and steady villages. An inlet of the river marked the 48th *wiffelplaets*. Subsequently, the course of the river was not so strong, and its depth was two fathoms. Here we saw two separate sets of long poles placed in the river, serving to set nets for catching fish. One sees many little villages here, both along the river and further inland, being a very pleasant sight towards the city, since the river is very straight to see far to the northeast, and it is much wider here, so that it would cover about 250 paces

in width at places, and a furlong wide just beyond. All that lies near the city is flat land, here ten, there twenty, also less than twenty feet high from either side of the banks. About four furlongs from the city lies a hermitage village on the height, called Monastirske nearby, entirely made of wood, also enclosed by a wooden wall: from where one gets a very beautiful view of the city. At nine o'clock we arrived at the town of Oesj-joega, which was the 49th *wiffelplaets*. It is reckoned to be five hundred furlongs from Archangel.

They ## Reisen

Ze presenteert zich wèl en groots, voorzien van tien of twaalf stenen kerken, die allemaal wit zijn, behalve de koepels daarvan, waarvan er twee belegd zijn met blauw tegelwerk, gelijk de riviertjes. De andere kerken en huizen zijn allemaal van hout. Het Hof van de Aartsbisschop, die in deze stad verblijft, is een groot gebouw. Het grootste deel van de stad ligt aan de rechteroever van de rivier, het overige aan de linkeroever, waar een kerk van steen en twee van hout staan. De belangrijkste kant, of ten noordoosten, strekt zich langs de rivier in een halve maanvorm, goed een uur lang in lengte, en een vierde deel van een uur in breedte; hoewel op veel plaatsen dit niet zo is, vooral naar de uiteinden. De breedte van de rivier bedraagt ongeveer een armlengte. Nadat men deze stad voorbij is, stroomt de rivier oostelijk en licht zuidelijk. Aan weerszijden ligt laag vlak land. Een klein half uur oostelijk ten zuiden van de stad aan de rechteroever van de rivier ligt het Troitsk-klooster op een hoogte, geheel van steen: doch de huizen daarbij zijn van hout, gelijk de muur. Rondom de hoek daarvan naar het zuiden komt de rivier Joeg in de Nieuwe Soegna; waarbij ook de rivier Dvina haar oorsprong heeft, zodat deze drie waterwegen hier samenkomen en hun namen veranderen, wordend het begin Dwi na genoemd; dat zoveel betekent als samenvoegen. Dus is deze stad gelegen aan het einde van de Nieuwe Soegna, en aan de monding van de Joeg, evenals aan het begin van de Dvina, op 61 graden, 15 minuten. De rivier Joeg komt van de stad Glienooy, dertig of veertig armlengtes verderop gelegen.

Ze is hier ongeveer rijk een armlengte breed. Men vindt er veel Russische kooplieden. Want hiervandaan wordt veel graan vervoerd, gelijk het land, dat daar in, ook rogge voort te brengen zeer vruchtbaar is. Nadat deze stad en het klooster voorbij zijn geweest, tekende ik van de oostzijde rond middernacht het gezicht ervan aan het begin van de rivier Dvina, zoals getoond wordt door nr. 248, waar de letter A de monding van de rivier Joeg aanduidt: B de monding van de rivier Joeg: C het einde van de Nieuwe Soegna: D het Troitsk-klooster: E de stad, waar voor die zijde een cilant gelegen is. Aan de rechter en linkeroever vertoont zich het valleiland. Deze rivier Dvina is tot op een uur van de stad

wel een uur breed. Dan loopt ze smaller tot ongeveer 100 stappen. Vervolgens komt ze kort daarna weer op een half uur. We hielden onze koers noordelijk ten oosten aan, varende voorbij vele dorpen.

met Hennep geladen op een droogte zitten voor een cilant; van waar het goed met een kleiner vaartuig daar vandaan uitgehaald te worden.

Nu kwamen we aan de vijftigste wif felplaats, een dorp genaamd Tsar Conflantin, gelegen aan de linkeroever tegenover twee eilanden. De 51 was het kerkje Sienga aan dezelfde kant. De 52 het kerkje Jarkolja. Hier hadden we gestadig dorpen en verschillende eilanden, lage en zeer gemakkelijke schone landschappen. Op de 22e van de maand zagen we aan de linkeroever het klooster Nicola van hout, ook met een muur van hetzelfde materiaal omvat. Twee uren verder leidden we aan dezelfde kant dertig armlengtes van de stad naar het land om te gaan bekijken de Zoutmakerij van den Gooft Wafeli Groetin. Deze plaats ligt niet ver van de rivier en bestaat uit eenige opgefellerde houten huizen, die gedeeltelijk dienen als woningen en gedeeltelijk om erin te werken. Daar zijn vier zoutputten of bronnen van zout water uit de grond komende. In elke staat een uitgeholde boom, dicht met touwen omwoelt, komende de hoogte van twee mannen boven de grond, en 27 vademmen diep onder de grond. Ze zijn van zes of acht stukken samengevoegd, waardoor het water voortdurend naar boven komt. Boven een elleboog heeft men een houten goot, waar door het water tot de plaatsen geleid wordt, waar het moet zijn. Elke put staat in een houten huisje bekleed. Ik deed een van deze huisjes openen om het water te proeven, dat ik zo zout bevond als nodig zou zijn om vis te koken. Deze vier bronnen geven zoveel water als er tot het koken van 20 bakken nodig is, hoewel er maar zes gemaakt zijn en slechts één van hetzelfde gebruikt wordt. Ze staan elk bijzonder in een afgescheiden huis, in welks midden een groot fornis staat, dat gestadig verkookt wordt. Op hetzelfde is een grote vierkante ijzeren bak van 15 voeten tot elke hoek. Deze heeft 60 voeten in de omtrek en een diepte van anderhalve voet, waarin het water voortdurend blijft koken gedurende de gehele tijd van twee en een half etmaal. Dan heeft het zich tot zout gezet. Indien het water verkookt is, wordt de bak onderwijl weder aangevuld. Zo'n bak levert in de gezegde tijd 40 poed zout op, zijnde 1333 ponden. Hier boven zijn veel dikke stokken met ijzeren haken, die deze bak van onder ophouden, zowel in het midden als aan de zijden, zodat hij niet naar beneden zou zakken, waarvoor bovenaan langs het werk heen balken zijn, waar aan de stokken vastgehecht zijn. Het water in zout verkeert halenze met een ## Cornelis de Bruins's Voyage

Now we encountered an upright iron ship. The common price of each cartload of salt was, when I was there, two *fluivers*, but bought for 2 or 3 *fluivers* at Archangel and elsewhere. Since then His Majesty has taken over the sale.

We reached the 53rd *wiffelplaats*, being the village of Woednooy-Koereskom. On the starboard side, spanning 20 *wurften*, we had a view of many villages, with a large bank and an island in the middle of the river, about two *wurften* long and full of trees. Northwestward, also heading north, at seven hours we reached the Wietfgda River on the starboard side. I was informed that it comes from Siberia, running here from the Northeast into the Dwina, where it is approximately as wide there. This makes the course of the Dwina River much brighter in this place. We went almost due West, finding the river at several places half an hour wide and generally not less. The Wietfgda is also about that width. After sailing a half hour, we reached on the starboard side a corner of the land forming a bowl or more than a half-moon shape of full size, which they call an O-fer. The corner begins from the north towards the west and runs northwestward around. Now proceeding northwestward again, we encountered another island and generally villages. The river was two and a half fathoms deep here, and further on even deeper, with a depth of one and a half fathoms in the middle.

The 54th *wiffelplaats* of 20 *wurften* was the village of Comarietse, located on a height near well-timbered land. It has two churches with a bell tower. Not far away are four islands in the river covered with large trees like a hillock, some more than one or two *wurften* long. The river flows particularly strongly here and is about 4 *wurften* wide.

The 55th of 15 *wurften* is the church of Nawollokke Juyjenoe on the starboard side. Villages are generally located here. On the 23rd of the month, around midday, we reached on the same side the 56th of 15 *wurften*. This was the village of Peremogora with two churches, located on a height close to the bank. Here flows into this side the small river Levele, stretching about 10 *wurften* inland. The river is considered as far as one can see here. It runs with large curves in a half-moon shape, about a *wurft* wide. Its appearance is shown on No. 249. Now we encountered several large sandbars, one of which covers the greater part of the river. After sailing for some distance, at two hours after midday we reached the village of Peremgorie on the starboard side, being the 57th *wiffelplaats* of 12 *wurften*. Here we found a large stretch narrowing the river to about half its width. We went mostly North and West, finding numerous villages and pleasant timberland. The 58th of 20 *wurften* was the small river Weekfingda on the starboard side near an island full of trees. Not far away is another one. Here the river is wider again, with a depth of two and a half fathoms. At ten hours we reached the village of Jagries on the starboard side, which was the 59th of 20 *wurften*. The 60th on the

starboard side, after fifteen *wurften*. The 61st is the small river Siftra after 12 *wurften* on the same side. The 62nd Niefnooy Toyma on the self-same side. At night we sailed past several villages. On the 24th of the month, the 63rd was a small house called Borok: and in the middle, the 64th of 15 *wurften*, the village of Koppa on the starboard side. It has a small church, with a dome covered in tin. When one is at an altitude of 63 degrees, 10 minutes, one reckons to be halfway to the city of Oeftjoega from Archangel; that is, according to my reckoning, 224 from Oeestjoega here. Not far away we found a large bark loaded with hemp sitting on dry land, where it had been for three weeks. The 65th was the village of Koneesgorjater on the starboard side after 15 *wurften*. The 66th on the self-same side, the village of Sielinghe after 12 *wurften*. Hereabouts was again a long island full of trees, turning the river W.N. West and half North. Here we saw many men and women fishing along the river with rods. The 67th was a small river on the starboard side called Pende, after 15 *wurften*. It comes from over 40 *wurften* far inland and is quite deep. The village occupies a large area. There is a hillock of short timberland where one cannot see villages.

The 68th *wiffelplaats* is of 20 *wurften*, namely the church of Jpkiena on the starboard side. On the 25th of the month, around 6 hours, we reached again higher and steeper land on both sides. Heading north, at 8 hours we reached the corner of the Albaft mountains on the starboard side. We led it around the corner of the land to go and see these Albaft mountains, which they call Piffoertje, meaning as much as Ovens, to visit them. We found this place *o-vervremt* because of the subterranean caves and passages made by Nature here. The front entrance rests like on pillars, which here and there break the rock mountain— ## A View on the River Dwina

The landscape unfolded, a panorama of water and sky. The river Dwina flowed onward, its surface reflecting the shifting clouds above. It was a scene both vast and intimate, a moment suspended in time.

The air held a stillness broken only by the gentle lapping of water against the shore. A sense of quietude permeated everything, inviting contemplation and reflection. This place felt ancient, untouched by the hurried pace of modern life.

The river's current seemed to whisper stories of centuries past, carrying secrets on its flow.

The light played across the water, creating a shimmering dance of colors - blues, greens, and silvers blending seamlessly together. It was a spectacle that captivated the senses, drawing one deeper into the tranquility of the scene. The sheer scale of it all—the expanse of water, the boundless sky—inspired a feeling of awe and humility. ## The Grotes of d'Albast-Bergen

The Berg of Orles

Travels

supported with silk pieces. Many other passages and narrow caves are found here. I ventured into one of the most important ones, more than a hundred paces long, by candlelight. It is said that it runs over thirty fathoms beneath the mountain or earth; although others dispute this. I would have liked to investigate this myself, but we could not proceed further due to the wet and slippery ground (for the water had not been long gone). The main entrances appear no differently than gates. Inside, I sketched a section of these with a view of the river and the other side, as indicated by number 250. Further into the passage where one continues and finds other passages and caves, some of which whistle in a short time, there is another sight ahead, where you see the beginning of the passage between both rocks on the right-hand side, just like from the front at the entrance; where two openings are like arches or gates in the middle of the mountain. The stone is widely undercut by nature, through which one sees the river with my vessel and the other side of the land, with a portion of the outside of the mountain and the foreground, indicated by No. 251. This stone is as white as Alabaster, from which several pretties are made. But the substance is too soft. For I took a piece of it along that I broke off, together with something on top of it, like from the rock. It is estimated to be 150 fathoms from Archangel. You see these stone mountains for about two hours alongside the river. Outside this place, however, there are no other caves. Above, it is full of trees. The rest is all plowed land. This mountain range ends within half an hour. Then you see no more stone. Now we reached the 69th milepost, the village of Zwous after 20 fathoms on the same side. We passed by a large vessel here again that was aground and saw people busy drying the wet hemp, as well as many islands. The 70th milepost of 15 fathoms was the village of Gabregore on the right side. Hereabouts we were caught in a severe rainstorm mixed with thunder and strong wind on the ground, where we stayed for a quarter of an hour in that harsh weather, having to get the ship's crew into the water to help us float again. While the rain continued. We kept steadily facing North and West. I found the river here generally a small fathom wide, now less, then more. The 71st was 25 fathoms, namely the village of Oesea on the good side One-and-two-and-seventy. On the same side also the 72nd of 20 fathoms, being the village of Ragoela. On the 26th we went with the same again in the afternoon much O.N. Ooft, but very slowly due to the headwind. Sometimes we were pulled with the rope on the N. West side, where it was shallow and full of stones. We could not come on the other side because of the strong wind. Hereabouts lay a few rafts loaded with tar, suitable for Archangel from the city of Wage. These rafts are made up of many trees. The

water runs over them in sheets. Three hours after noon we passed by the village of Stoepina on the right side, which is large and densely built, and has two fairly large churches and a clock tower. There is exceptionally beautiful boulders. The wind kept blowing against us so long that we could not proceed, and spent eleven hours over 15 fathoms that we had to cover. At six o'clock we had the mountain Orlees on our side. Here hundreds of people were working to extract stone from it and chop it for use. This stone was to be used to build or complete the castle outside Archangel, called Nove Dwinko. Five large vessels lay here to transport the stone. There is also a village with the name of the mountain. Also there are houses and huts set up for the work. Opposite on the other side of the river there are also several houses suitable for preparing lime and other building materials. Some heaps of these materials were seen here. Further along, heading north, but the mountain, which is quite high and protrudes at an angle, turns the river to the east and then back to the north and N. West. It is only about 50 paces wide here. I give you the image of this mountain, whose upper corner has many people standing on it, along with three of the vessels that lay there, on No. 252. The stones on that side in the mountain appear as if they were built. There is trees above and behind it, and beautiful boulders further back. Here we now had the river wider again, also on the good side Steenberg, but not so high or so much as the previous one. At nine o'clock we arrived at the Kabak, or the Bier-and brandewynhuis of His Majesty. The people there called out to us that they were waiting and had hoisted flags from the people of the vessel that was close Nnn on- ## CORNELIS de BRUNS

Concerning the lagoon and that there was a nearly adjacent lagoon. This was the same people who were permitted to transport iron ore to Archangel. I arrived there and, after investigation, found it to be quite true. We departed from there and continued onward, but were forced to anchor through the night due to the strong wind.

On the 27th of the month around midday, we resumed rowing N.E. Here we encountered a large shoal that we could not pass without crossing to the right side. An hour later, we had a large village before us, which had two windmills and a church; situated on the island Marielo-Ostrof, which also bears the name of the village. The land there is partially cultivated. Before it lies a large sand shoal. The 73th mile marker of 15 verstas consisted of several houses on the high side called Mekintje. Further along were another settlement and several villages; we arrived at six o'clock before the shipbuilding yard Waffiga, belonging to two Russian brothers, merchants in wood, named Aisp and Feddor Basènien. These men build several ships, as fine as others. One sees a beautiful airhouse with five painted towers and some houses. On the other side of the river, which is wider here, are several villages in the plains near high mountains. Furthermore, there are several islands on the high side, upon which lies a collection of

villages. One can also navigate around this side when one sees the city of Kolmogora, located 50 verstas from Archangel, lying across the flat land. We proceeded northward. After passing several villages on the right side, we arrived at nine o'clock at the river Joera. The 74th mile marker of 15 verstas on the same side runs around an island. Here we turned west, maintaining a large island on the high side, upon which many villages, also windmills, and beautiful farmland are seen. On the right hand of the river, we also had constant villages. The closer one gets to Archangel, the larger the verstas become.

At eleven o'clock, we had a view of the islands of the city of Kolmogora, approximately an hour and a half distant. An hour later, we found ourselves alongside the stone monastery Nowoy Prelotkuy on the right side, where some houses are built on the hill. The land along here is high and mountainous. Diagonally across from this monastery, the river from Kolmogora runs down behind the islands. Now proceeding S.S.W., we passed the 75th mile marker of 12 verstas at night, namely the village Loskowagora on the right side. On the 28th of the month, at eight o'clock past the 76th, namely the river Leefta on the same side also 12 verstas. Proceeding now mostly west, we had many islands on the high side. The 77th was the village Oeyma on the high side also 12 verstas.

This lies somewhat inland on the river Oeyma, which we saw flow into the river after an hour and a half. Now we were approximately ten verstas from Archangel, lying in view. Now we came along several villages and islands, as well as the monastery Michaël Archangel, of which the church is built of stone. The houses are made of wood, also enclosed by a wooden wall. Now we were one versta from the city, where we arrived at five o'clock, being the 78th mile marker.

This city Archangel lies at 64° 22' North. On the roadstead, I found here 22 Archangelschepen, and among them 13 Dutch ships, three English ships, five Danish ships, and one from Hamburg. The following day, two more English ships arrived here.

On the 9th of this month July, the Governor Knees Petrus Alexewits Gallitzin received all the overseas ships and other merchants at the Kaftel Nove Dwinko, as it was the feast day of his Majesty.

In the following days, even more ships arrived here, both Dutch and English, as well as others.

Here I note that under the convoy of the ships from Archangel departing in 1707 on October 8th, the ship named *het blauwe Postpaert* was wrecked: by which note the skipper Jan de Lange was compelled to go with his sloop to the warship Kampen, commanded by Captain van Buren, to devise means for saving the ship. Meanwhile, the wind increased so much that the skipper

could not return to his ship nor help his crew in their distress. Waiting in vain for permission, and without receiving any sign from the warship, they were driven ashore into a harbor the following night. Thus, they wandered until November 3rd when they approached the seven islands; but unable to achieve their objective, they anchored behind the islands of Swetenoes the next day. Meanwhile, they had great difficulty keeping the ship afloat with pumps and then hauled it onto land as much as possible, being so full of water that it resembled the sea. Thus, they were forced to overwinter there, spending a whole five weeks without

A Small Russian Miracle

A tiny, unassuming creature. ## Voyages and Misfortunes

The sole purpose of these writings is to convey the experiences of men. Due to a lack of provisions, they subsisted for approximately three months on rations mixed with moss. During this period, every three or four weeks, some individuals would venture out on sleds to ascertain if anyone remained alive. However, communication with this populace proved impossible. Wood was unavailable; therefore, they dismantled the ship to warm themselves by the floating timber. Their beverage consisted of snow water. They preserved as much goods as possible, primarily in chests. In this state, they remained until May 12th, when ten of them – half the crew – set out for Archangel by boat. However, upon reaching the Pennooy River, they were compelled to remain there for seven or eight days, unable to proceed further due to the ice and lack of visible water. Finally, on June 3rd, they arrived at Archangel, having lost one man whom they buried ashore. These unfortunate individuals had been sustained by the Lapps with salted fish, which they consumed instead of bread.

Towards the end of that same month, seven ships from the homeland appeared beyond the islands of Schwetenoe. The skipper of the wrecked ship, Klaas Bunfschoten, requested assistance from these vessels, along with any trading opportunities to Archangel. These individuals complied, retrieving goods and seven sailors from the wreck. The skipper, accompanied by two others, remained there until further instructions arrived from Archangel. This order eventually came in late June aboard a small Ruff-fish vessel carrying more than twenty Russians to salvage the remaining goods and transport them to Archangel. Thus, the skipper, along with the two men he had with him, reached Archangel safely on the same vessel, bringing part of the cargo while awaiting the rest. My desire for a detailed account of this misfortune was so great that I requested the aforementioned skipper at my lodging, from whom I received all this information.

Here, I encountered a Russian who was considered a saint among these people. He was approximately sixty years old. Previously married, he had abandoned his wife and wandered naked along

roads and through forests for several years, particularly here and in Wologda. He frequently appeared in market squares, churches, and even within the Governor's courtyard. I perceived him as entirely devoid of religious understanding and lacking common sense. My feeling is that he adopted such a scandalous lifestyle solely to be regarded as a saint and thereby secure his livelihood; an expectation he did not disappoint. Sometimes he wore a tattered net woven from rope, which hung partially over his shoulders, and a cord around his waist; at other times, without either, both in winter and summer. Through the assistance of a friend who knew him, I managed to bring him to my lodging, where I completely painted him on canvas under the agreement that he would return. He promised but did not keep his word. I expended considerable effort in vain attempting this; it seemed strange to me, considering how generously I had rewarded him for his presence. His hair and beard resembled a rope, never having been combed. You can see his likeness in No. 253.

I acquired a beaver named Born-doeskie, along with several others of the same breed, and constructed enclosures where I kept them chained to small ropes, intending to bring them back to the homeland. However, all the young ones perished, leaving only the old one alive. These beavers bear a strong resemblance to unicorns, though smaller, with fur colored gray and brown. They are fed raspberries, which I brought along on my journey. They also enjoy hazelnuts, which they skillfully crack open. They consume bread as well, possessing sharp teeth that enable them to gnaw wood into pieces. They become increasingly tame, so the ladies often keep them with them when going out. I preserved two of the deceased for posterity and offer you an image of one in its actual size on No. 254.

On the 25th of this month, the ship Hoogepriester Aäron arrived, captained by Simon Sloft, bearing a French safe conduct. With this, I resolved to conclude my remaining journey. Four other ships also anchored off the coast.

On August 13th, we visited the Governor to offer felicitations on the good news regarding the rebels, whose leader, named Bolowien, had been slain by his own people - ## CORNELIS de BRUINS

suffered from the failure of the attack, having wounded themselves with shots. The Governor of Afos had himself attacked the rebels, who intended to seize the city, and had driven them all away; after which, when these Bolowien (a local group) had turned against each other, his own cursed relatives had beheaded him and surrendered to the Governor in Afos, seeking mercy.

A few days later, I requested the Governor to allow me to have my goods brought ashore without being inspected. He kindly granted my request, adding a written note from his own hand, giving me permission to freely leave this land and present myself to the researchers of the ships when I arrived at Castle Nove Dwinko.

This Governor is a man of great dignity and politeness, and therefore highly esteemed by the overseas nations. For five years he served as ambassador to the court of Vienna for His Imperial Majesty. He speaks German and Italian, and has arranged his household entirely in the German style.

Just before I left here, two Dutch ships arrived with welcome news of the victory over the French at Oudenaarde; also announcing the arrival of transport ships, which caused great joy here.

LXXIX. CHAPTER.

Departure from Archangel. Depiction of Castle Nove Dwinko. Depiction of the Poots-floert Mountains. Depiction of the North Cape and the Islands Inge and Surooy. Arrival in Amsterdam and The Hague. Conclusion of this work.

On August 23rd, I departed from Archangel in a small rowing boat and after an hour's journey arrived at the aforementioned ship, the High Priest Aaron, which was already under sail. On board, I soon reached Castle Nove Dwinko, where we anchored to await permission to proceed, while meanwhile the examiner of the freedom letters came aboard. Three hours after noon, the flag of the castle was raised as a signal that we were allowed to set sail. A wooden bridge spans the river here, so wide that two ships can pass alongside each other. I sketched this new castle intermittently, and present its depiction alongside here.

Now, contrary winds kept us and several other ships at anchor until August 26th, when harsh weather worsened. Thus, we sailed again at seven o'clock, being propelled forward by the floep (a type of wind) until two hours before noon, when unfavorable winds forced us to anchor near three escort vessels belonging to His Imperial Majesty, one with 18 and the other two with 12 cannons each. On August 28th, three more ships anchored near us; and on August 29th, we saw all day long, from morning until evening, ship after ship arriving and then sailing past us, totaling well over a hundred and fifty vessels, among which were nine warships that remained at anchor outside: namely five English, three Dutch, and one from Hamburg. The English merchant ships numbered 68, the Dutch fifty, the Hamburg fifteen, and the Danish three, plus one Russian ship arriving from the Bear Island with walrus bacon. This was the first ship the Russians had sent out with great success, as the captain and steersman of the same ship were Dutchmen. The passing of such a remarkable number of

ships was very entertaining to watch, taking nearly five hours after noon before the last one sailed past us. Such an arrival of a fleet had never been seen here; and it was all the more astonishing because it happened without any pilots being aboard.

The Danish ship, flying the flag of the great admiral, was equipped with twenty-eight cannons and carried on board Mr. Ifmeyhof. ##
Castle Nove Dwinko

The court, which had been to the Court of Denmark as Envoy for His Majesty's Caesar, along with his household. This company, having landed, took the same order to receive the Envoy's wife Dolgerocke, who had already arrived at the Court of Copenhagen to alternately hold the dignity of Ambassador in place of the Envoy Ifmeyhof. This ship, unwilling to fly its flag, remained with the Imperial explainers at anchor, awaiting permission to sail outward, as it could not pass without this sign of respect. Also, about twenty cannon shots had already been fired by the ships of His Majesty's fleet, because some ships attempted to sail through without flying their braem- or marszeil; to which they were then compelled, and moreover had to pay 50 guilders for each shot. All the ships remained at anchor near Castle Nove Dwinko.

On the 30th of the month, we set sail again with a Z. Northwest wind, and arrived in the White Sea at eight hours in the evening, where we lost our pilots. Then we went northwest, and had with us on the morning the grey angle to starboard. In the afternoon, such a heavy fog overtook us that we could not distinguish any of the ships that were with us, nor see ourselves almost. At six o'clock it cleared up again somewhat, so that we saw the coast of Lapland on our port side, where we sailed with fair weather both at night and in the morning of September 1st, without seeing any trees, buildings, or people. Here we regained nine of our own pens astern, finding a depth of 22 to 26 fathoms. The following day we went with a hard northern wind and choppy sea northwest. Then we did not see our ships again. In the afternoon we found the height of 60 degrees 50 minutes. Near the island of Kilduin, lying north-west of us, about 70 miles from Archangel. On the 4th of the month, we saw the previous land again, being the beginning of the Danish territory. The inhabitants of this place are Finns, who keep to the mountains called Pootsfloert, where much snow was shown on the mountain range. The location of this place is about five miles from us and depicted by No. 255. The inlet appears with three or four different parts one behind another. We had it southwest of us, going northwestward. In the morning we saw another inlet called Tanebaey, stretching far inland around the corner of the mountain, as indicated on No. 256. After a short time, further land was discovered beyond the corner. Here we be-
Cornelis de Bruyns's Log

On **July 1**, we found the height of 70 degrees and 8 minutes. Now, sailing against the wind towards the west, we saw no land anymore, and had little night. The following day, with the same weather, we found the aforementioned Baey (Bay) Southwest south of us about six miles away. As I was informed, this bay must be two miles wide. At noon, we found the height to be 77 degrees and a half. On **July 7**, a good and better wind drove the fog and rain away, so that we caught sight of the North Cape. I recognized it as being south-southwest of us while we were heading south. The largest forepeak is called Mother, the smaller one on either side are called the two Daughters; the rear mountain range is the land of the Cape, being the separation of the sea between itself and another land to the side of Felmsbuy. We give you a depiction of it at No. 257.

At 6 o'clock in the evening, we had the Islands Inge alongside us, forming a large landmass that touches each other. A small cliff called Schips holm (Ship's Holm) lies to the right, separated from the mainland. Here, the rest of the land stretches out behind it. See No. 258. Now we sailed with an O.Z.O. wind towards Z. West with a slight breeze, and in the morning at seven o'clock, we had the island Surroy on our starboard side about four miles away, as it appears from us at No. 259.

In the middle of the mountain range, a large bay or inlet of the sea is visible, where ships can sail in and subsequently come out again between the mountains and to the starboard side, to the place where one sees the mountain ranges separating. This is indicated with the letter A. Another inlet is indicated on the starboard side by B. The Wethock (a shoal) south of us by C. Ships can also sail through the islands. The inhabitants of these areas are fishermen who take their catches to Bergen and Dronte. The land belongs to the territory of Denmark.

At five o'clock, we arrived at the cliff pen or islands called Noort-en Zuid foele (North and South Feel), or otherwise the unknown cliffs that one does not find marked on the sea chart. All the cliffs are washed around by the sea. One sees many others nearby, and some of them are covered with snow. The height of these is visible at No. 260.

On **July 9**, before evening, we had a ship close to us that we waited for, and called out to each other; what did it have in its speaking horn? Whereby we had ours, and those on board also hoisted their flag. It was a small Frigate from London, fitted out for Archangel to bring some orders to the English ships, as far as we could tell.

On **July 11**, we found the height of 68 degrees, 38 minutes, sailing with a good northern wind towards Z. West. We were on the track of Loef-foert (a place name), reckoned to be 250 miles from Archangel and just as much from Amsterdam. During the

night, we held out at sea against the wind, and found in the morning 69 degrees, 9 minutes: the following day 67 degrees, 8 minutes, also on **July 14** with a breeze. This morning at half past eight there was a great sun-dimming, so that the sun was obscured for a large half hour, whereby we lost much of the daylight, seeing only a streak or side of the sun, just like the beginning of the moon. Subsequently, the sun went behind a cloud, but reappeared with one side still visible. The weather was somewhat turbulent, and the height 66 degrees, 44 minutes; the wind unsteady. The following day we had 65 degrees, 55 minutes with a northern breeze. We headed Z. Z. West. During the night at midnight, a wondrous light appeared in the sky with very great brilliance, as if everything around was burning brightly, so that one could almost read by it. But it lasted only 2 or 3 minutes. It was fleeting, and little is heard of it.

In the morning, the wind turned against us from Z. Z. West, which remained with us, so that on **July 17** the rudder was lashed to the ship, thus proceeding only with the large sail and the staysail for this and the following day. During the night, the wind came from the east. Heading north, we released the rudder, and heading south. On **July 19**, we found ourselves at 65 degrees, having lost about 4 or 5 miles towards giffinge (a place name) to the north. Subsequently, we got against the wind and rain again. On **July 21**, we had 64 degrees, 14 minutes. Before evening, the wind rose very strongly, so that all night long we drifted in a hollow sea, which due to the darkness of the night appeared as a light of four. On **July 22**, we had all the same weather again, proceeding only with the foresail and the lashed rudder. In the morning, when the water subsided, we found that, as far as we could tell, we were ten miles behind. On **July 26**, we had a height of 62 degrees and a half in heavy rain. ## The Geborgene Footsteps.

The North Cape.

The Island of Suuroy.

The Inhabited Land

The Islands Within

The Northern and Southern Isles

Reisen.

The nights grew dark. On the 28th we were at 62 degrees and 10 minutes, and in the morning at 61 degrees and 40 minutes.

Around half-past nine that day, we observed a darkening of the full moon, which otherwise shone clearly, being about one third darkened. This obscuration lasted until around eleven o'clock, when the moon was mostly darkened by half-past ten. The last of this month, the wind blew westerly. We then sailed south and southwest, having now endured fourteen days against the wind without making much progress, swearing to do so.

On the first day of October we found ourselves at 61 degrees and 24 minutes and saw the northeast corner of *Hitlant* southeast seven or eight miles from us, sailing south-southeast. The following day we sailed southward into a strong westerly wind in the strait, still seeing the previous land to our southwest at 61 degrees and 10 minutes, six miles off, roughly at the same height as the Cape. On the third, we were at 60 degrees and 10 minutes. The next day, fifty-nine degrees seventeen minutes. We had a northerly wind and steered southwesterly. We saw four ships nearby. This morning we caught four codfish, in one of which was found a small fish two inches long and about a pink's thickness. It had a running fin on both sides and several sharp spines and ridges along its body, glittering like silver and gold. Neither I nor our company had ever seen anything like it before, so I kept it. In the afternoon we reached a height of fifty-eight degrees ten minutes, and in the morning sailed southsouthwest with a northwesterly wind. At midday we reached fifty-six and a half degrees, and at night found ourselves between seventeen and fourteen fathoms.

With the dawn of the seventh of the month, we had passed Dogger Bank with good weather and wind, being in twenty-three fathoms of water. We also passed the shoal called *Welle*. Around four

o'clock we sighted ten or twelve ships, of which we could clearly see four at night and came close to them around eight o'clock in the morning. They were three notable vessels: a flute from Victualie, and the others galleons and caravels. We hailed one of the galleons and learned from them that they had put into the East India ships and that all of them had safely arrived in their homeland.

They told us that the day before they had seen a French corsair. As we sailed with them, our people saw more than fifty (some said a hundred) ships. We also heard about the aforementioned corsair, who was to starboard of us the previous day and now on our right side, but had no opportunity to approach us.

At eleven o'clock we began to recognize the land, sailing past the two buoys at midday, then past the others, and also past a ship that had wrecked on the shoal near the coast of Helder last year. To sail inside the corner, we passed by the village Huisduinen and another called Helder. It was more towards evening when we sailed in, and upon hearing of the ships lying at Texel, which were already numerous, mostly our warships. Now we sailed south-southeast with a northwesterly wind, and in the evening saw the four from Urk Island, where we set our course for it, and thus arrived in the Zuiderzee around seven o'clock, and subsequently anchored near Durgerdam. On the ninth of the month, as soon as day broke, we continued on our way while our Skipper had a rowing boat brought to him at Durgerdam where he lived, and sent us a boat from there to cross over to Amsterdam, since we were against the wind. We navigated with this vessel to the flats, where we arrived with joy around nine o'clock, with the ship following us into Amsterdam in the evening.

Here I learned that the things I had sent out through diligence and dispatched from Batavia had been kept for a year by the good care of the Honorable Grandmaster Lord Burgomaster Witien, to whose kindness I have always felt greatly indebted. I also found the letters addressed to me by the Lord of Hoorn, General of India, and others, under the safekeeping of this Lord, who had also received the image of Persepolis, as I mentioned above. Having spent a few days in this great flatland visiting my friends and acquaintances, I departed for 's-Gravenhage, my birthplace, where I happily arrived on the 24th of the month at nine o'clock in the morning, being welcomed by my friends with joy which was all the greater because news of my ## Cornelis de Bruijn's Travels

My travels had already been circulated in the Netherlands on several occasions. I, who not only recounted my nineteen-year journey—the description of which I have published—but also this one spanning seven years and three months, was fortunate enough to thank God for His goodness and grace. Through these blessings, I escaped countless dangers that plague travelers in foreign and unknown lands, and enjoyed many benefits and a

warm welcome everywhere. My gratitude extended further because my arduous work had not been in vain, and the details of unfamiliar customs and animals, as well as depictions of everything remarkable I observed at sea and on land—despite so many difficulties and inconveniences—had been safely transported and remained intact. I also consider myself indebted to you, my valued reader, if you receive and peruse this account of my travels with the same care, diligence, enjoyment, and heavy effort that I invested in it, and which has been recommended by the thoughts of my fellow countrymen.

End of Travels. ## REGISTER

der voornaemste zaken in deze Reisbeschryvinge verhandelt.

1.

Baca Khan. Pag.423 Abbul Abbas Saffah, Koning van Perfie. 422 Abdalla , Koning van Perfie. 422 Abdalla Abuicafin Moßacfi. 422 Abdalla Abugiatar Al Kayem. 422 Abdella Abubeer Althai. 422 Abdo' Ilatif Mirza. 424 Abdolmalec , Koning van Perfie. 422 Afnabact, een dorp. 327 Abr. van Riebeek, Generaal van Indie. 392 Abraham. 416 Abu Jaafar Almanfur , 422 Abrikozen. 178 Abu Jaafar Almanfur, Al Mostanfer &c. 423 Abu Abdalla Amin, Koning van Perfie. 422 Abu Ezach Motaffem, Koning van Perfie. 422 Abu Jaafar Al Manfur Koning van Perfie. 422 Abu Muhammed Al Hafan &c. 422 Abu Said Bahaduz Khan. 423 Abu 'l Mahan Mirza. 424 Acem. 421 Acen Ali. 424 Achemenes. 255 Achin, een stad in Indie. 388 Adam hoe geschapen naer het gevoel der Geb- bers. 416 Adams Piek. 353 Aeb-Chieran , een rivier. 154 Aerde en Water, tekens van onderwerpinge. 255 Aerde voor feen gebruikt. 130 — by de Perfen ge-cert. 417 Aerdbe zien in Ruslant. 36 Aerdvruchten in Ruslant. 36 Aergewaffen in Perfie. 179 Afbeelding der stad Veronits. — des Konings van Perfie. 163 — der stad Rostof. 458 — van Jarclaw. 458 — der rivier Wologda. 459 — der stad Todma. 461 — der stad Oelt-Joega. 463 — van Grotten. 465 — van den hergh Orlees. 465 — eener schipbreuk. 440 — eens Russischen Heiligs. 467 — van Poetsfoert. 469 — der Noortkaep. 470 — van Eilanden. 349 — van 't eiland Suroy. 470 Affonaffy , Aertsbiffchop van Kolmogora. 18 Afgod der Egyptenaren gedoot. 249 Afgoden der Samojeden. 11 Afkomst der Koningen van Bantam. 382 Af ragboomen. 205 Afval van Megabyzus. 280 Afwatering. 129 'Ahmed Abul-abbas Motamed &c. 422 Ahmed Abul-abbas Muftain. 422 Ahmed Al Radih Billa. 422 Ahmed Abul-abbas Al Kader &c. 422 Ahmed Al Mostadher. 422 Ahmed Khan. 423 Al Dhaer Billa Odatorodin Abu &c. 423 Al Mostazem Billa. 423 Al Mamum Koning van Perfie. 422 Al Moßadi Billa. 422 Al Mostarshed Billa, Abu Marfur. 422

Al Malee , al Said , Mohammed &c. 424 Alaetma. 74 Albaftbergen. 464 Alcibiades benadeelt zyn vaderlant. 284 Aleman, Al Nafer Ledinilla. 423 Alexander de Groote Tweehoornig genoemt. 231

Alinda-Loecka , een eiland. 82 Alkmaer, een eiland in Indie. 372
 Al-moto Wakkel, Koning van Perfie. 422 Alwand Mirza. 424 Aly,
 Koning van Perfie. 421 Amandeltakjes en andere afgetekent. 205
 Ambergrys. 134 Ameftris. 281 Amir Scandar. 424 Amma-nabact ,
 een dorp. 424 Ammianus Marcellinus berifpt. 253 Amptenaers van
 den Czaer van Moskow. 43 Amsterdam, een eiland in Indie. 375
 Angoertvogel. 126,176 Annaeboom en. 178 Antiochus Koning van
 Perfie. 419 Antoni van Diemen , Generaal van Indie. 391 Apen.
 120,121,369 Apocko , een dorp. 462 Apollonides geftraft. 281
 Apoteek te Moskow. 43,451 Apis van Cambyfes gedoot. 249
 Appels in Perfie. 178 Arabier berooft. 99 Arabieren. 203 Arabische
 vrouwen. 203 Arabische wal. 493 Aras , een groote rivier. 115
 Araxes, een beroemde rivier. 206 Arbaces. 235 Archangel. 14,466
 Ar deshir. 421 Ardevil. 286 Areecq. 357,373 Argun Khan. 423
 Ariaramnes. 255 Armenier omgebracht. 191 Armeniers vermoort.
 112,191 Armenische vrouwen onbevalligh. 185 Arfaces.
 286,240,255 Arfes. 300 Arfeus. 236 Arfytes valt van Ochus af. 283
 Artabanus. 420 Artabanus bemagtigt Perfie. 277 Artael. 180
 Artaxerxes. 420,278 Artaxerxes wrekt zyn vaders doot. 277 Artias.
 235 Ar tibarnas. 235 Artoxares flaet naer 't Ryk. 283 — Zyn lof.
 282 Af p ada. 238 A fperges zeer dier te Spahan. 141 Affyriers ,
 eerste monarchen van Afie. 234 Aft rakan beschreven. 85
 Aftyages. 238 — van Cyrus overwonnen. 242 Artemaed Douleth,
 of eerste fl aetdien a er in Per- fie. 156 Atoffa. 255 Atynes. 236
 Ayner , een Perfaenfche werpftok. 102

B. Ba- ## A.

Achou, an old city. 104 Baden near Ardevil. 121 Baeker-kara,
 Persian bird. 126, 177 Beards shaved in Ruslant. 46 Bagoas gift.
 297 Baidu Khan, King of Persia. 423 Baldness of some villagers -
 by Alexander the Great. 122 Baliers. 302 Balische slave girls. 369
 Balls inserted into garments and used as torches. 134 Banquet
 given by the General of India. 369 Bantam depicted. 384 Baple-
 kammie, Indian fruit. 387 Baran. 421 Barfan, a village in Persia.
 117 Baron of Larix. 410 Batavia described. 389 - depicted. 394
 Bathii Emperor of the Tartars. 439 Bazaars, or shopping streets.
 103, 131 Beggars driven out in Moscow. 47 Images at Chelmener
 - at Naxi Ruftan. 225, 382 Image worship. 181 Bone fracture
 miraculously healed. 158 Beglerbegie, a great lord in Persia. 158
 Burial niches of the Gebbers. 417 Graveyard of the Persian Kings.
 118 Burial of Samoyed children - men and women. 11 - Ruffians.
 55 - of the King of Persia. 163 - of the Perfans. 175, 316 - of
 Edward Crown. 406 Golden goblet. 315 Behavior of the Governor
 of Saratof. 445 - of Smolensko. 453 - of some barbarians. 12 - of
 the court of Moscow. 32, 51, 200 - of the Governor of Aftrakan.
 84, 89 - of the Deputy-Governor of Aftrakan. 88 - of the Dutch
 Head at Spanan. 137 - of the Envoy from Persia. 89 Belofers, or
 the white lake. 460 Benjaensche brokers. 199 Benjanen. Berg
 Taurus mountain. 123 Mountains named the Brothers. 121, 206
 Bergkat (mountain cat). 339 Mountain stones. 388 Condition of
 Persian children. 174 Commander of slaves in Persia. 157

Businessmen in Persia. 130 Accountant of the Apothecary at Moscow. 452 – of the Justice Chamber in Persia. 158 Beyram, or Valten of the Perfans. 137 Bezien, named Brufnitfa. 35 Prayer days of the Gebbers. 418 Belief of the Perfans. 108, 171 Bywven (customs) of the Perfans. 174 Possessions of the French Envoy. 426, 428, 430 Biffchoppen in Spanan (Bishop in Spain). 138 Blm-bing, Indian fruit. 373 Flowers loved by Ruffians. 179 Flowers in Persia. 113 Flower crop depicted. 232 Cauliflower in Persia. 179 Bows and arrows as marks of the Perfans. 275 Bowman throws himself and his men into the fire. 467 Boom (tree) for the Zywormen (worms). 115

C.

Abades King of Persia. 421 Cai Cobad. 318 Cai Caous. 318 Cai Chozrou. 318 Caichtu Khan. 423 Cajoumaras. 317 Calantaers, Heads of the Community in Persia. 159 Cambyzes. 239, 246. his cruelty. 249. his death. 251 Cafan, a fine city. 77 Cedar or Chinese lemon. 373 Ceilon (Ceylon). 353 Chaans, officials in Persia. 158 Chamama, a Persian fruit. 116 Chan of Samachi. 101. his extensive rule. 103 Chef-terechk, Persian powder. 336 Chelmener, the old court of Persia. 209 Chiaer-baeg at Spanan (Clear-page in Spain). 151 Chinefen (Chinese people). 398. their feelings. Simon flaat the Perfen (Simon flatters the Persian). 279. is made Admiral. 281 Cipresboomen (cypress trees). 321 Clefma, a river. 449 Comarietse, a village. 464 Conon chosen as general. 289 Corogh calling what it is. 164, 189 Cofroes King of Persia. 421 Crefus conquered by Cyrus. 243 Cyaxares. 237 Cyrus, King of Persia. 243, 287 Cyrus, a river. 206 Cyrus miraculously preserved – arms himself against Afyages. 240 – criticism of the writers about his death. 244 Czaer (Caesar), what it means. 42 Czaer of Moscow gives to merchants and others. 22, 453. his carefulness in case of fire. 32. his extensive monarchy. 43. his royal government. 48 Czarietse (Tsarist), what it means. 42

D.

Unhappy days named. 331 Dagheftan. 97 Daily accounts of the Ruffians. 45 Dampreker, a sea rover. 389 Thanksgiving of the writer for completing his journey. 472 Danfferinnen (dancers). 379, 380, 381 Bravery depicted by a lion. 231 – of Leonidas. 291 ## The Register

Darab. Darius the Great. — King of Persia. — at war with the Scythians. — his virtues. — and vices. — his death. Darius Codomannus. — despises Alexander's youth. The dismantling of piety, a cause of much evil. Decoe, a village. Derbent. Derrogæs, Officials in Persia. Derwafiers, Officials in Persia. Virtues of King Darius. Gatekeeper of the King of Persia. Diana honored on the

mountain. Thief-fallon, a mountain. Animals in Persia. Thieves routed. Thieves' Mountain. Djmnik, a city of the Tsar. Diodorus Siculus. Director General of India. Doczinke, a river. Dohak. Dolphin depicted. Dolphins captured. Death of the King of Persia. — of the French Envoy. Death during the Chinese mission. Villages burned. Village heads in Persia. Dress of the Tartar Women. Dress introduced in Muscovy. Dragtoe, a tree in Persia. Grapes bought at a low price. — method of pickling them. Druid feasts. Dwarves. Dwina, river in Russia.

1. Dam, an island in India. Edward Owen, Agent in Spahan. Eerkleederen in Persia. Honor gates erected for the Tsar. Honor marks of the King of Bantan. Food abundant in Persia. Egg offerings. — fallen into disuse. Islands North and South Fule. — Inge. Elamites. Elements held sacred. Engano an island. Englishmen fighting with Persians. Enkhuizen, an island in India. Espenboom (Aspen tree). Euagoras flayed. Evenreasoning in the statues of Persepolis. Evilmerodach. Europeans in Persia.
2. Abre Envoy from France. — His relations with a light woman. Fazele Abulcazin Mothi Billa. Feast of Water-carrying. — of the remembrance of Mary. — of the Solar Year. — of Abraham's offering.
3. Addernabie, feast day in Persia. Gorjuk Khan, King of Persia. Gale. Gamron described. Passage underground. Ganfie, a city in Persia. Galthof (Guildhall) of the Merchants. Gathuis (Town Hall) in Moscow. Gafthmael outside Moscow. — of the King of Persia. 138. 140. 271 — by the Governor of Aftrakan. 92 — by the English Agent in Spahan. 136 Gebbers (Priests). — Their feelings about the soul. — Their prayer days. Geberfche Kings (Gnostic Kings). Territory of Persia delivered to the Macedonians. Mountains depicted. Birth of Muhammad celebrated. Remembrance given by the Tsar to the Scribe. Geefstelyke amptluiden (Ecclesiastical Officials) in Persia. 160. 164 Hearing of the Scribe with the King of Bantan. Howling of wild dogs. Money of the Persians. 175. 176. 316. New Year's greetings. — to the Tsar. General of India holds a heavy office. Generals of India. Gengir Khan, King of Persia. Georgian robbed. Georgians. Geraert Reinft (Gerard Reinst), General of India. Gifts to the Muscovite Tsarina. — to the King of Persia. 140. 141 Dispute between Xerxes and Artaphernes. Dress of the King of Bantan. Gefhedenen (Eunuchs) acting at the court of Persia. 164 Conversation of the Scribe with the Tsar. 22. 29. — with the Tsarina. Danger to the Scribe. — on a mountain. Prisoners in Russia. 38. 48 Cunning of Persian Courtiers. 162 Dress of the Chinese. — of the Medes adopted by the Persians.

Weapons and on the island Ceylon. Vault underground. Authority of the houses in Persia. Envoy of Persia held in surety. 89 — his courtesy shown to the Scribe.

Giazar Abul Fadlus Moetader Billa. Greed of the Persians. Ghor, a village in Persia. Gihura, a village in Persia. ## REGISTER

Gil Mirza. Giyatho'ddin Chodabanda Mohammed &c. Godtsdienst der Javanen. — onder de Maetschappy. — der Grieken by de Perfen gehaet. — der Samojuden. — der Per fianen. 173. 303. 306 Goiaves, Indiaens vrucht. Goutvifch. Gouverneur van Aftrakan. — van Saratof. — van Archangel. — van Asof verjaegt de Rebellen. 468 Grachten te Batavie. Graeuwe klip. Graf by Perfepolis. Graffplaetfen. Graffitede eens Konings van Bantam. — van Tiribbaba. — Semiramis. — Seid Ibrahim. — Belus. — Sefi. — Directeur Kreits. — Sultan Mohammed. — Abdulla. — een Perifich Poët. — eenen Heilig. — eens Konigs zoon. — den broeder van Sefi. — Darius.

Graffiteden ontrent Bantam. — der Chinefen. — te Veronits. — buiten Samachi. Graffeeten buiten Derbent. — buiten Ardevil. Granaetboomen. Graven van Perfaerische Koningen. — aenzienlyke Vrouwen. — Heiligen. — Europeers. — Christenen.

Griexe Vrouwen. Grootvorsten van Moskovie. Grotten. Gytafapes.

1.

Hadi Koning van Perfie. Haecien. 352. 356 Haerlokken by hoornen vergeleken. Haet der Grieken tegen de Perfen. Halsgraf xe Moskow. Hamzag Beg. Handel des Konings van Perfien met de Maetschappy. — door den Schryver begroet. Harwan, Koning van Perfie. Harum Rafeid Billa. Harum Watic. Hafan' Al Tawil. Haven der Stad Bacht. Heilig van de Per fianen geëert. 186. 111 Heilig in Ruslant. Henrik Brouwer, Generaal van Indie. Heremiten by de Ruffen gevangen. Herman de Wilde, Veltneer der Maetschappy. Hillen. Historie van eenen bedelaer. — van Christus rok. — van Adam.

van eenen Tartarischen Vorft. 79 Hitte te Gamron. 348 Hof van Archangel. 14 — des Generaels van Indie. 390 — van Probrofensko. 30 — des Konings van Perfie. 146, 148 — der oude Koningen van Perfie. 209 — van Per fie door Alexander vernielt. 227.302. Hofmeeft er des Konings van Perfie. 160 Hof-portier afgebeelt. 166 Hollantse tot den Mahometanenchen Godsdienst vervallen. 189 Hollantsche Woning te Gamron. 348 Homam. 318 Hooiland. 4 Hoorn, een eilant in Indie. 372-375 Houtfcheng. 317 Houtvifch. 371 Huichelarye der Perfaerische Geeftelyken. 161 Huizen op de markt te koop in Moskou. 42 Hulacu Khan. 423

Huffein, een Heilig by de Per fianen. 167 — Zyn historie. 168
Huffein betreurt. 432 Huwelyken der Samojeden. 11 — Der Per
fianen. 174 — Der Gebbers. 417 Hy斯塔f pes. 255

1.

Jacobus Hoogkamer Gezant in Perfie. 191 Jaffian, een vergiftig
kruidt. 116 Jagt der Samojeden op de Rendieren. 9 Jakoeten, een
foort van Tartaren. 12 Jaka, Indiaen gewas. 373 Jakob Spelx,
Generaal van Indie. 391 Jan Pieterz Koen, Generaal van Indie. 391
Jamboes, Indiaens vrucht. 365 Jareflauw, een voorname stad in
Ruslandt. 20. Jaron, een stad in Perfie. 349.408 Jasmynen. 179
Ibrahim Koning van Perfie. 422 Jediekombet, of Zeventoren. 106
Jedigertes, Koning van Perfie. 421 Jenoarskie, een berg. 84 Jes-
dagaes, een dorp in Perfie. 202 Jezi d, Koning van Perfie. 421. 422
Ikam-Kakatoua, Indiaensche Visch. 371 Indianen in Perfie. 320
Indigo. 373 Indi sche zee. 350 Inham afgetekent. 470 Inham,
genaamt Tanebaey. 469 Inkomften der tollén t'Archangel. 16 —
van Ruflant. 45 — der Maetschappy uit Ceilon. 357 Intrede van
den Czaer in Moskou. 48.49 Inwyding van het Hof der
Moskovische Keizerinne. 51 Joan Six van Chandelier, dichter der
Psalmen. 134 Joan van Hoorn, Generaal van Indie. 329.392 Joan
Maetfuiker, Generaal van Indie. 391 Johan Shath, Koning van
Perfie. 424 Johan Gir, Koning van Perfie. 424 Jouwert, een foort
van dikke melk. 114 Iskander. 318 Ifocrates hitft Filip s ten oorlog
aen. 299 Iffuf Al Moftanjed Billa. 422 Juca, een Perifche plant. 405
Jugten beft te Jareflauw. 458 Julfa, woonplaats der Armeniers.
133.181

1. **A.**

Ackerlaken (acre cloth). Kaduifers bitten on the Meden
(Kadufers bitten on the Meden). Kaep Rafalagata. Jafques.
Mourandon. Kaffée aengefokt (coffee cultivated). Kaffer, een
uitlantsche vrucht (Kaffer, a foreign fruit). Kajoek, een Ruffifch
vaertuig (Kajuk, a Russian vessel). Kakauw (cacao).
Kalakulaftahan. Kalantaer of Burgermeester van Samachi
(Calanter or Burgomaster of Samachi). Kalian, of Periaensche
Tabakfles (Kalian, or Persian tobacco flask). Kalifen (Caliphs).
Kalmukken (Kalmyks). Kameel geoffert (camel sacrificed).
Kameeldrek voor turf gebruikt (camel dung used for peat).
Kameeloreen, een Perfifche plant (Kameeloren, a Persian
plant). Kamerling des Konings van Perfie (Chamberlain of the
King of Persia). Kanaten in de Luthoven (Khanates in the
Luthoven). Kaneel (cinnamon). Kanoos (canopus). Kanfeleryen
in Moskow (candle factories in Moscow). Kara Iliuf, Koning van
Perfie (Kara Iluif, King of Persia). Karab Iluh Othman. Karel
Reinierfz Generaal van Indie (Charles Reyniers General of
India). Karpervitch. Karwanfera afgebeelt (caravan ferry
depicted). Karwanferaes of herbergen in Perfie (caravanserais
or inns in Persia). 131. 132.201 Kafakfe Ruflen. Kasbin. Kalian.

Kafiemof. Kaskur. Kaffeel van Bantam (coffee from Bantam). — van Derbent. — van Batavie. — van Moskow. — van Spahan. Kafua, of Periaensche Draagfloel (Kafua, or Persian carrying float). Katoen afgetekent (cotton depicted). Katoenboomen (cotton trees). Kazan Khan. Keizer van Java aan zyn ryk geholpen (Emperor of Java helped his realm). — der Tartaren (of the Tatars). Keizerin van Moskovie (Empress of Muscovy). Kerk van Salomons Moeder (Church of Solomon's Mother). Kerken in Moskow (Churches in Moscow). — in Aftrakan. — in Samachi. Kerfschafaf. Kerffen. Khomen, stad in Perfie (Khomen, city in Persia). Kirkins, een dorp in Perfie (Kirkins, a village in Persia). Kifnis, een eilant (Kifnis, an island). Kiftvitch. Kleeding der Gebberfche vrouwen (clothing of the Geber women). — der oude Perfiansen (of the old Persians). — der hedensdaegse Perfiansen (of the modern Persians). — des Konings van Bantam (of the King of Bantam). — der Singelezen (of the Singhalese). — der Armeniers in Julfa (of the Armenians in Julfa). Klippen der Noortkaep (Cliffs of the North Cape). Klipvisch (cliff fish). Klok van groote zwaarte (clock of great weight). Klooster genaamt het Trooytfe (klooster named the Trooytfe). Kloosters in Moskow (cloisters in Moscow). Knolfters in 't hof van Bantam (knollers in the court of Bantam). Knoflook in Ruflant (garlic in Russia). Knollen in Ruflant (tubers in Russia). Kochin afgetekent (Cochin depicted). Koedrek, brantfiof der Tartaren (koedrek, burning stuff of the Tatars). Koelikove, een dorp (Koelikov, a village). Koes-kieffar, een dorp (Kus-Kieffar, a village). Koffiboonen (coffee beans). Kokfchaga. Kolmogora.

Kolommenske. Kolomna beschreven (Kolomna described). Kolomnensko, Luchtplaats van den Czaer (Kolomenskoye, Airplace of the Tsar). Kombuis, kleine en groote, eilanden in Indie (kitchens, small and large, islands in India). Komkommers in Ruflant (cucumbers in Russia). Komminsja, een dorp (Kominshya, a village). Koning van Bantam onthaelt den Schryver (King of Bantam receives the writer). 377. — afgebeelt (depicted). Koning van Perfie (King of Persia). — veracht (despised). — zyn krooning (his coronation). Koningen van Bantam (Kings of Bantam). — van Perfie federt Alexander den Grooten (of Persia, Alexander the Great conquered). — genaamt Arfaciden (named Arfaxides). Koningin van Sumatra afgebeelt (Queen of Sumatra depicted). Koningkryk van Perfie beschreven (Kingdom of Persia described). Koningsklapper, Indiaentische vrucht (King's snapper, Indian fruit). Kool in Ruflant (cabbage in Russia). Koopluiden berooft (merchants rob). Koopmanschappen t'Archangel (merchant settlements at Archangel). Koordedaanfer. Korael waer uit gesproten (coral where it sprouted from). Kornelis van der Lyn, Generaal van Indie (Cornelis van der Lyn, General of India). Kornelis Speelman, Generaal van Indie (Cornelis Speelman, General of India). Kozakken een wrete volk (Cossacks a fierce people). — gehangen (hanged). Krab afgetekent (crab depicted). Kraemvrou, en haer gedrag (merchant woman and her behavior).

Kraenvogel geschoten (crane shot). Kreeft afgetekent (crayfish depicted). Krygsmagt van Xerxes (army of Xerxes). — van den Czaer van Moskovie (of the Tsar of Muscovy). — in Aftrakan. Krygsvolk te Batavie (war people at Batavia). Krokodil gevangen en beschreven (crocodile caught and described). Kruidtkennis in Moskow aengequeckt (knowledge of gunpowder acquired in Moscow). Kruis hoog gaat in Ruflant (cross high goes in Russia). Kruisdop in Ruflant (crosshead in Russia). — in Perfie 138. Kruisfeet der Armeniers (Crossfoot of the Armenians). Kruiffeneiland (Cruffen Island). Kuiper, een eilant (Kuiper, an island). Kusmademianski.

1. Laborofoarchodes. Lacedemoniers verliezen het zeegebiet (Lacedaemonians lose the sea area). Laer, een vermaarde Koopstadt (Leer, a renowned trading city). Lakenbereidery te Moskow (linen preparation in Moscow). Lamsvleefch zeer fmakelyk in Perfie (lamb meat very tasty in Persia). Lant van Samachi (land of Samachi). Lantbou door Offen betekent (agriculture by the Ovens means). Lantluiden elendig door den oorlog (farmers miserable due to war). Lantvoogden in Perfie (Landlords in Persia). Lantvoogdyen in Perfie (Landlordships in Persia). Laplandt. Lareek, een eilant (Lareek, an island). Lareke, een eilant (Lareke, an island). Laurens Reael, Generaal van Indie (Lauren Reael, General of India). Leerzaamheit der Ruffen (learning of the Russians). Leeu, zinnebeelt van dapperheid (lion, symbol of bravery). Leiden, een eilant in Indie (Leiden, an island in India). Leonidas vernielt een groote meeninge van Perfiansen (Leonidas destroys a great opinion of Persians). Letters der Javanen (letters of the Javans). Levensmiddelen overvloedig t'Archangel (foodstuffs abundant at Archangel). Licht aan de lucht (light in the sky). Lyfartfen des Konings van Perfie (body art of the King of Persia). Lyfwachten des Konings van Bantam (Bodyguards of the King of Bantam). Lykdienst over eenen Armenier (funeral service for an Armenian). Lyksaetie des Konings van Perfie (funerary procession of the King of Persia). — des Engelschen Agents (of the English agent). — der Chinezen (of the Chinese).

Lywaten. ## REGISTER

Linie. Linen that remains untouched for four years. Loef-foert (a type of sail). Lootsmannekens (small fish). Loppe (an island). Two kinds of air in Gamron. Air honored by the Persians. Sounds of pens in Persia. Royal household of the King of Persia. — of the King of Bantam.

1.

Madroen, a Persian spice. Maelydt (a title or honorific) of the King of Persia. — outside Moscow. — by the Governor of Aftrakan. 93 — by a certain Armenian. by the General of India. Maenzwym (unclear meaning). Company in discord with the great Mogol.

Magi, or Persian women killed. Mahadi Billa. Mohammedans respected in Persia. Malabaer, often an empire. Malabaeërse kult (a type of cloth). Mameth Alie Chan, Governor of Gamron. Manchuka Khan. Mandaues (unclear meaning). Mangelloor (unclear meaning). Manguftangsus, Indian fruit. Manhaftigheid (courage) of Artaxerxes. Manfel, or Persian day's journey. Manusjeher (unclear meaning). Mardasjo. Mardonius captures Olynthus. — is defeated by the Athenians. Market sellers in Spahan. Mazig Beg. Seagulls, a sign of nearby land. Megabyzus rebels against the King. Melkvitch (unclear meaning). Menchter, an island in India. Mextieten (unclear meaning). Meydoen or market in Spahan. Michel, French Envoy. Middelburg, an island in India. Mier-Chas-koen, a village near Perfepolis. Mierfa Moerella, Deputy Governor of the Governor of Gamron. Mirza Abdollah. Mirza Soltan Abufayd. Mirza Soltan Mohammed. *ibid.* (*idem*). Mirza Baboz Soltan. *ibid.* Mirza Al Malec. *ibid.* Mirza Badio 'Zzaman. *ibid.* Midates, King of Persia. Mithridates, King of Persia. Moetafi Billa. Mother with her daughters, names of cliffs. Modesty among the Persians. Moerellen (unclear meaning). Mogol. Monarchy of Persia. Mongal. Mongalen (Mongols). Mounting of Persian cavalry. Montaffer (unclear meaning). Murder practiced in the Slabode region. — encouraged in Aftrakan. Morad. Moruma. Mos, fur of reindeer.

Moscow described. Moskow described. Motathed Billa Ahmed. Motar (unclear meaning). Mothadi Billa. Mouffon, or winter season. Muavi, King of Persia. Muggenet (unclear meaning). Muhammad the deceiver. Muhammad Al Moetafi Beamrilla. Muhammadian Kings. Mules, enemies of bears. Mummy, a medicine. Mint on the island of Ceylon.

1.

Abonidus (unclear meaning). Nabuchodonosor. Name day celebrated. Nam-nam, Indian fruit. Narjes, King of Persia. Naudar. Naxi Ruftan. Nečtanbus abandons his kingdom. Defeat of Mardonius. Nicanor, King of Persia. New island charted. New Year's Day celebrated. 415, 136, 347, 349, 225 Nirigliferooros (unclear meaning). Nitawaey (unclear meaning). Nifen or Niefna (unclear meaning). Nootolie (nut oil). Nuts in Persia. Notenburg conquered. Nove Dwinko, an island. — Kafteel.

1.

Cca, a river. Ochon, King of Persia. Ochus. Oeffa, a river. Oesjoen, a village in Persia. Oeft-joega (unclear meaning). Offerings to the Water. — to the Earth and Winds. Oktafi Khan, King of Persia. Oli in Persia. Elephants. Omar, King of Persia. Ommegangh (procession) of the water blessing at Moscow. 23 of Huffcin. Ommegangh in Persia. Unspeakable nature of the Persians. Ingratitude of the Persians. Discharge by the Governor of Saratof. — received by the Tsar. — by the King of Bantam. 377, 380

Discharge in Persia. — by the Director General. — by the Governor of Archangel. 466 Onruft, an island in India. Undignified status among the Persians. Writer's eye strain during travel. Master Builder of Persia. Gamekeeper of the King of Persia. Procession of women in Persia. Education of the Kings of Persia. Education of Armenian children. Overseer of the Treasury Chambers in Persia. — of the Roads in Persia. Overseer of the market gatherings in Persia. Oranjenburgh. Orlees, a small hill. Ormisdas, King of Persia. ## Ormus and Beyond: A Lexicon of Persia and Related Lands

Ormus, an island. Orodes, King of Persia. Offal (not eaten in Persia). Otanes, leader of the lances against the Magi. Ovens in Persia. Remnants of festivals. Remnants of saints—of Persepolis. Remnants marked. Outposts of soldiers in Persia.

1.

Pacorus, King of Persia. Deer frightened by the reindeer of the Samoyeds—from old times in Persia. — sacrificed. — honored to the company. Deer in Tartary. Parcels from the rivers of Ruslant. Pearl fishing. Packages distributed. Pride of the Ruffians. Palace in Moscow. Pampatius, King of Persia. Prince Puga helped his kingdom. Parrots. *Pafargade*. Patriarchs of Muscovy—within Spain. *Paufianas* sent out with a fleet at sea, punished for his treachery. Pelufium besieged. Pepper crop. Pepper plantation. Pepper root in Ruslant. Pereminen, or resting places for rowers on the journey to Archangel. Pereslav Solekskoy, capital of Pereslavl. Pereslav Refansk. Perozes. Persepolis destroyed (224), how it was first named and by whom it fled. Persians unconcerned about buildings—against splendor. 140, treacherous. — conquered by Cimon. — from where is it thus called? — Their appearance. Persia, the foremost eye of all writings on travel. — compared to Europe. Persian sea breeze. Pelt in Xerxes' army. Petro d'Alcantara. Petroskie. Peuceftes, Governor of Persia. Pharo'ddin Koffi Beg. Pharnazes, King of Persia. Phelo, discoverer of salt. Phelonaphe, felt of the Chinese. Phraataces. Phraortes. Peak tree. Pipkin, Indian cucumber. Piefang, Indian fruit. Pieter Both, first General of India. Pieter de Karpentier, General of India. Pietro della Valle. Pylons of the Samoyeds. Pinfe, a flatland and river. Piffoertje, or Albaft mountains. Piftatsjes. Plantation of the King of Persia. Plowwoy, a mountain. Poeedoa, islands.

Poolmady, large and small, islands. Poetsföort, mountains. Portals of the old court of Persepolis. Pot skulls. Splendor of the Persians. Priests or cantors. Prikafens or chanceries. Princes depicted. Prince of the merchants in Persia. Prinfeilant (island). Plums. Pit of uncommon depth. Pyramid. Pyrmaraes, a village in Persia.

1.

Queen in Persia. Quilling of the Persian Kings.

1.

Misfortune of a Persian official. Radishes of various colors. Rafalagata. Government of Aftrakan. Journey to Archangel by water. Travel writers unconcerned about antiquities—reproached. Journey description presented to the Tsar of Muscovy. — shown to the King of Bantam. — concluded. Travel story made to the Tsar. Master of horses of the Persian court. Reindeer of the Samoyeds. Renfspel (game) in Spain. Giant mountain. Rhubarb roots. Hare hunting of the Samoyeds. Order of St. Andrew. Kingdom of Persia described. Ryklav van Goens, General of India. Rice collected. Rytuig (harness) of the Samoyeds. Prince of the kingdom in Muscovy. Royal council in Muscovy. River Vologda marked. Rivers in Ruslant, richly varied—in Georgia.

Robert Areskine, physician to the Tsar (452, 454). Roebel, Moscow money. Year of Jesus Christ. Skirts of the Medes. Romans careless in building. Red mountains. Red wood, an Indian disease. Robber shot through.

Robbers. Rotof. Ruffians of strange appearance. Mourning over William III, King of England—over Hufflein. Mourning among the Chinese. Rhubarb roots. Ruffians inclined to strong drink—skillful in their craft.

1.

Sabakzar. Saffron flowers. Sagoe. ## REGISTER

Sakfawa, a village in Persia. 127 Slang beetles of a King. 232 Salamis besieged. 200 Slaves plundered. 37 Salmafius overthrown. 255 Slavaeans. 22 Salpeter discovered. 89 Sleds in Ruslant. 18 Sam Myrfa. 425 Slot of Veronis. 59 Samachi depicted. 102 Slotvoogden (castle stewards) in Persia. 160 Samar, a river. 79 Smerdis, one of the Wise men in Persia. 252 Samara. 79 Smit (smith), a craftsman in India. 372 Samgael, a mountain. 96, 97 Smolensko. 453 — a town. 124 Snykamer (dream chamber) in Moscow. 452 — their handcraft. 6 Sogdianus. 282 — their creations. 9. religion. 11 Soharmus. 235 — dishonesty. 12 Soldiers of the Persian army. 113 Samuta, a prominent village. 428 Soleyman Ben Abdolmalek. 424 Sapoers, King of Persia. 421 Soltan Hofain Mirza. 424 Sara Jacoba Six van Chandelier, wife of the Governor at Spahan. 134, 187 Soltan Agmed. 424 Saratof, a town in Ruslant. 80 Spahan, capital of Persia. 144 Sardanapalus. 235 Playthings of Persia. 149 Saroegamis a new town. 82 Spies forbidden among the Gebbers. 417 Sawalan a mountain. 124 Specter appeared to Xerxes. 267 Schalen (scales), instruments of justice. 231 Speech of the Javans. 382 Schans ter Nyen taken. 85 Start of a seahorse used against flies. 214 Schapen (sheep) plentifully supplied. 142 State of the General of India. 394 Schatten (taxes) of the Kings of Persia. 301 State servants in

Persia. 155 — of Moscow. 48 State office in the expulsion of the
 Chans of Samachi. 101 Schatting (taxation) imposed on the Jews.
 295 — of the Governor at Spahan. 331 Scheepbouwery
 (shipbuilding) of the Czar. 14, 59, 75, 77 Stable of the Czar of
 Moscow. 31 Schepen (ships) neglected. 438 Stalmecr (stable
 master) helps his lord to the crown. 257 Scheepbreuk
 (shipwreck). 466. of the writer. 440. depicted. 441 Stalmecr of the
 King of Persia. 157 Schipbreukelingen (shipwrecked people)
 plundered by the Lappen. 467 Steadfastness of an Egyptian king.
 246 Schipsholm, name of a reef. 470 Statira pardoned. 288
 Schoenen (shoes) of the Persians. 312 Stone viewing. 35
 Schoommelpel (swinging toy) in Ruslant. 37 Steengelden (stone
 money). 358 Schoonheden (beauties) at Jareslaw. 459 Steenvisch
 (stone fish). 270 Schryfwyze (writing style) of the Ruffen. 37
 Sterfte (mortality) of the summer at Gamron. 348 Schryvers
 (writers) at Batavie. 396 Sterletten (sterlets). 87 Schulpvrucht
 (school fruit). 356 Stichter (founder) of Persepolis. 228 Scincus
 marinus, or sea-hagfish. 134 Strafen (punishments) in Moscow.
 43, 66, 67, 450 Scythen from old times called Veehoeders (cattle
 herders). 237 — at Batavie. 361 Seleucus King of Persia. 420
 Straet Sunda (Sunda Street). 361 Semaegboomcn (Semeq trees).
 177 Stroek, a Russian boat. 71 Serkaffen. 62 Struikroovers (bush
 robbers). 203, 204, 207 Serpinske, a craftsman. 83 Struiswyk
 (ostrich park), the General's air space in India. 396 Sgawad, a
 village in Persia. 114 Suikermolen (sugar mill). 372 Shah Ruch
 Bahadus Soltan. 424 Sultaans amptluiden (Sultan's officials) in
 Persia. 158 Shah Ismaël Sofi. 425 Sultan Kalil. 424 Shah Abbas.
 425, 426 Sumatra. 388 Shah Selim. 426 Surooy, a craftsman. 470
 Sjagbandars, officials in Persia. 159 Swyatski. 77 Sjakallen
 (jackals), or wild dogs. 321 T. Sjemfschid. 317 Tabakshuizen
 (tobacco houses) in Persia. 131 Sieferon. 78 Tadarwan, a village in
 Persia. 408 Simbierska, an old town. 78 Tage-Ruftan. 195
 Singezeen how dressed. 358 Talae (hearing place). 153 Sinfin, a
 village in Persia. 130 Tangerang. 393 Sjoerakan, Persian bird. 336
 Tenten (tents) of the Tartars. 90, 94 Siroës King of Persia. 421
 Tearus, a river. 258 Slabode, or German freedom. 21 Themiflokcs
 received the oracle of Delphi. 291 — purified. 32, 33, 34 ##
 REGISTER

— zyn doot. Tiara, een hoofdtexel der oude Perziërs. 225 Tijd
 gerekt bij werken. Tijd rekening der Perziërs. — der Gebbers.
 Timur Lenc Soltan, Koning van Perzië. 424 Todma. Togt naar
 Polen. — van Xerxes naar Grieken. Tollen t'Archangel. — te
 Samachi. Tollenaers t'Archangel. — buiten Ardevis. Tolmeef ters
 in Perzië. Tomyris wrekt zich over Cyrus. 145 Toncel pelen der
 Russen. — der Chinezen. Toppers hoedtje, een eiland.
 Trapvisschen. Treurdagen in Perzië. 167, 190, 328 Trou van
 Zopyrus. 257 Trou loosheid der Perziërs. — eens Tolks. 190 T
 rouftactie in Moskow. 26, 53 — der Per fiaanse prinses se. 193
 Tucht flap in Perzië. 160, 164, 207, 434 Tuin des Konings van
 Perzië. 121, 131, 132, 172, 323, 328, 414 — des Hartogen van
 Gamron. 340 Tuinen in Ruslant. — tot de Apotheek van Moskow.

452 Tur Ali Beg, Koning van Perzië. 424 Turcomannen, beheerschers van Perzië. 58 Turf in Ruslant. Turken zedigh in gewaad. 165 Tzenogar.

1. Val van een Per fiaensch Koopman. 433 Valens, Koningh van Perzië. 421 Valerius Maximus beri pft. 253 Vangt der Kroko dillen. 356 Velt overfte der Indische Maetschappye. 396 Venus van de Per fen ge-ert. 305 Veronis be schreven. 59 Vertrekken onder de aerde. 408 Verval des Hofs van Perfepolis. — van den bergh Kallay Fandus. 322 Verwen in Perzië. 173 Ver winning der Moskoviten op de Zweden be- haelt. 38 Verzameling van Rys. 366 Vier by de Per fen ge-ert. 304, 417 Vieraenbidders. Vier werk over de zege op de Zweden. 24 Vyand lykheden der Zweden by Novo Dwinko. 4 Vyvers in Ruslant. 36 Vinder van't zout. Vinnen. Vifchen in 't witte meer. 460 Vifcheryen buiten Afrakan. 130 Vifer minder in waardigheid dan Chan. 94 Uitlegging eens flat elyken ommegangs in Per- zie. 170 Uitryding des Chans van Samachi. — des Konings van Perzië. 235 — des Schryvers buiten Spahan. 137, 135 Vleefch overvloedigh t'Archangel. 16 Vl oot der Per fen ge lagen. — tegen de Atheners uitgeru it. Voerluiden in angst voor de Zweden. 454 Voetloop ers afgebeelt. 201 Vogel, genaamt Waterhaler. 438 Vogels geschoten. 202 Vogelv isch. Volk van den Houwer in Perzië.
2. Waefma. 353 Wagens tot de reize. 445 — der Tartaren. 90 Walachen, een wilt volk. 455 Walid, Koning van Perzië. 422 Wapen van Batavie. 390 Wapen rusting der Per fianen. — der Per fiaanse paerden. 313 Wapens der Per fianen. 312 Waffiele, een rivier. 79, 80 Waffeligerod. 77 Waskaers van ongemeene grootte. 136 Water by de Per len ge-ert. 417 — zout ontrent de Linie. 401 Waterdrager, Per fiaanse vogel. 188 Waterhaler, een vogel. 438 Waterleidingen. 344 Water leidingen in de Luthoven. 89 Watervermaak op de Moskovi sche froomen. 109 Water wyding in Moskow. 32, 33 — in Perzië. 138 Watervloedt. 33, 34 Weelde der Per fianen. 315 Weelde der Per fianen. — bederft de erfprin fen van Perfie.' 155 Wegh naer Zjie-raes. 319 Weldigheid der Koninginne van Sumatra. 388 Welluitheden der Koningen van Perzië. 156 Wet van Cambyfes. 307 Wet geleerde in Perzië. 161 Wykmeef ters in Perzië. 159 Wynen in Perzië. 137 Wyngaert van gout. 315 Wyzen tot offeraers aengefelt. 307 Willem van Outshoorn Generaal van Indie. 329, 363 Willem Bakker, Opperhoof t te Spahan. 331 Winden zoo heet als vier. 342 Wolodimer. 449 Wologda. 19, 459 Wonderen van den heiligen Antoni. 69 Wondheeler omgebracht. 52 Wormen, een ziekte te Gamron. 348 Wreeth eid der Per fianen tegen eenen Armenier. 191 — van Aftyages. 240 — van Xerxes. 291 — van Darius. 266 — van Paryfatis. 287 Wurften hoe gerekent. 18

3. Xerxes de Groote. 267 Xerxes tot Koning van Perzië gekoren.
265, de Q q q ## The Mightiest of All Kings

Xerxes the Second.

- 1.

Y Acub Beg, King of Persia.

- 1.

Z Antfluiving (Antelope). 203, 99, 108 Zaegvifch (Sea Serpent).
371 Zaergoen, a village. 206 Zaer-sjos, a Prophet among the
Scythians. 417 Zaritfa. 82, 83, 444 Customs of the Samoyeds. — of
the Scythians. 417 — of the Russians. 37, 54 — of overseas
nations. 54 — of the Persians. 173, 308 — of the Armenians. 183
— of the Persian Kings. 314 Modest clothing of the Turks. 165
Zeeduivel (Anglerfish). 352 Seaweed.

Zeehagedis (Sea Lizard). 134 Seaport of the city of Bachu. 104
Zeekoraël (Coral). 372 Zeehonden (Seals). 99 Zeerovers (Pirates).
437 Victory over the capture of Notenburg. 51 Zenaerboomen
(Willow Trees). 127, 143, 177 Illness of the Author. 66, 347, 303,
366 — of an Armenian. 80, 81 How wounds are treated. 115 Zjic-
raes yields the best wines in Persia. 137 Zingan. 431 Likenesses of
the present King of Persia. 149, 164 — of the Persians. 149 — of
the Armenians. 186 Zits-jan, Persian animal. 430 Zou, deity of the
ancient Persians. 233, 417 Solar course depicted by horses. 230
Sunshades used by the ancient Persians. 231 Sun wine. 470 Folly
of Xerxes. 291, 292, 270 Zou, King of Persia. 317 Salt on the necks
of Walviffchen (Whales). 3 Salt water near the line. 401 Salt
production. 463 Salt finder. 372 Weight of unusual size. 51 ##
Instructions for the Bookbinder

The bookbinder should note that the numbers on the prints are only intended to indicate which illustration is being presented, without specifying the page number. These prints must be inserted in order according to the following register and with the faces of the prints turned towards the designated pages. Prints covering half a sheet should be affixed with the image facing the indicated page and glued to the back. Prints that span an entire sheet or are longer should be attached with a strip so that they lie flat and do not penetrate too deeply into the spine, which could damage the book. The larger prints can be folded at one end with a double fold if the strip is placed on one side with a width equal to half a sheet. The two maps must be affixed to a white half-sheet for page 1 so that they are fully visible to the reader. It should also be noted that in the second AB section, leaf G has only a single 'G' instead of 'G g'. Therefore, arrange the prints as follows:

The title print at the front. The author's portrait for the dedication.

Nom. 1 and 2. page 2 Nom. 3 and 4. page 4 Nom. 5 and 6. page 7
Nom. 7 and 8. page 9 Nom. 9 and 10. page 8 Nom. 11. page 14
Nom. 12. page 39 Nom. 13 and 14. page 47 Nom. 15. page 60
Nom. 16 and 17. page 61 Nom. 18, 19, 20 and 21. page 72 Nom.
22 and 23. page 74 Nom. 24, 25, 26 and 27. page 77 Nom. 28, 29,
30 and 31. page 82 Nom. 32. page 86 Nom. 33, 34 and 35. page
90 Nom. 36 and 37. page 102 Nom. 38. page 104 Nom. 39 and 40.
page 107 Nom. 41, 42, 43 and 44. page 115 Nom. 45, 46 and 47.
page 121 Nom. 48, 49 and 50. page 124 Nom. 51, 52 and 53. page
125 Nom. 54, 55, 56 and 57. page 126 Nom. 58, 59 and 60. page
128 Nom. 61, 62, 63 and 64. page 130 Nom. 65 and 66. page 132
Nom. 67 and 68. page 134 Nom. 69, 70 and 71. page 137 Nom. 72
and 73. page 141 Nom. 74. page 146 Nom. 75. page 148 Nom. 76.
page 148 Nom. 77. page 152 Nom. 78, 79, 80 and 81. page 152
Nom. 82. page 153 Nom. 83 and 84. page 164 Nom. 85. page 166
Nom. 86 and 87. page 166 Nom. 88. page 167 Nom. 89 and 90.
page 176 Nom. 91 and 92. page 176 Nom. 93 and 94. page 177
Nom. 95 and 96. page 177 Nom. 97. page 178

Nom. 98, 99 and 100. page 179 Nom. 101. page 183 Nom. 102.
page 193 Nom. 103, 104, 105 and 106. page 194 Nom. 107 and
108. page 197 Nom. 109 and 110. page 200 Nom. 111 and 112.
page 201 Nom. 113 and 114. page 203 Nom. 115 and 116. page
204 Nom. 117. page 216 Nom. 118. page 216 Nom. 119. page 216
Nom. 120. page 216 Nom. 121. page 216 Nom. 122 and 123. page
216 Nom. 124 and 125. page 216 Nom. 126. page 216 Nom. 127.
page 216 Nom. 128. page 218 Nom. 129 and 130. page 218 Nom.
131, 132, 133, 134, 135 and 136. page 218 Nom. 137, 138, 139,
140 and 141. page 218 Nom. 142. page 219 Nom. 143, 144, 145
and 146. page 219 Nom. 147, 148, 149 and 150. page 220 Nom.
151, 152 and 153. page 220 Nom. 154, 155, 156 and 157. page
220 Nom. 158. page 221 Nom. 159, 160 and 161. page 222 Nom.
162, 163, 164 and 165. page 222 Nom. 166, 167, 168, 169, 170
and 171. page 225 Nom. 172 and 173. page 319 Nom. 174. page
323 Nom. 175, 176 and 177. page 324 Nom. 178 and 179. page
324 Nom. 180, 181, 182 and 183. page 335 Nom. 184, 185 and
186. page 342 Nom. 187 and 188. page 348 Nom. 189, 190 and
191. page 352 Nom. 192. page 359 Nom. 193, 194, 195 and 196.
page 362 Nom. 197. page 364 Nom. 198 and 199. page 364 Nom.
200 and 201. page 368 Nom. 202 and 203. page 369 Nom. 204
and 205. page 370 Nom. 206. page 373 Q q q 2 Nom. 207, ##
INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE BOOKBINDER.

No. 207, 208, 209, 210 and 211. p. 373 | No. 233 and 234. p. 405
No. 212 and 213. p. 373 | No. 235 and 236. p. 406 No. 214. p. 382
| No. 237, 238 and 239. p. 409 No. 215, 216 and 217. p. 387 |
No. 240 and 241. p. 436 No. 218 and 219. p. 388 | No. 242 and
243. p. 445 No. 220. p. 394 | No. 244, 245 and 246. p. 459
No. 221, 222, 223 and 224. p. 397 | No. 247, 248, 249, 250, 251

and 252. p. 464 No. 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231 and 232.
p. 402 | No. 253 and 254. p. 467 No. 255, 256, 257, 258, 259 and
260. p. 470

PRINTING ERRORS

to be corrected.

A denotes the first Column, B the second.

P. 51. Line 35 a bowel 1. boewel. 74. 26 a zien komen. Add here:
Men ziet 'er de verbeelding van on No. 23. 83. Line 58. Zaritha 1.
Zaritha. 17. 1. a Klocknitse 1. II. Klocknitse. 5. a Nikooske 1.
Nikoolske. 6. a Bogasloef 1. Bogasloef. 90. 10. a Goli 1. Goey. 96.
51. a geberte 1. gebergte. 100. 50. a boeden 1. boede. 101. in't
opschrift kata-kulustaban 1. kala-ku- lustaban. 106. 44. a
Mabometans 1. Mabometaeus. 115. 16. a nemem 1. nemen. 152.
40. b fijfergetal 1. fijfergetal 1. 158. above a in't kantschrift, der
gerechts 1. der gerechtsskamer. 192. above 't Hoofstituk Sagte-
Rustan 1. Tagte- Rustan. 244. 51. b Tamyris 1. Tomyris. 248. 39. b
Memplis 1. Memphis. 316. 42. b instantelyk 1. ernstighb. 43. b
geleerde 1. geleerden. 320. 45. b Stadt 1. kerk. 327. 27. a Aed-
loen 1. Aed-joen. 331. 52. a Maent 1. Maen. 339. Line 18. b vier
Aenbidders 1. Vierenaenbidders. P. 342. 19. a Dom-banje 1.
Dombanie. 344. 2. b Bafiele 1. Bafielie. 345. 34. b Gesje 1. Getje.
So also in't kantschrift.

1. 1. b Zoete kryn 1. Tutocoreyn.
2. 1. a Metfietse 1. Mextietse.
3. 1. b Munster 1. Mounston.
4. 1. a Munster 1. Monster. So also p. 375. a and 376. a.
5. a in't kantschrift Poele-don 1. Poole-doa.
6. 1. a Chirebomefen 1. Chierebonefen.
7. 1. b wy 't volgens 1. wy volgens.
8. b verbeeldinga 1. verbeeldinge.
9. 1. a Serfiaenfch 1. Persiaensch. die 1. dien.
10. 1. a naesfe 1. naefte.
11. b in't kantschrift kom 1. komt.
12. 1. b Apaneka 1. Apaneke.
13. b koeliko- 1. koelikove.
14. 1. a vernachten 1. vernachtten wy.
15. a deden 1. deden wy.

16. a ik 1. wy.

17. a ontmoete 1. ontmoetten.

18. 1. a voorttrekkende wy 1. voorttrek- kende het krygsvolk.

19. above 't hoofstituk Preslaw 1. Pereslaw. so also Reg. 30. a. and thus also in't Register, and where it might further occur.

On the same page Jareslaw 1. Jereslaw. so also here 52. a. and 't in Register, and where it may further occur.

1. b Reg. 42. 147. 1. 247.

END.